Political-1927

Arkansas.

Elections

RACE PLAYED BIG PART IN HOT SPRINGS ELECTION

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Hot Springs, Ark.—The Negro electorate of Hot Springs entering more actively into the recent city elections than has ever been true before, saw the candidate whom they supported for the mayoralty elected by a narrow margin.

It was a bitterly fought election, Hot Springs voters likening it to the recent battle in Chicago because various issues relating to the Negro were a definite factor. The retiring mayor whose several administrations had been uniformly fair, declined to run again and the regular democratic primary nominated Sidney Nutt, wealthy theatre owner of the city of whose attitude on racial affairs the colored voters were suspicious.

Nutt's first theatre contained no provisions for colored patrons, that is no separate balcony, as is true in the other amusement houses in the city, so that Negroes could not enter it at all under the state law. He was said to have remarked that he did not want Negro patronage. Again when a permit was sought for the rebuilding of Union Baptist Church, which burnt some time ago, on the same site it formerly occupied on Grand Avenue, white citizens circulated a petition opposing having it built there because Grand Avenue had been paved and it was desired to keep it largely a white residence street. One of the early signers was Candidate Nutt.

His opponent was an independent democrat, Leo McLaughlin, who had nothing especially to recommend him save a promise to give colored citizens a square deal, but they lined up behind him and in a hot short combat polled three thousand votes in his favor, more than twice his majority. There are but 3,000 colored votes in Hot Springs. A quiet movement is on now to have all of the year around residents pay their poll tax and register so that future elections may find the colored citizenry prepared to defend its interests.

Political - 1927

California.

Elections.

Los Angeles Mayor Opposed By Negro Voters, May Resign

The Associated Negro Press.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., May 18.—Mayor Cryer is expected to hand in his resignation in a few days, because his "machine" is suffering a terrific defeat at the polls. Practically all the "old guard" of councilmen were ousted and new men elected. Light rioting by the whites and heavy voting by the Negroes against reactionary city office-holders is said to have been the cause of the surprising upset.

SECRETARIES TO BE EMPLOYED

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 28.—For the splendid support accorded them in the recent city election the newly elected councilmen have indicated that when they are seated a large number of Negro secretaries will be employed. This recognition is being appreciated by the citizens who lead the fight that almost overthrew the whole city administration.

Political -1927
Elections

General.

A HINT TO THE SOUTH

The South is now working itself into fever pitch over the election of William Hale Thompson as mayor of Chicago. The very centers of corruption and disgraceful conditions in America, Birmingham, Ala.; New Orleans, Little Rock, Memphis, Dallas, and Raleigh, N. C., are the places now most interested in the selection of Thompson as mayor of a northern city and the second city in America.

Is it necessary here to remind the South and its spokesmen that William Hale Thompson was not elected head of Dixie, but the chief executive of a city in the North? Is it necessary to suggest that these cities are worrying themselves needlessly about conditions in a city that is well able to take care of itself? If Birmingham, a town that is so [illegible] about the election in Chicago that it has organized a group of workers to keep members of our Race from coming here, had half the interest in her own welfare and the real good of her people as she pretends to have in Chicago would it be necessary for her to employ persuasive measures to keep her citizens at home?

No. The South is not interested primarily in the welfare of Chicago. Nor is she interested in good government. Least of all is she interested in the Race in Chicago. But she has seen the handwriting on the wall. Dixie knows that men and women are coming to demand more for themselves than they have ever done before. She knows that if the great masses of her labor supply are distributed over northern centers she will soon be a decadent civilization. She knows that with her present system of oppression, injustices, prejudices, lynchings and disfranchisements in vogue down there, and with wide publicity being given to better conditions elsewhere, she is now facing the gravest danger in her history.

If the South would take steps to abolish conditions which make decent living impossible, she would soon realize a change in the attitude of her people. Her own back yard is filthy. No condition in Illinois is comparable with conditions in America's Southland. What man or woman is there who would not rather be hungry and cold in Chicago—and a free agent—than to be sleek, warm and comfortable, physically, in the slums of Birmingham—and be a prisoner in mind and soul? What man would not rather live and breathe free air—feel himself a man—fight for a job and to hold a job against all comers, and to aspire to the highest the commonwealth has to offer—than to be assigned a "place" in the scheme of things to which his color will always bind him?

Smoke screens thrown up by white men of the South no longer hold interest for men seeking freedom and justice. Lies about the North no longer frighten men who have subjected themselves to conditions in the South. They know that nothing can be worse than the conditions under which they live. How much better would it be if white editors, who have been peering at Chicago through defective spy-glasses, would lay down their instruments and adjust their eyes to what is happening in their own neighborhoods! If these editors should concern themselves seriously with the task of removing lynchings, concubinage, proscriptions, peonage and the like from their activities, how much easier would it be to persuade their citizens to remain at home and continue tilling the soil and hewing the forests!

Isn't there, after all, the bare possibility that these hints may be taken for what they are worth to Dixie, and an attempt made to execute them? Until they are, there can be no hope—men will continue to seek real manhood and justice. If Chicago offers asylum so much the worse for the cities that will not!

TIMES
Erie - Pa
MAR 15 19

Comment
NATIONAL, LOCAL AND FOREIGN
By Nelson Baldwin

CHICAGO'S city election is second in importance to that of New York only, but of the two the former excites rather more attention because the result is always uncertain, while that of New York is as a general rule a foregone conclusion. Besides, the latter occurs along with the general elections in November, to which it is more or less subordinate in public interest. Chicago's city election takes place in April, and as a mayor is to be elected this year the political pot is boiling rather more furiously than usual. The primary was very turbulent on the Republican side, resulting in a great victory for Big Bill Thompson, former mayor, over E. R. Litsinger, the choice of Senator Deneen and nearly all of the city newspapers. Dever, the present mayor, was renominated by the Democrats with virtually no opposition. Dever has given pretty general satisfaction to the law-abiding element. He is a former judge and has no sympathy with the law-breaker. While he has made sincere efforts in that direction and has done all that he could under his limited powers. Thompson's record as mayor was unsavory, to say the least. He is accused of dickering and trading with the worst element of the population and his success in the primary is attributed largely to its support. While the contest is nominally partisan, reliable information is to the effect that party lines have completely broken down; that the best element of the Republican party is lining up for Dever, while the worst element of the Democratic is backing Thompson, creating a state of political confusion and uncertainty rarely equaled. The whole country more or less and the middle west especially is awaiting the outcome next month with great interest.

The U. S. supreme court has decided that the negro has the right to vote in the Texas Democratic primary, the law of the state to the contrary notwithstanding, but it is not apprehended that there will be a great rush of colored voters to avail themselves of the privilege. The Democrats down there have acted foolishly in putting up the bars against their entry into the party. The party in those sections of the south which are growing rapidly as the result of the influx from the north may see the time when it will be glad to have the assistance of the colored voter. It might profit from the example of New York, which has the largest negro population of any city in this country. There was a time when Tammany was not especially friendly to the negro, but it changed its attitude and gradually won over a substantial majority of the colored voters. They contributed no small part to Al Smith's success at the last and in preceding elections. The southern Democrats will in time find out their policy of exclusion was a political blunder.

One of the bills lost at the late session of congress was that offered by Senator Neely, of West Virginia, providing for the offer by the government of a reward of $5,000,000 for the discovery of a cure for cancer. The discovery would be well worth that princely sum and the government could pay it with the full approbation of the people. Senator Neely's bill may be revived and may pass, but however that may be, the search for the cure will continue to be made, without interuption, as it has in the past, and the progress already made in conquering the ills that flesh is heir to give promise that the search will ultimately be successful. The finder will deserve a rich reward, but there is a nobler motive back of the quest. Those who have had a part in the advance of medical science have had the good of humanity in view rather than personal profit.

The expenses of the government for the fiscal year beginning July 1, as provided for by the appropriations passed, will be $242,600,525 less than those of the present fiscal year. But the figures do not represent a clear saving of that amount. One deficiency supply bill failed to pass, also the public buildings measure, which provided the money for a start on the postoffice building program for this city along with many others. If there had been no filibuster in the senate the total provided for government expenses would have been considerably larger. Provision for necessary payments have only been deferred, to the disadvantage of the public, perhaps, to some extent. There will be just so much more to appropriate at the next session.

Berkeley, Cal., has taken a new departure in dealing with violators of the traffic rules. Instead of fining the culprit it impounds his car for 30 days. That no doubt will prove more effective than a small fine. The motorist who has to walk or take the street car for 30 days while his car is in the pound will be more careful to observe the rules when he gets it back again.

NEGROES IN STATE LEGISLATURES

Every man or woman of average, ordinary intelligence knows what it means for the race to have representation in all law making bodies that affect all the people. Whether it is a Board of Education, Park Commissioners, City Council, Legislature the Negro should have representation.

In most states where Negroes have the vote, they also have sense enough either to elect one of thei rown or, if that is impossible, to elect one who will safe guard their interests. Not so in Kentucky—we have the sense, but we have too much of the spirit of selfishness and too little of the spirit of union.

This the other people know and they use that knowledge to their own advantage.

In Louisville there are over 20,000 Negro votes. With suc ha proportion of the voting strength of the city Colored Louisville could be highly regarded and respected by the party in power, whatever its politics.

The easiest thing in the world the Louisville Negro could do is to send a Negro to the legislature.

Omaha has two Colored members; St. Louis, Mo., as "Southern" as Kentucky, has two; Chicago has five in the legislature and two in the Board of Alderman.

Are we more dumb, more stupid than these our Brothers?

AUG 28 1924

Columbus, Norfolk and Richmond

In Columbus, Ohio, in the recent primary election, 15,000 people voted—about one-fifth of the number qualified to vote. "Most people either took it for granted that their favorites would win anyway or else simply were not interested," explains the Ohio State Journal of that city. Since Columbus is a city of 285,000 inhabitants, its primary election showing would seem to be but little if any better than that of Richmond, population 189,000, which cast 7,500 votes in the recent legislative primary, or of Norfolk, population 177,000, which cast a few more than 6,000 votes. When the colored elements are factored out of the Richmond and Norfolk population totals, and the comparison made between the net potential voting populations of the three cities, the balance shifts in favor of the Southern cities and against Columbus.

From the foregoing it would appear that an undue amount of pessimism has been engendered by such vote slackerism as was exemplified in the late Richmond and Norfolk primary elections—that so far from being peculiar to the one-party South it is a disease that afflicts also these sections of the country that enjoy the benefits of two-party competition. But appearances, in this case, would be misleading. The explanation lies in the circumstance that primary elections, being merely party elimination contests, are by their own limitations denied the stimulus of competition between party and party. Save in exceptional circumstances, primary elections are doomed to be lackadaisical performances, regardless of whether they take place in uniparty territory or in bi-party or multi-party territory. It is in uniparty territory, indeed, that one would expect primary elections to poll the largest votes, for here they have the force of a final election and benefit by the stimulus that attends a political showdown, even though the showdown be confined to a single party.

The Columbus primary figures instead of deprecating the civic value of political competition, underscore its value. When general election time comes there is a different story from Columbus. That city comprises something like six-sevenths of the population of Franklin County in which it is situated. In the election of 1924 Franklin County cast 107,139 votes—61,891 for Coolidge, 26,505 for Davis and 18,743 for La Follette. If in this month's primary Franklin County, inclusive of Columbus, cast a total of 20,000 votes—a high estimate in view of the fact that Columbus itself cast 15,000—it appears that the civic efficiency of Columbus is approximately five times as high in elections where the major parties are in competition with each other, as it is in elections where no party competition exists. In other words, in communities where the parties are genuine rivals, and where no oppressive qualification laws prevent it, general elections tend to bring into play substantially the entire qualified citizenship. In politics, as in business, vitality is conditioned on competition.

Political-1927
Elections.

Illinois.

BITTER FIGHT AMONG COLORED LEADERS TO CONTROL BLACK VOTE

Wright-De Priest-Jackson Political Feud Goes Merrily Apace in Windy City—Former Mayor William Hale Thompson Seeking Mayoralty Toga in Republican Primary Election, February 22—Louis Anderson and "Bob" Jackson Seeking Re-election to City Council—Seven Other Black Americans After Aldermanic Posts.

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Chicago, Ill.—Nine Negroes are aspirants for the city council in the primary election campaign here which comes to a close February 22. Four of these are running in the famous Second Ward, two in the Third, and three in the Fourth.

As a background to the fight these men are making against each other, is the struggle for leadership of big blocks of the Negro vote between Edward H. Wright, Illinois Commerce Commissioner, and duly elected committeeman of the Second Ward; Daniel M. Jackson, an undertaker who has been chosen to supercede Wright in the Second Ward by certain white interests, and Oscar DePriest, first Negro alderman, and now reported to be a discredited leader.

Wright is the only one possessing a clear claim to his laurels. He was elected in 1920 to represent the Second Ward in the councils of the republican party. Wright and DePriest have been on opposing factional sides of the political fence for years. Early in the present campaign, DePriest is said to have been chosen by former Mayor William Hale Thompson to handle his interests in the present campaign. Thompson aspires to control the black wards himself.

This did not please Wright, and as a consequence, endorsement of Thompson was not coming from Wright's organization. Thompson, State Attorney Crowe, and several other prominent white leaders demanded that Wright support Thompson or relinquish leadership in the Second Ward. Wright refused to hear them. Daniel Jackson was thereupon named by these whites to take over Wright's prerogatives in the Second Ward. Jackson is proprietor of the finest funeral parlor in the city, and is reputed to be a millionaire.

If Thompson should win in the April election, it would mean a temporary eclipse of Wright as a leader, or a serious clipping of his wings of power. The chances for Thompson are small. Wise political observers recognize that Wright's enemies, white and black, are taking a long chance to cripple him.

Louis B. Anderson is seeking re-election to the city council from the Second Ward. He is being opposed by Augustus L. Williams, a prominent lawyer who made a strong race against Anderson in the last election; Harvey A. Watkins, a real estate dealer and churchman, and Charles A. Travis, a realtor, who became state central committeeman by virtue of the death of his opponent in the last election.

Robert R. "Fighting" Bob Jackson, is after the job again in the Third Ward. He has only one opponent, William E. King, a former assistant corporation counsel and member of the state legislature. There are four republican candidates in the Fourth Ward, but only three are colored. The present incumbent is Berthold A. Cronson, a Jew. The Negroes seeking his seat are Dr. George A. Prince noted as a specialist in diseases of women and children; Virgil A. Cooke, an employe of the board of local improvements, and S. W. Springer, a busy worker in Chicago insurance circles. Most of the white vote in the Fourth Ward are democratic.

So far Negroes have refrained from entering candidates in the other wards where they form a large percentage of the population. It is the Twenty eighth on the West Side.

NEW YORK
GRAPHIC

MAR 2 8 1927

CHICAGO'S 200,000 negroes are making a race issue of the mayoralty election. They're almost solidly back of William Hale Thompson.

CHICAGO, ILL.
Post
MAR 25 1927

KEEP THE RACE ISSUE OUT OF CHICAGO POLITICS

It is difficult enough for intelligence and decency to find their way thru the devious labyrinth of Chicago politics without beclouding their vision by dragging in the race issue.

Those who play with this issue play with fire. Divide Chicago on it and, in the end, the racial minority will suffer. That is inevitable.

THE POST has been always well disposed toward the colored element in this city's population. It has encouraged every legitimate movement for its welfare and progress. Its social and educational and religious activities have been given frequent support in our editorial columns. We speak now as the friendly adviser of the colored people when we say to them that their happiness and prosperity lies in co-operating with the white citizenship of Chicago for the ends which intelligence and decency seek thru political expression.

Whenever a racial minority permits itself to be used for political ends it prejudices its own best interests. It invites antipathies and antagonisms which may prove seriously harmful to it.

Chicago is preponderantly white, but it is disposed to be just to those of other races. Men, on whatever platform, who are raising the race issue by appeals to racial pride and prejudice, are doing a cruel wrong to the minority, and, indeed, a wrong to the whole community.

There are fundamental issues of government, of efficient administration, of enforcement of law, of integrity in office upon which this campaign may be and ought to be conducted. On such issues intelligence and decency can have a chance to vote with self-respect, and the vote of the intelligent and decent colored man is as good as that of his white neighbor. But when the question of race, or of creed, is introduced, passion takes control, and intelligence quits the field, while decency hides her head.

Thompson Is Not Friend of Negro Or the Workers

CHICAGO—(By mail)—One of the methods used by Mayor Dever to antagonize the Negroes and at the same time hoping that it might be a basis for his victory, was to distribute leaflets with headings such as "Don't vote yourself Nigger Wages."

That is an eloquent example of the vicious methods of exciting racial prejudices among the workers of Chicago and utilizing them as means to secure votes in the mayoralty campaign.

But this is also an eloquent testimony of the growing power of the colored electorate in the great industrial centers and of the fear of this electorate on the part of the enemies of labor.

Thompson Not Labor's Friend.

Wm. H. Thompson is by no means a sincere champion of the interests of labor, but he poses as such.

He is by no means a sincere champion of the rights of the oppressed Negro race but he is clever enough to appear as such.

He defeated Dever due to the support of the Negro voters. Dever was defeated because he has proven himself the champion of racial discrimination, oppression and persecution. But the great problem of welding together the great political power of the colored and white workers will remain. It is the most urgent problem of the advanced, most farsighted and intelligent elements among both colored and white workers to carry on a campaign of education.

NEGRO ALDERMAN PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THOMPSON'S COUNCIL

(By the Associated Negro Press).

CHICAGO, April 20—According to an announcement Friday, Louis B. Anderson, alderman of the famous Second Ward, has been appointed floor leader for Mayor William Hale Thompson, supplanting Alderman Arvey, Dever's floor leader.

Alderman Anderson is serving his sixth term in the city council and is known as a hard fighter. Under William Hale Thompson's second administration he was the mayor's floor leader and hos record at that time is perhaps responsible for his reappointment.

Major R. R. Jackson, alderman of the Third Ward has been named on the committee on police and municipal institutions. Major Jackson fought strenuously against the reelection raids on the Southside and has been an outstanding member of the city council during the three terms he has served.

The Chicago Election

LESS THAN FIFTY THOUSAND Negro voters, by casting their ballots as a unit, have just succeeded in putting over their candidate for mayor in an election in which nearly a million votes were cast — as good an example of the wisdom of standing together as the Negro race has had in many a day. And this, in spite of the fact that William Hale Thompson, who had already served two terms as mayor, defeated William E. Dever, Democratic incumbent by almost twice as many votes as the Negro citizens cast for Thompson.

MAYOR DEVER'S campaign managers are responsible for the introduction of the race question in the campaign. In campaign literature they asked the white voters if they wanted Negro teachers to instruct their children if they wanted to see 100,000 more Negroes come from the South to Chicago if they wanted Negroes to hold city positions, and if they wanted to see Negroes elected to office.

NOW, as a matter of fact, Chicago white people are probably no better or worse than the common run of white people to be found in any Northern city. This means that the masses of them preferred not to see the things Mayor Dever's campaigners asked them. But ex-Mayor Thompson and his managers knew that in the last election Negroes voted almost as a unit for Dever and were largely responsible for his election. They knew, too, that they would again vote for Dever if there was the slightest possibility of their being double-crossed before or after the election by Thompson. Thompson needed the support of the Negro voters to win. He proved to them that he wanted their support — and won.

NEGROES of Chicago had more at stake in the election than Thompson and theirs is the greater victory. Their victory, though, might not have been possible if their votes had been evenly divided between the candidates; if they had not seen the issues clearly; if they had not profited by their experience in helping to elect a Democratic mayor; if they had not refused to listen to the Judases amongst them who urged them to support Dever; in short, if the majority of them had not decided to go down in defeat with Thompson, if such would be the result, in preference to winning with Dever.

Journal of Commerce
CHICAGO, ILL.

APR 4 1927

A ROTTEN CAMPAIGN

The mayoralty campaign now ending is the most vicious in Chicago's experience during the last generation. On each side there is a reckless effort to stir up racial and religious prejudice. The actual question at issue—the fitness of the respective candidates to serve as mayor of Chicago—is lost sight of. The only place in which that question seems to be the vital issue is in the minds of a large group of both Democratic and Republican business men and women, who are supporting Mayor Dever. Everybody else apparently is concerned either with his own selfish political interest or with hatred of certain classifications of his fellow citizens.

Seventy per cent of Chicago's population consists of foreign white stock—that is, of immigrants and of persons one or more of whose parents were immigrants. In addition, 160,000 residents of Chicago—more than 5 per cent of the population—are Negroes. Only 25 per cent of the city's population consists of white persons born of native American parents.

Within the other 75 per cent the present campaign has been raising the devil by the awakening of racial prejudice. And a goodly part of the 25 per cent of native stock has been spurred to vicious hatred by a cumulative campaign of religious propaganda.

White has been arrayed against black, German has been arrayed against Pole, German Protestant has been arrayed against German Catholic, Irish has been arrayed against the very idea of Englishism, and Protestant has been arrayed against Catholic.

Workingmen's neighborhoods have been flooded with propaganda picturing an invasion of Chicago by tens of thousands of strike-breaking Negro workingmen if Mr Thompson is elected. Protestant churchgoers have undergone a rain of printed stuff depicting Chicago as certain to be annexed to the Vatican if Mayor Dever is given four more years. The kind of propaganda employed by the ward organization of either party depends entirely upon the individual nature of the ward, even the varying natures of given neighborhoods within a single ward. The effort in each case is to arouse hatred.

No such mixed campaign of hatred versus hatred—no such multitudinous starting of fires to fight other fires—has ever before been witnessed in a Chicago mayoralty campaign.

The results are bound to be vicious. You cannot hate a group of your fellow citizens during a four weeks' period of hate and then reasonably expect to get along with them later on.

Instead of smoothness, you will have friction. You will have at least an occasional murder that would not have occurred if hatred had not been deliberately aroused for political purposes. And you certainly stimulate the tendency to race riots of the sort that disgraced Chicago in 1919.

No candidate for mayor that Chicago has ever had was ever so worthy that an administration by him could offset such silly and hideous wickedness as must result from the present campaign of hatred. The price is too much to pay for the success of any mayoralty candidate. Nothing that any mayoralty candidate could possibly do as mayor would benefit the people of Chicago as much as they are hurt when hundreds of thousands of them are provoked to hate one another.

Such Is Human Nature

It has been interesting to note the unanimity with which the State press has denounced the methods which William Hale Thompson used to win the Chicago mayoralty election. Without exception his alleged use of irrelevant and extraneous issues has been denounced, especially his alleged appeals to race prejudice.

Almost anything may be expected in a heated political campaign, yet Mr. Thompson undoubtedly violated high moral ethics if he did all the things he is charged with. But on the other hand, since when has an election been held in Virginia that was not characterized by all the offenses which attended the re-election of Mr. Thompson? Speaking of extraneous and irrelevant issues, and appeals to race and religious prejudice the last regular session of the Virginia general assembly is an illustrious instance that would make Mr. Thompson's alleged offense look respectable. It is not even possible to hold a discussion of constitutional reforms in Virginia, such as were recommended by the Prentiss commission, without dragging in the race question. And it is done without blushing, without shame, and apparently with the feeling that it is not noticed by anybody whatsoever.

And Virginia is by no means an exception to the rule. In fact Virginia is not half as bad as many other states, when it comes to doing violence to high moral ethics at election time.

The worst things that were done in Chicago were the acts of Mr. Thompson's opponents. It was they, the Democrats, who mailed ten thousand forged letters to Chicago Negroes requesting them to come at a certain hour to Mr. Thompson's hotel. It was they who broadcast pictures and literature intended to start a race riot and throw the election.

They would have succeeded with such methods in Atlanta, in Birmingham, in Memphis, or in Norfolk. But they failed in Chicago. So a unanimous protest went up from all over the South that "Big Bill" Thompson cussed King George in order to win the Irish vote, promised a square deal to Negroes in order to win their votes and used the slogan, "America First," on the rest, and won. Such is human nature.

THOMPSON HITS COLOR ISSUES IN CAMPAIGN

Just what will be William Hale Thompson's attitude toward all citizens of Chicago when he is elected mayor next month was indicated in a pertinent statement he issued Tuesday in answer to a challenge by the city's Democratic forces that Chicago will be "ruled by the black belt, the gunmen and the hoodlums."

"So far as I am concerned," said Mr. Thompson, "the black finger that is good enough to pull a trigger in defense of the American flag is good enough to mark a ballot." This statement followed the remark by the former and future mayor that it was a Democratic president who placed uniforms upon our boys during the war and sent them to the targets in defense of the American flag. Now the Democratic forces in Chicago are seeking to inject the color line into political issues in order to draw voters away from Mr. Thompson. Such tactics do not work in Chicago, one of his followers declared, and his fair, honest statement will bring more friends to his side.

Political - 1927

Elections.

Illinois.

TIMES

Erie - Pa

APR 4 1927

THE BATTLE OF CHICAGO

By JOHN KELLEY

Chicago, April 4.—The eyes of the nation are turned toward Chicago and the outcome of the mayoralty election which takes place tomorrow. If weather conditions are favorable it is expected that more than 900,000 voters will go to the polls.

William E. Dever, the present incumbent, is opposed by William Hale Thompson, who was Dever's predecessor. There is one other candidate, Dr. John Dill Robertson, who is running as an Independent. The only effect his candidacy will have will be to reduce the size of the Thompson vote. If the two leading candidates run a neck and neck race the Robertson vote will in all probability assure the re-election of Mayor Dever.

In Chicago's 90 years' history as a city the present campaign has been the most heated of all mayoralty elections. Dever, the Democratic candidate, is finishing his first term as chief executive. He was elected four years ago by an overwhelming majority. But in that election he was opposed by Arthur C. Lueder, the present postmaster of Chicago. Thompson, who had served two terms as mayor preceding the Dever administration, "retired" from politics when Dever announced his candidacy in 1923 Wise acres say the reason he "retired" was because he was afraid of defeat if he entered the race.

Since then, however, he has had a change of heart, and tomorrow will decide whether the voters of Chicago want "Big Bill" as head of the city government In other words he is staging a come-back.

For downright nastiness the present campaign will go down in local political history as the most nauseous to which Chicago has ever been treated. Right here it may be well to state that the mud-slinging and misrepresentation have been only one sided. In his speeches, Thompson has accused his two opponents of being "rats, liars and crooks".

Both Dever and Robertson have conducted themselves in a dignified manner, considering the provocation they had to reply to Mr. Thompson in kind.

There is no doubt but that the recent element of voters—or at least a great number of them—have turned from Thompson on account of his billingsgate speeches. Early in the campaign an Independent Republican Dever committee composed of the city's leading professional and business men and women was organized. This committee, which numbers about 200 men and women, is representative of Chicago's best citizenry. Every day for the last three weeks this committee has used a page advertisement in each of the Chicago daily newspapers, calling upon the voters irrespective of party to re-elect Mayor Dever.

This committee, composed entirely of Republicans, includes such well known men and women as Julius Rosenwald, John V Farwell, Rev. Timothy Stone Stanley Field, Mrs. Rockefeller McCormick, Rabbi Joseph Stolz Alexander H. Revell, Joseph T. Ryerson, Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber, Augustus S. Peabody, Dr. Edward Ochsner, Mrs. Murray Nelson, Mrs. Francis R. Dickinson, Mrs. Howard Linn, Mrs. Chauncey Keep, Mrs. Charles Keep, Mrs. Charles Frankenthal, William McCormick Blair, James T. Patten and Rev. Duncan H. Browne.

No mayoralty candidate ever before received the endorsement of such a committee as that which is supporting Mr. Dever in his fight against Thompsonism. With few exceptions the members of the committee were formerly Thompson adherents and through their influence he was twice elected mayor.

As was predicted by Democratic leaders, Thompson injected race and religious prejudice into the campaign, those issues aiding materially in his two elections. There are more than 100,000 negro voters in Chicago, and 95 per cent of them look upon Thompson as a second Abraham Lincoln. The negro vote was largely responsible for the defeat of Robert Sweitzer, who twice opposed "Big Bill" for mayor.

Four years ago the negro vote was split, with Dever polling about 75 per cent of it. "Big Bill" wasn't in the race, or it would have been otherwise.

Mayor Dever has treated the negroes the same as those of his own race. As evidence of this impartiality, a large number of negroes have been appointed to the police force under the Dever administration and they have received promotion according to merit.

Thompson had no reason to fear that the negroes would not support him as they did in former elections, but to make him-self stronger, as he thought, he went down to the "Black Belt" one night at the opening of the campaign and addressed a mons-ter meeting. The purpose, of course, was to show the negroes that he was their saviour and if any of them were lukewarm toward Dever to renounce their allegiance. His speech which was inflammatory, created the wildest enthusiasm. The "Black Belt" was ablaze and "Big Bill" was the negroes champion.

The newspapers — especially the Tribune and the News, the two leading papers of Chicago—printed columns about the Thompson meeting, which had the effect of awakening the white citizens to the gravity of the situation if Thompson were elected. Thousands of voters who up to that time were supporters of "Big Bill" joined the ranks of Republicans who were openly advocating the re-election of Dever. The meeting in the "Black Belt" proved a boomerang to Thompson, and if he is beaten tomorrow he can lay his defeat to arousing the white voters to action.

Now as to the religious issue that Thompson has injected into the campaign. I quote from the Christian Century, a church publication, which while Protestant in its religious following, classifies itself as "an undenominational journal":

"Beneath the surface, his campaign is made among Protestants by whisperings against Mayor Dever as a Catholic. This despite the fact that Mr. Dever has in the public schools, where religious bias most often shows itself, kept the superintendency in the hands of a Protestant and held the proportion of Protestant members of the school board and Protestant teachers where it has been. It is indicative of the campaign that the most damaging statements being made against the mayor are confined to these whispered under-the-surface innuendoes. And it is a matter of regret that such stuff should be given any weight among Protestants. The issue as between Thompson and Dever is so clean cut that it is surprising there should be any doubt concerning the outcome. If Mr. Thompson wins, Chicago will have delivered herself into the hands of her despoilers."

The daily press, with the exception of the two Hearst publications, are all supporting Dever. And William Randolph Hearst claims to be a Democrat! With his powerful newspapers he fought the election of Jimmy Walker, mayor of New York, and he also fought Governor Al Smith. His fight against Mayor Dever is along the same lines.

Not only does Thompson appeal to race and religious prejudice, but he has raised an issue of close distinction with the idea of getting the German and Irish vote. In his speeches he accuses every person who opposes him as being a "friend of King George of England." He poses as a friend of the masses and the foe of the rich. Incidentally it might be said that he is a millionaire. He inherited his wealth.

When he was mayor of Chicago he closed the saloons on Sunday, and now he is telling foreign born voters that "if you elect me mayor I will open up the 10,000 bootleg joints that Dever closed."

Fred Lundin, who was Thompson's political mentor and manager in both of his former campaigns, parted company with "Big Bill" about the time he went out of office. Lundin brought out Dr. Robertson, who was Thompson's commissioner of health, as an Independent candidate. Thompson, in his speeches, gets a big laugh when he describes Dr. Robertson as a "rat" and says he slobbers soup on his vest. Even worse things are said about Lundin.

For the first time in his life, Mr. Lundin delivered an address one night last week in which he showed up his former protege. He told an audience of several thousand persons why Thompson calls his political does "rats" or crooks. State's Attorney Crowe was once denounced by Thompson as "a rat and a left handed Irishman". Mr. Crowe is Mr. Thompson's main support in the present campaign.

Women voters are taking an unusual interest in the election and it will not be surprising if their preference spells victory for the successful candidate.

Last Thursday afternoon Mayor Dever addressed several thousand women at a meeting held in Orchestra hall. At the conclusion of the meeting the women marched in a body to the city hall. Each marcher carried a small American flag, and a dozen bands were in the parade. It was the most inspiring sight this writer ever witnessed in a political campaign.

Urban A. Lavery, attorney for the board of election commissioners, in an interview with the Times correspondent, predicted that a record-breaking vote would be cast tomorrow. After a careful analysis of figures and indications Mr. Lavery said it was highly probable that the vote will eclipse the Chicago total of 997,077 ballots cast in the 1924 presidential battle.

Mr. Lavery is a former resident of Erie and likes to talk of the days when he was a carrier for The Times.

ing words by his opponents. Mayor Dever's expressed doubts of the sanity of his opponent scarcely raise a point of such high public significance as to induce in many citizens a zeal to bleed and die over it. Of legitimate, sane municipal issues, the campaign has produced but few, and they have been slighted in the excitement. And yet the police of Chicago have taken very particular precautions against rioting and violence; the Sheriff of Cook County even appealed to Governor Small to call out the militia. Supposed gunmen have been taken into custody for the apparent purpose of reducing the polling casualities. So much smoke implies some fire at the bottom of it. The apprehended violence must have had its motives.

There remains the dominating motive of gain. Chicago spends on municipal activities over $180,000,000 a year. Two parties nearly equal in supposed strength contend for the authority that will control municipal spending during the coming administrative term. As the city contains a large population of recently arrived colored folk the race issue has come up. It has been cultivated by the Republican candidate, who has made special efforts to arouse the colored voters with specious appeals.

The [illegible] grave a risk a municipality runs when its politics sink to the level of crass office-hunting. Politics at that level must necessarily make its appeal to the worst elements and must wage electoral campaigns that resemble little civil wars and would still more closely resemble them if State authority allowed. New York sometimes doubts its own political virtue but the sight of what happens occasionally in other cities should help restore it to the stimulating belief that something has been accomplished here toward establishing real politics real consideration of public concerns honest effort toward the public good after all.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

APR 5 1927

TURBULENT CHICAGO.

At first glance the turbulence and bitterness attending the campaign in Chicago for the election of a Mayor, concluding with today's election, seems to have no issue to explain, not to say warrant it. Candidate Thompson's attacks on the King of England can hardly be taken as fight-

MAYOR THOMPSON'S VICTORY

Judging from the returns in the mayoralty contest staged in the city of Chicago on Tuesday, there was a tremendeously larger number of voters belonging to other races than Negroes who favored William Hale Thompson for mayor. The same old worn out argument was advanced by the opponents of Mayor Thompson when reference was made to the fact that he was the "niggers' candidate." This was done purely from a prejudicial standpoint, but thanks to the thinking element of that big city, such an unfair thrust proved nil.

It was further charged that Mayor Thompson, who won the race over two strong opponents, was against law enforcement and favored a wide open city. Certain writers gave such an attitude of his as the reason for the almost united support of the Negroes of Chicago. Certainly such was not the cause for the race's support, even if there was a scintilla of truth in the charge that Thompson favored the lawless element. The facts in connection with the Chicago mayor's race are similar to those in other sections where it is charged that Negroes support the candidates who favor lawlessness. It seems almost impossible for these puritanical, hypocritical, Pharisaical, would-be rulers, who seek office at the hands of the people, to carry along with their advocacy of law enforcement, a fair and impartial attitude, free from prejudice toward the Negro race. Then if candidates are in the race who are opposing such an element, in nine cases out of ten, the Negro is accorded the consideration due him as a citizen by such candidates, and if there are two evils, the Negro chooses the lesser of the two.

The efforts to intimidate, even on the part of newspapers outside of Chicago, was very much in evidence during the closing days of the campaign, but the votes of Tuesday show that the Negro as well as all other citizens walked to the polls in a fearless manner, and exercised their franchise intelligently.

LARGE VOTE PILES UP FOR THOMPSON

2nd, 3rd And 4th Ward Vote Swings Tide In Neck-And-Neck Election

Smashing through to victory by the ratio of 13 to 1 in the 2nd Ward 8 to 1 in the 3rd Ward and 3 to 1 in the 4th Ward, William Hale Thompson was elected Mayor of Chicago by the decisive majority of 83,072 out of 933,617 votes cast. Patrick S. Smith and Charles S. Peterson, running mates of Mr. Thompson for City Clerk and City Treasurer, respectively, were also elected by comfortable majorities.

South Side Turns Tide

As the first returns began to trickle through William E. Dever, Democratic candidate to succeed himself, jumped into the lead with a majority of 840 and maintained that lead for more than an hour at one time attaining his "peak" majority of 5,500 votes.

The tide swung however as returns from the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Wards came in at a rate varying from 3 to 1 to 13 to 1 for Thompson—the heaviest vote for the former mayor being cast in the 2nd Ward. And when 100 precincts were in, Thompson jumped into the lead with a 800 majority that increased steadily until he reached his "peak" majority 83,072.

Crowd Cheers Whip's Returns

Pedestrian traffic at 31st and State streets was paralyzed by the crowd that gathered around the election bulletin of The Chicago Whip to cheer Thompson on to victory. Even after election extras of the dailies had conceded the election to Thompson, the crowd still remained to get actual figures on the total vote cast.

When final returns was tabulated it was found that the total vote for Thompson — 512,740 — was 31,865 more than the combined votes of Dever and Robertson. Dever polled 429,668 votes and Dr. John Dill Robertson, Negro scandal, 51,209. The total vote—993,617—was the largest ever polled in Chicago. It was 86.98 per cent of the registration.

South Side Plurality

The 2nd, 3rd and 4th Wards gave Thompson a combined plurality of 59,225 votes divided among the wards as follows: 2nd Ward plurality for Thompson, 22,474; 3rd Ward plurality, 23, 669; 4th Ward plurality, 13,082.

It must be remembered that black voters of the west side, north side and Englewood district went almost solidly for Thompson, and it is believed that the addition of these votes to those of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Wards will exceed the plurality gained by Thompson in the election. Dr. Robertson, who ran a poor third, was given only 406 votes in the 2nd and 407 votes in the 3rd Wards. It was in these districts that Commissioner Edward H. Wright was expected to roll up a large vote for Robertson.

Mayor's Ax to Fall

Although no official statement has yet been issued by Mayor Thompson the following changes are slated according to reliable authorities.

In the police department the following will be ousted as soon as their successors are decided upon: Deputy Superintendents Mathew Zimmer and John Ptacek, Chief of Detectives William H. Schoemaker, Deputy Chief John Stegge. They will be assigned as captains in charge of districts.

Hughes May Be Chief

The twenty or more police captains recently appointed by Chief Collins may suffer demotion to their old rank of lieutenant. At present there are more captains than stations. There are six assigned to the detective bureau.

He said he has not decided who the next chief of police will be, nor who he will appoint to the other cabinet positions.

Michael Hughes, chief of the county highway police and chief of detectives during the last two and a half years of Mr. Thompson's second administration, is most talked of for chief.

The mayor-elect has praised Hughes from the public platform as being "the best thief catcher in the country." He called him: "Go-Get-'Em Hughes."

Maj. Hamlet Ridgeway, assistant to Chief Bailiff Bernard Snow of the Municipal Court and one time chief of the Chicago prohibition headquarters, is also mentioned.

Capt. Martin Mullen of Desplaines street station and Capt. Michael Lee of Englewood may be appointed deputy superintendents. Lieut. Michael Grady, brother of State Representative Thomas O'Grady, is being considered for an important post in the detective bureau.

Carroll Faces Discharge

Capt. Dennis A. Carroll of the Cottage Grove avenue station, who led the raids which resulted in the arrest of 1,000 voters three weeks ago, will face ouster from his job if he is unable to prove that he acted without malicious intent.

Michael J. Flaherty will again be president of the Board of Local Improvements if he will accept the appointment. He built the Michigan link bridge and the mayor-elect regards him as being a capable and efficient official.

Former Municipal Court Judge Bernard Barasa will win a high place in the city law department. He is being boosted for corporation counsel. Homer K. Galpin, chairman of the Republican executive committee also is being considered. Mr. Galpin, however, said he is more interested at present in protecting the party harmony which was brought about by Mr. Thompson after quarter of a century of factional differences.

Coffey New Health Head

Dr. William H. Reid, commissioner of public service under the former mayor's two administrations, may be appointed comptroller or commissioner of public works. Dr. William Coffey, former superintendent of the Chicago Hospital for the Insane, is slated for the post of Health commissioner. Albert Bloom was suggested for an important place in one of the departments.

THE THOMPSON VICTORY.

The election of William Hale Thompson, typical republican "boss," and alleged advocate of a wide-open city, as mayor of Chicago for the third time, defeating William E. Dever, democrat, for re-election, can be traced to two outstanding factors.

First is "Volsteadism as it is enforced."

Mayor Dever is a consistent advocate of the prohibition laws, and did everything in his power to enforce them. He closed more than 100,000 saloons that were alleged to have been operating openly when he took office.

He could not enforce the laws, and bootlegging continued as one of the main contraband industries. It was notorious that Chicago remained one of the wettest of the wet cities of America. It was not the mayor's fault, nor the fault of his police commission, for Chicago never had a better mayor, certainly since Carter Harrison, nor one who showed more constructive ability, or more sincerity of purpose in removing the crime stigma from the city.

The Thompson victory merely illustrates that Chicago is wet, and will always remain wet—and that the great majority of her citizens rebel at sumptuary laws. The fact is many democratic leaders supported Thompson in that one issue. They openly said so.

The second factor that entered into the Thompson victory is the enormous negro vote in that city—the largest in proportion to population of that of any city in America.

During both of Thompson's former administrations negroes, not only from the south, but from New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis and other cities with large negro populations, flocked to Chicago by the thousands. The south side of that city was practically turned over to them. and during elections they register and vote in far greater ratio than the whites.

In the hectic campaign that has just closed—the most colorful, and in many respects the most disgraceful in that city's history—Thompson capitalized the negro vote by adopting as his slogan "Chicago for Americans." That is to say, an avowed advocacy of replacing the alien labor element by negro labor. Few of the aliens vote—few in a great city like Chicago are even naturalized. Politically, he had the winning side of the argument. It was reflected in the final count.

In the light of his past record, and of his notorious record as a "rule or ruin" boss of the arbitrary, rough-shod, and—as alleged—unscrupulous type, it is unfortunate that Thompson has won.

It serves to impress a lesson, however, that must be reckoned with in future political campaigns everywhere, unless something in the meantime is constructively accomplished in replacing political fanaticism with reason and common sense.

Political—1927

Elections.

Illinois.

NEGROES SUPPORT THOMPSON FOR MAYOR OF CHICAG

The victory of William Hale Thompson in the mayoralty primary in th City of Chicago has its lesson to close observers of the Negro in politic There is one outstanding evidence that the Negro is faithful to those wh serve him well and that he neither forgets nor forsakes his friends.

It seems to have become necessary for the political captains to divide i choosing a candidate for the support of the Negro vote, State Commissione Wright being on the one side and Oscar De Priest on the other. Mr. Wright of course, represented a new and untried candidate while De Priest repre sented Mr. Thompson. The Negro weeklies of the city also took differen sides of the contest, the Defender going in for the new and the Whip, stand ing by the old friend of years standing. The victory for Thompson proves a number of things worthy of remark. It was clear to all that the record of Thompson as mayor was full of deeds and such as had not been accomplishe before or since to benefit the Negro voters. Perhaps, the Defender an Wright conceded that but felt that they had other interests to serve i opposing their former friend and benefactor. The victory of Mr. Thompso evidences that the Negro voter is true to the principles of the party as we as to his political friends, and will not be turned away from them even b forceful influences in their own ranks. Perhaps, Commissioner Wright, th Defender and others, had a debt to pay and did pay it with their service but not at the expense of putting aside true and tried political friends of th group who had been otherwise constructive builders of a great city. W congratulate the Chicago Whip on maintaining the balance against th influence of its contemporaries, and hope there will be room on the ban wagon for everybody when the regular election pageant marches to anothe great victory for that progressive city. In most places, the Negro vote sees so little to be gained, by supporting this candidate or that, that he often wrongfully accused of voting with his eyes closed. But this accusatio will not lie where voters are in blocs sufficiently large to demand conside tion.

NEW YORK
TELEGRAPH

The Chicago Election.

THE election of William Hale Thompson as Mayor of Chicago was not a victory for the Republican party, nor was it a victory for the better element of the Illinois metropolis. It was a victory for the bandits and the lawless element. Gang rule may continue in the already sadly abused municipality on Lake Michigan.

Thompson's declaration that he would rid Chicago of its English yoke, a purely political stunt, brought to his forces the unanimous support of the German voters and the propaganda that he spread in Chicago's black belt captured the almost solid ballot of the huge Negro residents, and, coupled with the anti-Dever sentiment, which can always be counted on when an official seeks re-election, enabled Thompson to capture the Mayorality without exertion.

"Bill" Thompson served two terms as the head of Chicago's government prior to the Dever administration. He was not a huge success. He was a spectacular executive. He first came into prominence shortly after he was elected Mayor for his initial term, by locking the door of a committee room and telling the officials of the Chicago transit lines that, unless they settled the street car strike amicably, then and there, none of them would get out of the room.

Dever's administration, despite the unfortunate record for lawlessness which has characterized the city's everyday life in recent months, was acceptable to the citizenry. He has attempted to remedy conditions, but some of the official's agencies are apparently so well entrenched with factions which have no regard for legal authority, that remedial results have been slow materializing. It is to be hoped that the Mayor-elect will seek to better conditions in the Windy City and give the people the protection and peace of mind they so justly deserve.

WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON IS SWEPT INTO MAYOR'S OFFICE; BREAKS DOWN COLOR LINE

Chicago's hottest mayoralty campaign came to a whirlwind close late Tuesday night when William Hale Thompson, regular Republican candidate, supported by The Chicago Defender was swept into office by a total of 512,740 votes, defeating his Democratic rival, William E. Dever, by a plurality of 83,072 "Big Bill's" smashing victory in the face of the bitterest opposition in the city's history also carried into office two other Defender Republican candidates for city treasurer and city clerk, Charles S. Peterson and Patrick Sheridan Smith.

Wins Single-Handed

Thompson vanquished the powerful opposition almost single handed, carrying 28 of the 50 wards in the city. The entire Second, Third and Fourth wards, largely inhabited by members of our Race, threw their strength to Thompson and gave him 59,215 of his 83,072 plurality. The three wards gave "Big Bill" 71,424 votes and Dever 12,209.

Dr. John Dill Robertson, independent candidate, backed by Fred Lundin and suported by Edward H. Wright, former Second ward committeeman and member of the Illinois commerce commission, ran a poor third. He polled only 51,209 votes, giving Thompson a clear majority of 31,863 over all oponents on complete returns. One thousand two hundred and eighty-four votes was all Robertson was able to get from voters in the Second, Third and Fourth wards.

Voting Sets Record

Tuesday's voting set a new record for Chicago; 993,617 votes were cast, against 716,693 in 1923 when Dever was elected.

From the opening of the polls at 6 a. m. throughout the day, voters poured out, assuring within three hours' time a record vote. In all

BROOKLYN
STANDARD UNIO

APR 4 1927

Chicago Gets Ready.

Talk of race riots, talk of machine-gun patrols and talk of the King of England fill the air in Chicago. To-morrow is election day and either Mayor Dever will be chosen again or ex-Mayor Thompson will supplant him.

It would require time to go into the reasons why this has anything to do with the declaring of a race war or the oiling up of automatic repeaters or George the Fifth. It has, in a variety of peculiar Chicago ways. Nor is that the only strange feature of the canvass. Dever, a Democrat, has a large Republican committee working for him, and Thompson, a Republican, has no newspaper support except that of the two Hearst Democratic organs. Thompson is proclaiming his wetness, but his closest ally is the same Colonel Smith who has recently been hammering on the portals of the United States Senate after carrying the State in dry opposition to Boss Brennan.

Chicago municipal politics is a beautifully mixed affair. It is taken with a great deal of seriousness, and fear of disorder to-morrow is real. Some Chicagoans seem to be of the opinion that under Dever the city has been both prosperous and comparatively safe. But although Dever is of undenied Irish extraction, Thompson cries loudly that only with his defeat can King George be thrown out of Chicago.

It looks like an even money con-

CHICAGO NEGROES ELECT THOMPSON AS CITY'S MAYOR

Balance of Power Held By Colored Voters Wins For Republican

Chicago, Ill.—Through the almost unanimous support of Negro voters, William Hale Thompson Republican, was elected mayor for the third time on Tuesday after one of the bitterest municipal campaigns waged in years. Thompson defeated the present mayor, William E. Dever, by 60,00, almost the exact vote of the Negro vote.

Every eligible voter was gotten out to the polls on Tuesday. Cripples and old people were brought to the polls in wheel chairs and automobiles. The total vote was the largest ever polled here in an "off" year. It was within a few thousand of a million votes.

Because of the presence of the race and religious issues in the campaign, violence was feared and several thousand members of the State Militia, armed with machine guns and rifles, assisted the police in maintaining order. However, there were no serious outbreaks and the police say the election was the most orderly Chicago has had in 17 years.

CHICAGO NAMES TWO ALDERMEN

CHICAGO, (By Telegram)—Aldermanic contests in furious election yesterday, reelected Alderman Louis B. Anderson in the second ward, by a majority over his three opponents, Attorney A. L. Williams, Harvey Watkins, and Charles Travis.

Alderman Robert R. Jackson third ward, defended his seat from former Representative William E. King, by 3,818 majority.

In the fourth ward Alderman Berthold Crowe, sponsored by Samuel Mitchelson and Daniel J. Schuyler, defeated three colored candidates, Dr. Prince, Virgil Cooke and S. W. Springer.

Thompson, for mayor, won the Republican nomination carrying the colored wards by about seven to one over Lithgow Senator Deneen candidate.

NEW YORK EVE. POST
1927

CHICAGO

The election of William Hale Thompson as Mayor of Chicago is little short of a national as well as a local disgrace. It is as if John Faithful Hylan had "come back" in New York, and, by the same token, it is a hint that even that calamity is not impossible.

Thompson invented the technique under which Hylan and Curley of Boston rolled into power and into obstruction of municipal progress. He first stole the patter of the reformers and thundered against "the interests" while using his office almost exclusively for the benefit of himself and his gang. He first used the "blah-blah" chatter on national issues to screen local inefficiency—and worse.

Why has Chicago taken Thompson back after four years of Dever, whom Vice-President Dawes has called "the best Mayor Chicago ever had"?

The reasons are apparently three: Corrupt politics, the negroes and Volsteadism.

Republican politics in Chicago and Illinois has been a maze of corrupt factionalism for twenty-five years. Governor Lowden, Alderman Merriam and the late Senator McCormick are almost the only figures worthy of respect that have made brief appearances in power. Senator Deneen, once the fighting hope of decent Republicanism, has sunk lower and lower till he was found yesterday supporting the ineffable Thompson. The trading of selfish factions has deprived the city and State of leadership and shut the door to any emergence from corruption.

The negro majority of 55,000 votes, had it gone to Dever instead of to Thompson, would have turned the election. The negroes were brought to Chicago during the war, were welcomed by Thompson, were given the organized vice privileges and are bound to Thompson, body and soul. Chicago, like Indianapolis and other Northern cities, is learning what negro control means and why the South has kept these voters from the ballot box. May the day never come when Harlem runs New York.

Volsteadism was the third heavy price paid by Chicago. Mayor Dever tried the impossible task of making his great cosmopolitan city dry. He did it as a conscientious matter of law enforcement. Thompson promised a "wide open" town. Dever went down as one more sacrifice to the unreason of our present prohibition situation.

Thompson, who denounced King George V of England because of alleged pro-Britticism in schoolbooks chosen by his own Board of Education; Thompson, who is proclaiming his own 100 per cent Americanism, after refusing to permit Liberty bonds to be sold in the City Hall; Thompson, who is asserting his roaring wetness, after signing the Anti-Saloon League platform and working for its nominees—this Thompson is the new Mayor of Chicago.

In admitting the disgrace which this fatuous and destructive performance undoubtedly is, we should not condemn too patronizingly the people of Chicago. After all, the decent voters made a fine fight, turned out at the polls and cut Thompson's majority 50,000 below the expected total. The trouble is not with the men and women of the Mid-Western metropolis; it lies directly at the door of prohibition and corrupt Republican politics.

Facing Truth In The South

The Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL discussing the recent Chicago election, and deprecating the extent to which the race group was responsible for the election of "Big Bill" Thompson as mayor of the third largest city in this country, declares "there can be no complete political equality until social equality is also established."

People," says this paper, "will not accept as their officials those whom they do not accept whole heartedly on terms of intimate equality and association in the daily affairs of life."

Thus far the COMMERCIAL APPEAL reasons soundly and perhaps courageously faces a truth that must be faced by American thot and opinion as the years pass.

But following this, it declares "that social equality cannot be established until all racial lines are destroyed by inter-marriage and that racial inter-marriage is absolutely unthinkable down here and to a large extent in all other sections of the country." Having laid down this solemn premise, the COMMERCIAL APPEAL then reiterates its stand for absolute equality for the Negro in opportunities for self improvement, business affairs and before the courts.

This represents the typical philosophy of white men, boldly in the South, and at least passively throughout the whole country. It also represents the spoken philosophy of many race leaders.

This ultimatum, supported to a large extent by public opinion, tells colored youth that they must accept political disfranchisement; that they cannot hope to hold office, share in free American government, BECAUSE WHITE AMERICANS CAN NEVER ACCEPT THEIR ASSOCIATION IN THE EVERY DAY AFFAIRS OF LIFE.

The same principal bars them from merited places in commerce and industry and an honest meeting of this issue by both liberal whites and colored will be the first step in the solution of the problem. If the white world frankly says that we must forever accept the crumbs of civilization along with disfranchisement, segregation and oppression, HOW SHALL WE ANSWER THEM?

The Negro could well and willingly get along without social intermingling, IF HE COULD GET ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN ALL OTHER AFFAIRS. But here is the truth frankly expressed. It CAN'T BE DONE.

A New Political Era In The Making

The election of William Hale Thompson in Chicago, the emphasis given the fight for religious tolerance as expressed in the boosting of Governor Smith of New York for the presidency, and the growing tendency of Negroes themselves to divide on political questions are certainly straws showing the wind is blowing towards liberalism.

When intolerance, ku kluxism and bigotry commences to pinch the white man's toe, he is compelled to help destroy them and you cannot fully destroy one kind of tolerance without giving some attention to other kinds.

William Curran, Democratic nominee for mayor of Baltimore, speaking to a group here last week, emphasized this when he made an appeal to race voters. Mr. Curran is a catholic and is up against the religious prejudice which has operated to keep many a good man out of office.

The principle of all prejudice and proscription is the same. It is all blind, cruel and without reason. The religious intolerance which may keep the Democrats out of the White House next year is the same kind which has kept the Negro from enjoying citizenship to the full in this country for the last fifty years

Chicago Defender
NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAR 26 1927

RACE EXPLOITATION.

A few days ago I read in your paper a series of interviews with prominent Negro bankers and clergymen. They sought to explain why we favor Mr. Thompson for mayor. Well, most of us do but not all of us. Some of us look upon politics from the standpoint of citizens, not of Negroes. We do not want to be exploited politically.

No doubt Chicago is as good a place as any large city for the Negro race, but many of them would be better off in the south, where work for them is plentiful and of a more healthful kind than city employment. Furthermore, if Negroes are encouraged to come here in large numbers it will be impossible to fit them into the industrial system all at once. The result will be unemployment, suffering and crime. The encouragement already given to the Negro through the present political campaign has caused thousands to start for Chicago. If it keeps on there will be a shortage of labor in the south and a surplus in Chicago.

The Negroes of standing in Chicago should frown on any attempt to use the race for political purposes. If the Negro is to progress he must be encouraged to act as a citizen of the country with an interest common to all other citizens and not as a racial group acting as though his interests were diverse. He needs the help of teachers and preachers, not the exploitation of political demagogues.

Chicago. J. S.

REPLIES TO SLUR ON RACE

N.A.A.C.P. Secretary Writes Letter To Evening Post

ON CHICAGO ELECTION

Special to Journal and Guide

New York, April 20—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has replied to an editorial slur cast upon Negroes in the recent Chicago election and a letter by James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. was published in the New York Evening Post for Wednesday April 13. The N. A. A. C. P. letter was written in reply to a lengthy editorial in which the following paragraph occurs:

"The Negro majority of 55,000 votes had it gone to Dever instead of to Thompson ,would have turned the election. The Negroes were brought to Chicago during the war, were welcomed by Thompson, were given the organized vice privileges and are bound to Thompson, body and soul Chicago, like Indianapolis and other Northern cities is learning what Negro control means and why the South has kept these voters from the ballot box. May the day never come when Harlem runs New York."

To this the N. A. A. C. P. replied as follows.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir—Permit me a remonstrance on certain statements in your editorial of April 6, on the Chicago election. You attribute Thompson's victory to the Negro vote, more than intimating that that vote went to Thompson because the Negroes were given the organized vice privileges," then go on to justify the South in its treatment of the Negro.

This is unworthy of the tradition of the Evening Post as well as questionable in its presentation of fact. Granted that 55,000 Negroes did vote for Thompson, are they any more reprehensible than any of the 450,000 whites who did the same thing? Is it not true that raids in the colored section just before election, with the arrest and detention of some 1,000 colored people, resulted in just two being detained by the magistrates? And would not such action provoke the resentment of any group of citizen no matter what color? Is it not true, furthermore, that Mayor Dever ignored the colored citizens in the matter of appointments to office and in other ways?

I am neither justifying nor condemning the election of Thompson, but your attribution of his election to wicked colored people repaying their benefactor for indulging them in vice is simply grotesque. If the Negroes "were brought to Chicago during the war," as you intimate, it was to do the work needed while this country was at war and European immigration was temporarily stopped; and if Mayor Thompson "welcomed" them, that is surely not to his discredit, and it is surely not calculated to make the people he welcomed vote against him.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

Political 1929 Illinois.

Elections.

EDW. H. WRIGHT CONSIDERS RACE AGAINST MANN

Edward H. Wright, colored member of the Illinois commerce commission, last night clarified reports concerning his possible candidacy for congressman in the first district, to oppose the reëection fo Congressman Martin B. Madden, who has served the district for 22 years.

"Many friends of my have sought to induce me to be a candidate," Wright said. "I told them I was not a candidate for any office, but that if a majority of the voters of the district indicated in some manner that they desired me to run, I would consider the matter."

Among the supporters of a Wright candidacy are the Chicago Progressive club, the Crispus Attucks league, and the American Negro Protective club. They are seeking pledge cards from voters.

For many years the district has been overwhelmingly a Negro district and Congressman Madden has been returned to his post without opposition chiefly through the influence of party leaders, who recognized his remarkable record in congress.

Political - 1927

Illinois.

Elections.

CHICAGO—THOMPSON'S ELECTION—CHICAGO

There has been much ado about the election of "Big Bill" Thompson to the mayoralty of Chicago April 5, 1927. The argument has been pro and con, and the denunciation of the man unfair and particularly acrimonious and bitter in the South. The New York Evening Post and the Norfolk Virgianian-Pilot have been vicious in their onslaught against the Mayor.

The enemies of popular government seem to forget that our government in form is republic, and the people are free to select or choose their representatives without regard to interference from outside sources. The people themselves are the sole judges of the election and qualifications of their chosen representatives, and from their decisions under the genius of our law, there is no appeal from their judgment at the ballot box on election day; except back to the people who recorded the decree in the ballot box.

And in consequence of the people of Chicago's inalienable right to act for themselves, who, outside of Chicago has got anything to do with whom the people of Chicago elect as their Mayor? It matters not whether Chicago elects "Bill" Thompson, Ed Wright or "Bill" Dever Mayor, it is an inside question, and everybody outside who questions the act is a meddler.

Chicago knew both "Bill" Thompson and "Bill" Dever; she had tried them both in the office of Mayor; and in the exercise of her sovereign right, she elected the one to her liking, and who stood for the best interest of the municipality as their proven record disclosed their worth and progressiveness, in deed and public services. She has acted, and whose business is it? If she is satisfied who has a right to be dissatisfied? Those who are dissatisfied, what can they do?

Mr. Thompson is just as good as the people who elected him, and the people defeated Mayor Dever because they felt that Mr. Thompson was the better man of the two. They knew Mr. Dever's administration had proven a dismal failure, and in the last years of a discredited administration, staring defeat in the face, he resorted to methods un-American. Mr. Thompson was not elected to serve the people of New York, Virginia, of the South, but the people of Chicago. They had had eight years of him and four years of Dever and in the light of Dever's record they have promised Thompson four more years of opportunity to serve them faithfully, as he did prior to Dever's election.

In the primary February 22 1927, Mr. Thompson received a clear majority of 16,000 over the combined field of Democrats, opposing Republicans and independent Republicans; and a plurality of 180,000 over Litsinger, his Republican opponent in the primary. In the election April 5 he received a majority of 31,000 votes over the Independent Republicans and Dever, his Democratic opponent. He accomplished this great feat with every big daily of Chicago against him, with which was allied money, power and great wealth. He confronted a split in his party promoted by the Governor and Edward H. Wright, the undisputed leader of 200,000 Negro voters in Illinois, but the people forgot party lines, repudiated leadership, and selected Mr. Thompson, Mayor, for the next four years.

Everything outsiders are saying against Mr. Thompson was said by his political foes during the primary and election campaigns, but with all this knowledge before them, the people gave him a plurality of approximately 83,000 over the field.

In confirmation of what the people think of their Mayor one hundred and sixty of the best and biggest business men in Chicago have associated themselves together under his leadership, as a testimony of their faith in the integrity of the man, for the purpose of helping to make Chicago the first city of the world in the next decade. So let the fice bark on the outside of the fence, while Chicago marches to the first rank among the cities of the world, under the leadership of Mayor William Hale Thompson, and associates, and let others rage and imagine vain things, while "Big Bill" recognizes the principle that the right to vote necessarily carries with it the right to be voted for, and to hold office. The appointment of Bishop Archibald J. Carey, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Chicago, is the highest evidence of the fairness and statesmanship of his great man.

HUYNE BLAMES THOMPSON FOR OLD RACE RIOTS

Backs Platform Statement of Raymond Robins.

BY PARKE BROWN.

Maclay Hoyne, state's attorney at that time, charged William Hale Thompson yeste rday with full responsibility for the race riots in Chicago in 1919.

In response to charges from Thompson leaders that the Democrats had raised the color line issue in this campaign, Raymond Robins reminded a large audience recently that the only serious racial disturbances the city ever had seen occurred during Thompson's administration, and that his own utterances this spring raised the question of what might occur if he were elected on April 5.

Hoyne Blames Thompson.

As a supplement to this utterance, Dever headquarters now has made public a telegraphic statement from Mr. Hoyne, who is now in Washington representing the sanitary district. In it the former prosecutor charged that Mr. Thompson not only was ressponsible for the outbreaks, but also for failure to end them promptly.

"The policy of the Thompson administration in dealing with the black belt," the Hoyne statement read, "was at the bottom of the trouble. Under his numerous police chiefs, the policy had been to create a segregated vice district there.

"The overlords of the district were the black gamblers and the black and tan resort owners. The police were given thoroughly to understand that there was to be no interference with the district, except upon orders from the mayor or his political lieutenants.

Cites Previous Difficulties.

"When I suggested to the mayor that the condition in the black belt was rotten, Thompson, in his usual way, wanted every one to believe that in making the charge I was animated by hostility toward the Negroes. As a matter of fact, I started my investigation at the reqeust of Negro citizens. I still have a request signed by 104 men and women asking me to make the investigation.

"It was while these conditions prevailed that trouble started at a south side bathing beach. It would have been stopped immediately, except for the rottenness and inefficiency of the police department. The policemen in the district had been given orders to favor the blacks and didn't dare to act against them.

Calls Police Ineffective.

"Their [the police] sympathies were with the whites but they did not act against them. The bad men from the black belt saw an opportunity of spreading trouble and they began riding around the city shooting at persons indiscriminately. The police department, practically leaderless, and perplexed by its fear of offending the mayor did nothing."

The statement went on to say that Mr. Hoyne found Mr. Thompson "hidden in a cottage, owned by Fred Lundin, at Fox lake. He had hurriedly summoned the mayor to his side to keep him out of trouble."

"Meantime in Chicago," it continued, "the police department, rendered inefficinet by graft, made only the gesture of attempting to interfere with the rioters. There were instances in which policemen stood by while men were killed and some in which they lent their pistols to the rioters.

"The National Guard of the state had been waiting orders in its armories for two days but the Thompson administration hesitated about asking for aid. It was not until public spirited men of the community threatened him with removal that he finally consented that the troops undertake the task his police department had failed to perform.

"Chicago still is paying the bills for this one experience with Thompson. Claims of more than $3,000,000 were filed against the city and there was no adequate defense against them as the city plainly had failed to do its duty to its citizens in protecting life and property.

"More than $500,000 has already been paid out."

Pits Dawes Against Thompson.

Former Mayor Thompson's denunciation of Mayor Dever as "a liar," "a damn liar," and as "the worst mayor Chicago has ever had" were answered last night by Probate Judge Henry Horner with quotations from Vice President Dawes and Brig. Gen. Abel Davis, both prominent Republicans.

"Speaking on July 22, 1926, before a national convention of police chiefs," Judge Horner said, "Brig. Gen. Dawes described Mayor Dever as 'one of the best mayors this or any other city has ever had—an official of such cleanliness of character and purpose as to have stilled even the tongue of slander."

EDWARD MORRIS MAY SEEK WINDY CITY JUDGESHIP

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Chicago, Ill.—Edward H. Morris, head of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, and prominent lawyer of this city, may be named upon an independent judicial ticket for the circuit court bench which is to be filed Saturday. The democrats and republicans in order to avoid having a contest in the judicial elections have gotten together and agreed upon a coalition ticket, part democratic and part republican, which would mean the re-election of most of the present judges. Two groups, one headed by the lawyers' association, and the other by three of the sitting judges who were not included in the slate, are opposing this plan and will, it is said, put separate tickets into the field. The latter proposed the name of Mr. Morris. It is known that Mr. Morris has as his greatest ambition in life the desire to sit as a judge. Wealthy and practically retired, he returned to active public life four years ago when he was nominated as one of the coalition candidates for the circuit court. He ran last, however, and was defeated. It is not known whether he will stand on party regularity or make another effort to gain the coveted honor.

OPEN TOWN

A general and universal interest has been shown in the famed and vaunted "black belt" since there has been a change in the administration of the city of Chicago. People who are morbidly and intelligently curious, want to know if there has been a letting up in the moral modes and manners of the community and whether or not officials of the law are winking their eyes at infractions. People want to know if the town has been opened up. Literally speaking "open town" means unrestrained gambling privileges, unmolested infractions of the anti-liquor law and protected prostitution. No such thing exists in our district and the better elements do not desire nor will they condone any such depravity.

Since Chicago elected a new mayor, there has been no unlawful entry of police officers in our homes, there has been no herding of black people in the various police stations, there have been no threats or intimidations. We are still buying churches, looking for jobs, seeking to eke out the morbid existences and have been able to so do with a far less mental tension. We are happier in mind because we feel that in civic matters we will get a square deal but Chicago's southside has not been converted into a modern Sodom and Gommorra. The people have just as much difficulty in paying their house rents and in solving the common ordinary problems of life. In conclusion the new administration has made the city of Chicago just a little better place to live. The "black belt" is jubilant over the proposed waterway to the gulf of Mexico believing that it will give the district greater prosperity. They believe that the new administration is going to make the city boom and this new hopefulness is about the only new thing that we can see out "where the south begins."

OTHER PAPERS SAY

THE SOUTH'S PROBLEM

[Asheville Citizen]

Here is politics, and execrable politics at that, masquerading as statesmanship. It is the threat of the northern senators to investigate the southern states voting qualifications as they affect the Negro, if the southern senators persist in opposing the seating of Mr. Vare of Pennsylvania and Mr. Smith of Illinois.

This business of frightening and coercing the South into undesirable action on her elections laws has been tried before, and it has yet to get anywhere, but will get anywhere. The South's voting qualifications are the South's own business. They represent the South's solution of a problem peculiar to herself. It is a solution with which the South is satisfied and under which southerners have carried their homeland from the slough of a terrible despond to the heights of brilliant achievement.

The outsider who believes that he can offer a better solution is misguided by an abysmal ignorance or inspired by a colossal egotism. But, as a matter of fact, the senators back of this threat are not interested in the solution of a problem which the South has already solved. They have attempted to use the threat as a club to beat the opponents of Vare and Smith.

When the southern senators announced that the move would have not the faintest influence upon their attitude toward the men from Illinois and Pennsylvania, they had the unanimous indorsement of the southerners who elected them.

The voting qualifications of the southern states are unassailable. They will not be affected by the senatorial threat. Nor are they in any way germane to the Vare-Smith fight. The South takes care of her own problems and her own people. It is a habit of the South

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

MAY 11 1927

'ORGIES' CHARGED CHICAGO NEGROES

Lid Is Clamped On 'Black Belt' By Police, Following Thompson Success

BY OWEN L. SCOTT

Special Correspondent The Birmingham News.

© 1927, by Consolidated Press Association

CHICAGO, May 11.—Not only do negroes take advantage of the fourteenth amendment and vote in the North, but they do their duty so thoroughly that Chicago politicians right now are doing some tall scrambling to get that support.

The present flare-up over "Cossack tactics" of police, charges of terrorism among the colored folks, intimations of incipient race riots and violence, along with stories of vice dens and crime, is but a reflection of the serious problem, politically and otherwise, growing out of the local race question.

Here in one strip through the center of Chicago's Southside, 200,000 negroes are crowded. The voters out of this group, nearly 50,000 of them, are solid for William Hale Thompson. They went 10 to 1 for him in the primary, Feb. 22, and according to Chief of Police Collins, decided to celebrate his election as mayor.

Lid Clamped Down

The chief has clamped down the lid on this district so tight that it hurts. With a new, young and active captain in charge, picked squads of men have been carrying out the chief's order to get charge of the situation in the black belt and to keep control.

It has brought such a howl from politicians as hasn't been heard in a long time, but now the Thompson forces have backed away from the threatened investigation.

If only they had permitted the investigation they started out to make, the revelations of orgies would be such as would "make the people's hair stand on end" to learn of them, the police chief says.

"With the nomination of Thompson for mayor, an orgy of lawlessness was promoted in the colored wards that has never before been approached," according to Collins. He blamed the race riots of 1919 on lax police methods and let it be known that another bloody outbreak among negroes and hoodlums who live on the edge of the black belt, isn't going to develop if it can be helped.

Wholesale Arrests

What some negro politicians claim, is that police last Saturday night swept through the colored district in force, gathered up over 1,000 negroes and threw them into jail without a pretense of authority. Guilty and innocent are charged with having been cooped up in badly overcrowded quarters for 36 hours before they could get aid. Further raids of that kind are looked for, and Chief Collins instead of loosening up, has sent 10 more picked police into the district to add to the already strong force.

The black belt has always been notorious for its gambling and vice dens. Mayor Dever, who gave instructions to Chief Collins, to get control of the situation in the negro wards, says that ever since he has been mayor that district has afforded the most serious problem of law enforcement. He says that law-abiding colored people have asked him to take a firm stand against the small but powerful criminal element.

If Thompson should win the election April 5, with these 5,000 colored votes, then things may loosen up, but the negro wards are keeping step right at present.

Political—1927
Elections.

Kentucky.

White Candidate Goes To Court In Burning Desire To Represent Negroes

Technical Error Disqualifies Colored Man

Attorney Hall Makes Masterly Appeal

The spectacle of a white man trying frantically to represent a district of Negroes and to keep one of their own race from representing them was presented in Judge Edward's Court, Monday, when Charles W. Ryans fought to keep Lee L. Brown's name off the ballot in the primary election, August 6.



LEE L. BROWN
Who May Run As An Independent

The district mentioned extends from Tenth to Fourteenth streets, and from the river South. It is 95 per cent. Colored. Heretofore it has been known as the 50th Legislative District. Mr. Brown, who lives at 1012 W. Chestnut street, in this district, was prevailed upon to be a candidate, as many people felt a Colored man ought to represent the district. Mr. Brown hesitated, waiting to see if any other Colored man would enter the race. Two days before the final day for filing, Mr. Brown filed his papers. He fulfilled and met all the requirements, but in his papers referred to the district as the "50th." Learning that the district had been re-named, he went before the county clerk and county Judge and asked them to correct his papers to read "58th" district. This they did as they figured the error was a mere technicality.

Charles W. Ryans, white candidate, learned of this ,and being desperate in his desire to serve a Negro district, brought suit against Mr. Brown and the county clerk to name on the ballot. Judge Edwards after two days study of the question, decided Brown's name could not go on the ballot. In a brief opinion, he concluded speaking of Brown: "When he applied for candidacy in the 5th district, we cannot assume he intended the 58th anymore than one of the other districts"

Attorney Charles S. Hall represented Mr. Brown in the suit while the County Attorney represented the County Clerk. The County Attorney argued Brown's name should go on the ballot, as the law did not say a candidate had to name the district and that the fact he had his proper precinct and address was evidence enough he wanted to represent the district in which he lived.

Attorney Hall made a masterly and logical address appealing to the Court not to take away a fundamental right of a citizen to run for office because of a mere technicality He pointed out that Ryan's Counsel made an error in the suit he filed speaking of the " primary, August 7" and later he found his mistake and filed another suit stating "Primary, August 6.". The courtroom laughed when Mr. Hall made this point. Mr. Hall contended Mr. Brown had fulfilled all the requirements of the law, had met every qualification and surely the court would not bar him because of a clerical error.

He closed with: "We respectfully ask only that his Honor be just, and that we are assured of, and that certainly no one can seek remedy before this Honorable Court which would take from his brother a just right on the grounds of a frivolous technicality, and that the liberty of our people will be upheld and sustained by the courts."



ATTORNEY C. S. HALL
Who Is Willing To Take The Stump Against Ryans.

After Mr. Hall's very logical appeal, many people felt Judge Edwards would give him decision at once in favor of Mr. Brown. But His Honor took the case under advisement for two days finally deciding against Mr. Brown.

How can Ryans properly represent Negroes in the legislature when he is willing and desperate enough to take advantage of a Negro on this kind of technicality? If he was a good sport he would have let that go and fought it out like a man. As it is, his very suit shows he is unfit to represent Colored people.

But he has not won yet. There is another Colored candidate, Dr. R. L. Summers. Dr. Summers announced on the last possible day. It was felt by many he was a catspaw, being used by certain scrub Colored politicians, trying to serve certain lily-white politicians who never think the time is ripe for a Negro to want anything but a crap game or joint. If Dr. Summers is not a catspaw, if he is in earnest and was not being used to help Ryans and hurt Brown here is his chance. If he means business he can start campaigning at once and beat Ryans. If he does nothing but file his papers and keep quiet, the world will know he meant no good in entering the race at the last minute ,after Brown had filed and seemed to have a good chance. If he means business, the editor of this paper—and others—will work and speak for him. Because the idea is to put a Negro in the Legislature. Who the Negro is, does not matter. A Negro from a Negro district is the cry. If Dr. Summers lies down, Brown will run as an independent and before the November election Negroes will learn a lot about the Ryans—enough to elect a Negro. It Is Hoped.

SEEK TO KEEP NAME OF CANDIDATE OFF BALLOTS

LOUISVILLE, Ky., July 27. — Effort are being made here to prevent the name of a colored candidate for the general assembly from going on the primary ballot.

An affidavit was filed by Charles W. Ryan, white, seeking to keep the name of Lee L. Brown of the primary ballots as a candidate for the Republican nomination for the General Assembly from the Fifty-eighth District. Judge Davis W. Edwards announced he would render a decision in a few days.

The affidavit, also directed against County Clerk C. A. Taylor, alleges that when Brown filed his papers he named the Fiftieth District instead of the Fifty-eighth and later requested Taylor to change the district.

Kentucky Elects Republican Administration; Negro News Office Wrecked By Mob

By Lee L. Brown

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Nov. 17—Louisville, a Southern city, metropolis of Kentucky rich in tradition and proud of its history has been in the throes of one of the most bitter and most important municipal election campaigns ever held in the history of the state.

In this campaign something occurred which was new under the sun "In Kentucky" Negroes made a bitter fight to elect the Democratic ticket, backed by Fighting Bill Warley of the Louisville News. Some of our best known business and professional men identified themselves with the party. Republicans who only a few months ago had been ousted from office on account of court decision made a fight to regain their crown as never before.

At last the test of strength came last Tuesday at the polls when the Republicans rolled up a big majority and swept the democrats out of office. This campaign had been made bitter on account of the wholesale arrest by Police Officers of our group in order to prevent them from voting. On Saturday night before the election our group were locked up on trumped up charges and many of them were hid away until after the election thereby disfranchising many. The Judge of the criminal court learning the intention of the Democratic Police to lock up as many as possible in order to prevent them from voting was shattered when he ordered all released from Workhouse and city jails, it was a triumph for the Republicans.

On the night of the election a group of boys and men wrecked vengeance upon many of those who expressed themselves in favor of the Democratic ticket among them was "Fighting Bill Warley's" office, where the plate glass was shot out. Warley is the editor of the Louisville News and one of the best known editors of the race, known on account of his battles against discrimination, prejudice, Jim Crowism and segregation, yet members of this same race attempted to destroy the very plant that had turned out so many papers in their defense. The leading citizens of both parties and of both races hang their head in shame that this attack should be made upon our group. Police officers were helpless as men and boys running wild through the streets firing revolvers as they went all bent on vengeance. Warley has accepted this bitter pill in silence even though many of the places enjoyed by our group in Louisville were made possible by a similar fight he waged a few years ago under the guise of the Lincoln Party. Warley is by no means discouraged, he still believes that the right will prevail and that in spite of the fact he is now scorned by some that the time will come some day when his own people will rise and call him blessed.

It has taxed the brain of the leading citizens of Louisville to prevent a threatening riot. Many of us who have been engaged in bitter political fights are praying and hoping that this bitterness will finally result in good to all concerned, we firmly believed that ere long these men who have been burned in effigy and whose places of business have been wrecked will be honored and understood. The new Mayor-elect W. B. Harrison who was elected last Tuesday, is the youngest Mayor Louisville has ever had; he promises an administration above criticism. Kentucky has also elected a Republican Governor. The Republican Court officials have arrested many of the police officers among those are the two Race detectives who, it is alleged, used rough tactics in arresting members of our group. The Mayor-elect will be installed on November 23.

Political - 1927
Elections.

Maryland.

EMERSON AND McGUINN WIN IN THE FOURTH

Afro American

Race Councilmen Win With Broening In Big Republican Victory

5-7-27

PARTY KNIFED CURRAN GETS 6400 VOTES IN 4TH

Baltimore Md

Religion And Tax Issues Believed To Have Been Deciding Factors

For the first time in seven years white and colored republicans went down the line and elected a mixed ticket in the Fourth District sending Warner T. McGuinn, Walter S. Emerson and Daniel Ellison, white, to the city council Tuesday.

In a likewise unusual city-wide election William F. Broening, republican candidate for mayor, won over his opponent, William Curran, democrat, by a plurality of 17,376 votes.

Ellison Leads

Although Daniel Ellison led the councilmanic ticket in the Fourth District by 3858 votes, analysis of the precinct vote shows that the colored candidates broke well in several of the white precincts and were never in danger of defeat during the hours in which the returns poured in.

Walter S. Emerson led McGuinn by 184 votes and outdistanced his nearest Democratic opponent, Joseph Grinsfelder, by 1,501.

The first returns to reach headquarters came in about 6:35 from the 35th precinct of the 15th Ward and gave Ellison, 88; Emerson, 85; and McGuinn, 90. From that on the two colored men ran almost neck and neck and kept within striking distance of Ellison until such precincts were reached where the white vote as the 30th and 41st of the 15th seemed to have been divided by the Republican and Democratic candidates.

Walter S. Emerson received his highest vote in the third precinct of the 14th Ward where he was given 238 votes. In this same precinct Ellison received 101 and McGuinn, 144. McGuinn also reached his high water mark in the 14th where in the 8th precinct he polled 218 votes. Here Ellison got 200 and Emerson, 209.

Co-incident with the victory in the Fourth is the general situation which will give the Republicans a working chance in the City Council which will comprise nine Republicans, nine Democrats and a Democratic president. Republican councilmen won out in the Third, Fourth and Fifth Districts.

Broening Wins

William F. Broening carried the Fourth District with a vote of 14,416, as against 6,399, according to unofficial returns with one precinct missing. In the 14th Ward Broening received 2,912 votes while Curran got 1,346. The 17th, with one precinct missing, gave Broening 1,700, and Curran, 378. Analysis of the precinct vote also showed that the voters also favored by good majorities all the loans, the school loan seemingly being the most popular.

Ellison Welcomes Result

In a statement late Tuesday night, Daniel Ellison told the AFRO-AMERICAN that he had stood solidly behind his colored running mates to the extent of his ability and that he welcomed the result which he believed would serve to unite the party in the Fourth.

Mayor-Elect, Broening, Hoarse

In a statement given the AFRO-AMERICAN from his home Wednesday morning, Mr. Broening still in bed and unable to speak above a whisper, said:

"Might is truth and this will prevail. The people have spoken and I am grateful for the splendid vindication that the returns indicate. The Republican party has had a new baptism. It was never more united.

"For the splendid support given me by the voters without regard to party, race or creed, I extend my sincere thanks."

Mr. Broening

Mr. Broening is not only a good campaigner but he had the strong backing of Mr. McGuinn, Harry O. Levin, Roland Marchant, John Philip Hill, and O. E. Weller.

Mr. Curran

Dissension within the Democratic ranks cut into the vote for Mr. Curran. Senator Millard Tydings and Governor Ritchie aided him but followers of Mr. Kelly, the big boss, and Mr. Padgett, were not enthusiastic.

Some democrats were sore because Mayor Jackson was refused renomination by the bosses. They were angry also over the failure of Governor Ritchie to name Judge Tormollan as motor vehicle commissioner.

The fact that Mr. Curran is a Catholic was used against him in some instances and Jewish storekeepers were advised to oppose him because he is counsel and director of the Crook Chain grocery stores.

The legislature's inability to repeal the jim-crow law was the campaign talk to injure Mr. Curran among colored republicans.

ELECTION HELD UP IN TOWN OF FAIRMOUNT HTS.

Injunction Shows Race Community Split Into Two Factions

ELECTION WAS TO TAKE PLACE ON JUNE 19TH

Five Candidates Out For Mayor; Ten Out For City Council

FAIRMOUNT HEIGHTS, MD.—Following a referendum election here in which those who favored the measure of incorporation won by a majority of two votes, an injunction has been issued which may prevent the town election of officers scheduled to take place on July 19.

The little town of Fairmount Heights has divided into two factions one of which opposed and the other favored incorporating the town. At the recent session of the state legislature, an act was passed incorporating the town, but friends of the plan declare that the opposition is seeking to wreck the community if they cannot gain control of the town government.

Gets Injunction

In order to prevent the election they have appealed to the Circuit Court of Prince Georges County and a temporary injunction has been granted Ernest P. Weeks, white. Richard Johnson, George Patterson, Henderson I. Brooks, Phoebe H. Beaner, Mary Fowler, Peter Peyton, Gertrude Simms and Edna Pinkney, preventing Frank Coleman, James F. Armstrong, George W. Steele, Ulysses Mackall and Ernest W. Kirkland from proceeding with the election.

Five Mayoralty Candidates

Five candidates for mayor are being put forward by their friends. They are Frank Coleman, Isaiah Meyers, N. Mackall, Henderson I. Brooks and James A. Campbell.

The councilmanic candidates named so far are: Ward 1, James F. Armstrong; Ward 2, H. Clay, S. J. Trotter, C. W. Jones and R. Pinkney; Ward 3, I. Henry; Ward 4, H. Goodrich; Ward 5, P. J. Atwood; and Ward 6, B. S. Neal. R. S. Nichols seems to have an open field for the office of clerk-treasurer.

Friends of the Armstrong faction declare that E. P. Weeks' wife is leading forces against those who won out in the incorporation fight.

Not Commissioner

Dr. D. L. Washington is and is not the first of our group to be elected commissioner of Bowie, the Maryland town famous chiefly for its race track.

He is because one of his white opponents on the ticket is disqualified for holding office on the ground of his length of residence, ownership of property and time of filing his papers as a candidate.

Afro American

He is not, because Dr. Washington who is the third largest individual property owner in the town, does not care to jeopardize his real estate holdings by contesting the election.

7-9-27

Originally there were but three candidates in the field for commissioner, with the certainty of Dr. Washington's election. A minority group raised the race issue and at the last moment put into the race a fourth candidate, said to have had the backing of the Ku Klux Klan.

There may be some who think the good doctor foolish for not contesting the election. We are inclined to disagree with them.

At his advanced age there are some things more important than holding a town commissionership in a community where civic righteousness is no more highly developed than at Bowie.

Political - 1927

Missouri.

Elections.

JOHN A. DAVIS IN THE LEGISLATURE

Much has been said by some people about Attorney John A Davis' supposed interview, in which the junior Negro member of the legislature, is quoted as saying that he was in favor of an Equal Rights bill in the State of Missouri.

The basis of whatever citicism that has been made is, the wisdom of a young Negro who is a member of the State Legislature favoring such a law, and if he did, was he wise in that he told a newspaper reporter about it.

So far as we can see, there is nothing particularly wrong about it if Mr. Davis does favor an Equal Rights bill. It is he who suffers under present conditions. It is he and his people who feel the sting, yea, the pangs of discrimination, which is the breeding ground for many other ills from which we suffer. Why shouldn't he as a young man; as a lawyer; and as a legislator, want relief. Surely he knows the heart beats of his people; surely he knows the things that are dear to them. Of course, there are those who still say "taint time yet." But Mr. Davis knows that if you take from any people the common rights of citizenship, there is not much left in the eyes of a free people.

We are living in a new age. More is expected of our leaders to-day than was expected of them yesterday. If Mr. Davis feels called upon to initiate a movement in the State that will help secure the full enjoyment of citizenship rights to all the people in the State, what harm has he done? If some colored man doesn't do it, who will?

There is some talk of resentment on the part of his white colleagues. We don't believe that there are any members of the legislature so short-sighted, as to threaten reprisal against colored people of the State, because Mr. Davis had the courage to say in public that he wanted a fair deal for his race.

Mr. Davis is just one man. He has one vote on any measure which reaches the floor of the House, whether he, or some other member is sponsoring it. Therefore, in order to get a bill passed, there must be a majority favoring it in both the House and Senate. And if Mr. Davis is able to show or convince the majority of the members, the equity and justice of his proposition we say, ALL HAIL.

In going to the legislature five years ago, Mr. Moore selected and majored in the subject of education for the race. We all know he got results. He is conservative and a diplomat. We need him in the State law-making body. We also need the spirit of John A. Davis. And while they may differ as to the way to go, yet we feel confident that they both are working toward a common end.

DR. STEWART MEETS NEGRO GROUP AT 'Y'

Prospective Candidate For Governor Tells His Hearers What He Expects to Do If Elected Governor

Committeewomen Refuse To Attend The Meeting

Dr. James Stewart, a prospective Republican candidate for governor, met a group of colored people at the Y. M. .C A. last Monday night and, as he said, gave them a chance to "look him over".

Invitations had been issued a few days before and those in attendance ere presumed to be those invited.

Dr. Stewart as the principal speaker told his hearers some of the things he would do if he were elected governor as well as some of the things he would forbear to do as "far as possible."

In response, some of the speakers seemed to swallow what Dr. Stewart said, "hook, line and sinker" while the more thoughtful ones were pleased to meet and get acquainted with the doctor and made no promises as to their support of his candidacy should he run for governor.

It was noticeable that none of the committee women were there, and it was said that their absence was due to the fact that invitations had been withdrawn from them to attend a meeting in Dr. Stewart's behalf just a week previous at the Coronado Hotel. Robert T. Scotts Committeeman from the Sixth Ward, made a long speech in defense of those who had mistreated the women, and said among other things that he did not believe they received invitations, and that they had no business at the Coronado anyway. Dr. Stewart, in his own behalf said he knew nothing of the affair, except that some of his friends had arranged it, and that he did not know who were invited, and that he was sorry the incident happened.

The invitations to the affair at the "Y" Monday night were unsigned and there was no mark of identity as to who had sent them out. James Hutt and Rev. Lane both said they sent them out, but those who studied the situation a litle are of the belief that Jackson Johnson, Committeeman of the Twenty-third Ward, was backing the affair. He was active in promoting the Coronado Hotel affair, which excluded the colored women after having issued them invitations.

The meeting was presided over by Principal Edward S. Williams, of the Banneker School.

Political-1927

Elections.

New Jersey.

First Colored Girl To Win Place In Office Of Essex County Court

Newark, N. J.—Miss Helen A. Williams, youngest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Carter L. Williams of 56 Miller street, has the distinction of being the first colored girl to be appointed to a position in the Essex County Court House, where she has been named to the clerical staff in office of the County Clerk.

Miss Williams took the civil service examination for typist, passing with a high rating.

Elections.

REPUBLICANS ELECT TWO NEGRO ALDERMEN IN HARLEM DISTRICTS

Moore and Hawkins Win Aldermanic Seats By Good Majorities; Hall Loses To Grenthal In 19th

Tammany Hall was given a deserved rebuke by the Negroes of Harlem on Tuesday when they went to the polls and elected Negro Republican Aldermen in both the 19th and 21st districts, and re-elected Assemblyman Grenthal, Republican of the 19th district, for his fourth consecutive term.

Fred R. Moore editor of The New York Age, was elected Alderman of the 19th district, over Hugh H. Masterson, by a majority of more than 1,200 votes. The vote in this district was Moore, 6,263 and Masterson 5,040.

Grenthal Is Reelected.

In the 21st district the race for alderman was closer, and John Clifford Hawkins Republican, defeated Henri Shields, present incumbent, and also a Negro by a vote of 4751 to 4485.

Abraham Grenthal defeated George Hall, Negro Democrat, in the Assembly race of the 19th A. D. by nearly 2,000 majority. The vote was 5,644 for Grenthal and 3,658 for Hall.

The Republican candidate for Assemblyman in the 21st A. D. was defeated by less than 100 votes.

In Brooklyn, Rufus L. Perry, Negro Socialist candidate for County Judge, was beaten by both the Republican and Democrat candidates, but managed to poll 24,000 votes throughout the Borough. This is one of the largest votes given a Socialist candidate in Brooklyn in recent years.

Justices Davies and Crane of the 7th District Municipal Courth were both beaten by Democratic opponents for re-election. They lost by about 700 votes.

Moore's First Campaign For Office

Unusual support was given Fred R Moore during his campaign for Alderman. Although it was his first political race in Manhattan, he was supported by all the churches, fraternal and civic organizations of his district, regardless of political affiliations. Many independent Democrats and a number who were staunch Tammany men also supported his candidacy.

NEW RACE ALDERMAN



FRED R. MOORE
Wins Seat on Aldermanic Board by Large Majority.

This support from the opposition was not altogether attributable to his personal popularity and standing in the community. Since the election of Mayor James J. Walker, the conviction has been growing that Tammany Hall has not been playing fair with the Negro wing of the party. Although Mayor Walker has made countless appointments, not one Negro has been given a job by him since he became head of the city government.

Mr. Moore is the first Negro alderman from the 19th district since Dr. Charles H. Roberts was defeated for re-election five years ago. The 21st district has been represented by Negro Republicans and Democrats in the Board of Alderman for the past eight years.

Many Congratulations

Mr. Moore's campaign attracted nationwide attention and as soon as the results came in telegrams and messages of congratulations began to pour in. The following letter was sent Mr. Moore by the Rev. Richard Manuel Bolden, pastor of First Emanuel Church, 105 West 130th street:

"Alderman Fred R Moore,

No one rejoices at the election of yourself and Mr Hawkins more than I. You deserve all the honor that we can give you because of what you are in yourself, the service you have rendered the party for the past fifty years and the service you have rendered this community and the country through The New York Age.

"Jonh M. Royall, whom you helped, along with myself and Attorney Louis Lavelle, who came out for elective representation in 1914, rejoice to see this policy in full swing in our day.

"If there is anything that I can do to make your term as Alderman successful, do not fail to call on me.

Richard Manuel Bolden"

A large bunch of flowers was sent Mr Moore by Miss Anna E. Lawson, principal of P. S. 119, where Mr. Moore is chairman of the Parent's Association. Other letters and telegrams were received from the following: Casper Holstein, Dr. and Mrs. William H. Higgins of Providence, R. I., Mrs. Addie E. Jackson of Tarrytown, Rev. and Mrs. W. R. Lawton of Brooklyn, Lelia Edmonds and Bill Garrett, Mrs. Maud G. Hall, Edwin Smalls, Attorney and Mrs. Rufus Perry, Sarah E. Scott of 241 West 139th street, Chif Amoah III of Africa, Herbert A. Arren, Frank Schiffman, Pat Marshall, Dr. and Mrs. Oma Henry Price, Dr. and Mrs. U. Conrad Vincent, Mr. and Mrs. Fitzherbert Howell.

Also John B. Nail, Miss Eva D. Bowles, Miss Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Rev. J. W. Brown, John D. Hadwin of The New York World, Mr. and Mrs. John Dey of Brooklyn, Oscar H. Waters, George E Voting, Mrs Katie Butler, Mrs. Blanche Glover Mrs. Florence Lewis, Jim Costello Robert J. Clark, Rev. George H Sims, Mrs. Mable Doyle Keat and Mrs. Jenkins.

Mr. Moore recevied a plurality of more than 1,200 votes for the aldermanic seat, defeating George Masterson, white, Democrat, in the nineteenth adlermanic district.

Mr. Moore was born in Washington, D.C. He is 70 years of age but very vigorous. He is a prominent figure in Harlem and is highly respected.

Mr. Hawkins was elected alderman to represent the twenty-first aldermanic district. He defeated Henri W. Shields, present colored Democratic incumbent, who is a former State Assemblyman. His plurality was more than 200.

Mr. Hawkins was born in Henderson, N.C., in 1879. He is a graduate of Lincoln University. He studied law at New York University. For the past five years he has served as assistant counsel in the New York offices of the United States Shipping Board.

HARLEM ELECTS TWO NEGROES TO BD. OF ALDERMEN

NEW YORK, Nov. 10—Fred R. Moore, editor of The New York Age, and John Clifford Hawkins, both Republicans, defeated Democratic incumbents for the Board of Alderman in the election held Tuesday.

Pope B. Billups Disqualified

Court of Appeals Decision Rules Out Candidate for Justice

By a new ruling of the Court of Appeals on Friday, Pope B. Billups, Republican nominee for Judge of the Municipal Court, was placed out of the running, along with five Democrats and two Republicans. Supreme Court Justices Riegelmann in Brooklyn and Hatting in Manhattan had ruled that seven Municipal Court Justices in New York City would have to run for re-election this year, and that their offices would be declared vacant on Jan. 1.

The Court of Appeals overruled these decisions, declaring that Municipal Court Justices elected to fill vacancies are chosen to serve full ten-year terms rather than the unexpired portions of the terms of those whom they succeed.

The decisions holding the places vacant were in effect when the primaries were held and candidates were nominated by all parties. These nominations, under Friday's ruling, are nullified. Four of the Justices affected are in Manhattan, two in the Bronx, and one in Brooklyn.

Attorney Billups was chosen to run against Lewis A. Abrams of the Seventh District.

Aldermanic Victory In New York Of Fred R. Moore Seen As Significant Symbol In National Political Case

Lemus Quotes Washington Observers As Of The Opinion That Mr. Moore's Personal Strength Was Strongest Factor In Fight

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

Washington, D. C.—Hon. Fred R. Moore, by virtue of his election to the New York City Board of Aldermen from the Harlem 19th Assembly District, becomes a symbol of much significance in the national political equation of 1928, according to veteran political observers and those authoritatively situated here.

These persons maintain that Mr Moore's victory is a tribute to him personally, plus support of white Republicans of his constituency, and that he would have been just as successful at the polls if Mayor Walker had never seen Rome.

It was conclusively demonstrated to this writer that it is the Republican, not the Democratic party against which the ire of the Negro masses increases, and which the Republican leaders well know must be overcome.

What Defeat Would Have Meant.

My informants pointed out that it was generally known throughout the country that the failure of Negro candidates on the Republican ticket in Harlem has been due largely to the failure of white Republicans in Harlem to support race candidates, and that, having nominated a high type and competent person in Mr. Moore, failure of white Republicans to support him would in all probability mean Negro votes for Governor Smith in the event of New York's Chief Executive getting the democratic nomination for President next year; thus they contend that Mr. Moore is not a beneficiary of Republican exigency, but that the Republican party is a beneficiary of Mr. Moore.

Comparing the significance of Mr. Moore's victory with that of Judge Henry in Philadelphia, the authoritatively situated here said Mr. Henry was nominated by the Republican organization in an all-Republican constituency; that the main thing in Philadelphia was to get nominated, and, moreover, Pennsylvania is rock-ribbed G. O. P., while New York now has two democratic U. S. Senators, both dragged into office on the coattails of Governor Smith, and, therefore, the election of Mr. Moore means more to the Republicans in a national campaign.

Lily Whites Active In South.

"Lily-whites" are intensively active down yonder. They want to be rid of both Negro National Committeemen and all semblance of black leadership or participation in party affairs and management. Walter Cohen, Negro Surveyor of Customs, New Orleans District, and Republican leader of the state, is at this instant fighting for his political life. It seems that the National Committeeman, Kountze, is "lily-white." He voted with Cohen's opponents in a recent meeting of state Republicans. When Negroes are outnumbered and outvoted the National Committee probably cannot assist, but the party couldn't afford defeat of a regularly nominated Negro candidate in New York—home of the vice chairman of the National Committee.

Negro Masses Are Murmuring.

Rumblings of the masses cannot be discounted: and the Negro masses are murmuring against the G. O. P. Across the Potomac in Arlington County, Virginia, 800 Negroes paid their taxes, qualified registered and voted almost en masse for the democratic candidates, thus encompassing with their balance of power defeat of the Republican candidates for State Legislature and county offices.

Georgia has 70,000 Negroes qualified to vote; down in Tennessee at Memphis 12,000 Negroes registered in the democratic primary to get rid of an obnoxious mayor. And without mentioning the Negro vote in the North and East, the authoritatively situated here say, the signs of the times are ominous for the G. O. P. Hence the election of Mr. Moore is the first step of Republican "comeback" in the Empire State, with its too many electoral votes for its democratic governor and best vote getter to add to its solid block of electoral votes from the southern states.

Fred R. Moore And Hawkins Elected To New York Assembly

By Associated Negro Press.

NEW YORK City, November 16.—Fred R. Moore, editor of the New York Age, was elected alderman from the 19th assembly district, and John C. Hawkins won the office in the 21st district, representing the first time in four years the Republicans have elected a Negro republican to the office in the latter district.

Mr. Moore's victory was signal and indicated the high esteem in which the editor is held in the city. For a number of years the 19th district has been considered as a Democratic strong-hold and the incumbent, George R. Hall, was certain of re-election. The voters felt otherwise, and Moore was elected.

For a number of years, Mr. Moore has fought for complete rights of citizenship for the members of his race, here in New York, and has stood out boldly against all forms of discrimination. His scope of battle, however, extends beyond the confines of New York, for as a close friend of the late Booker T. Washington, and of Dr. Robert R. Moton, he has extended his activities the length and breadth of the country. His courageous stand and his reputation as a fighter had much to do with his success in the election.

Mr. Hawkins, who defeated Honri Shields, has been in the public eye for a number of years, having served two terms in the State Legislature and until his election Tuesday was counsel for the U. S. Shipping Board. In Brooklyn, Rufus Perry running on the Socialist ticket for judge, lost by 40,000 and Mrs. Lucille Randolph, running on the same ticket in the 21st district for Alderman polled 251 votes.

Political- 1927

Elections.

New York.

Alderman Hen. Shield Named By Gov. Smith On State Commission

Alderman Henri W. Shields of the 21st A. D., New York City., formerly a member of the State Assembly, has been named by Gov. Smith to the Legislative Commission to examine the Decedent Estates Law.

The Commission has a membership of seven, the others being John G. Saxe, former Chairman of the law committee of the Democratic State Committee; Henry R. Chittick of New York City, and four Surrogates —James Foley of New York, George A. Wingate of Kings, George A. Slater of Westchester, and Louis P. Hart of Erie.

According to public statements, Mr. Shields is the first Negro to be named to a State Legislative Commission, although Negro members have had places on standing committees in the Legislature.

N. Y. WORLD

MAY 5 1927

SMITH APPOINTS NEGRO

Names Ex-Assemblyman Shields to Decedent Estates Commission

Special Despatch to The World

ALBANY, May 4.—Gov. Smith to-day completed the personnel of the Legislative Commission to examine the Decedent Estates Law by appointing seven members, one of whom is former Assemblyman and present Alderman Henri W. Shields, Negro, of New York City.

So far as can be learned, Mr. Shields is the first Negro ever to be appointed to a State Legislative Commission, though Negro members of the Assembly have been accorded places on standing committees in the Lower House.

Mr. Shields was appointed along with four county Surrogates, John G. Saxe, former Chairman of the Law Committee of the Democratic State Committee, and Henry R. Chittick of New York City. The four Surrogates are James A. Foley of New York, George A. Wingate of Kings, George A. Slater of Westchester and Louis P. Hart of Erie.

"Mayor" of Harlem Is Elected By 200

NEW YORK, Feb. 17.—S. R. Williams is the first "Mayor of Harlem." He was elected by 200 of Harlem's 35,000 citizens, who met in the Elks Imperial auditorium.

Williams visited President Coolidge on Jan. 14. In accepting the nomination, Williams told his audience that the trouble with most Negroes is that they have a "white man complex."

Pope B. Billups Justice Candidate

Harlem Lawyers' Association Endorses His Candidacy

Pope B. Billups, attorney and politician, has definitely become a candidate for judge of the Seventh District Municipal Court during the coming elections.

The Harlem Lawyers' Association met at their headquarters, 2294 Seventh avenue, Saturday evening, and in a final conference accepted Billups as their candidate and promised him united support.

Billups obtained his nomination by virtue of a recent ruling by Judge Riegelman of Brooklyn in the case of Justice Gilroe, in which Riegelman ruled that when a justice dies the candidate who succeeds him is nominated only for the balance of his unexpired term.

This ruling affects four judges in Manhattan and includes Justice Lewis A .Abrahms of the Seventh District. However the Appellate branch of the Court of Appeals has not handed down its final decision on the case, and should this body find Judge Riegelman's ruling faulty, Billup's chances of becoming judge will be comparatively small.

In an interview, Attorney Demerald H. Williams, secretary of the Harlem Lawyers' Association, said: "Billups is a first rate lawyer, qualified by experience and education to fit the position with credit. He has served as assemblyman in the Legislature, and it was he who proposed the bill by which the Seventh District Municipal Court would have been divided. This bill passed both the Assembly and the Senate, but was vetoed by Governor Smith. If the bill had gone through, three more judges would have been elected, of which it was hoped that one would be colored. What we want is a colored judge, and the association will stand to a man behind the candidacy of Pope B. Billups."

POPE BILLUPS IS NAMED CANDIDATE MUNICIPAL JUDGE

Former Assemblyman To Oppose Judge Abrams In 7th District

A decision of Supreme Court Justice Peter Hatting to the effect that Judge Louis Abrams had been elected last year to fill the unexpired term of the late Justice Friedlander as Justice of the 7th District Municipal Court has given Negroes of Harlem an opportunity to elect one of their own lawyers to this position in the coming fall election.

At a conference of Republican leaders last Thursday, Pope B. Billups, former Assemblyman, and a prominent attorney, who lives at 211 West 135th street, was unanimously endorsed as the Republican candidate. In the primaries on Tuesday, Mr. Billups' name was written in the ballot and he was regularly nominated by the Republicans of the 7th Municipal Court District as their standard bearer. It is the first time in the history of the State of New York that a Negro has ever been nominated for a judgeship by either of the major parties.

Mr. Billups, who has been a practicing attorney in New York for the past ten years, is a native of Florida. He came to New York, after graduating from the Fessenden Academy, and worked his way through the New York University Law School. He is one of the most successful practitioners in Harlem and is active in fraternal and religious circles, being a trustee of Bethel A. M. E. Church, and a former exalted ruler of the Monarch Lodge of Elks, and grand attorney of the New York Grand Lodge, Knights of Pythias.

Billups Named In Primaries for Local Bench

Primaries In Harlem Districts Result In Mexican Stand-off Between Warring Republican Factions

The net results of the Primaries on Tuesday in the Harlem Districts was the nomination by writing of Attorney Pope B. Billups as Republican candidate for the Seventh District Municipal Court Bench.

With him were nominated, unopposed, Judges Crane and Davies, present incumbents.

In the local primary fights in the Twenty-first Assembly District, all the present county committeemen were returned to power, with few exceptions. Theodore B. Smith, former candidate for alderman, was beaten by the candidates of the Thirty-third District Republican League: William B. Strozier, Square M. Brown, and Mrs. Osterhaupt. Pope B. Billups was also beaten for County Committeeman, as was Hamilton B. Travis and their women running mates.

BLACK ALDERMAN FOR N. Y. PRECINCT

(By The Associated Negro Press)

New York City.—During a turbulent meeting, Fred R. Moore, many years editor of the New York Age, was designated as Republican candidate for alderman in the 19th assembly district at their clubhouse, Monday nigt.

Messrs C. Jackman and Josiah Dixon led the revolt against Moore. For many years, Moore has been known to favor Costuma's regime, and when Costuma resigned recently, it is believed that he mentioned to his successor, Assemblyman Abram Grenthal, the possibility of naming Moore as aldermanic designee.

It is understood that the Democrats of the same district will name Attorney George W. Wall for election to the assembly, opposing Grenthal.

A Colored Candidate for Judge

We have urged the Republicans of Harlem to nominate a colored candidate for the Municipal Court bench. We are informed the the Association of Colored Lawyers in New York, is going to urge the leaders of both parties to name a colored candidate on their tickets. This would be an ideal situation. It would take the race question out of the judicial campaign. It would enable the voters of the Seventh District to vote their convictions as to the respective merits of the candidates. It would doubtless insure the election of a colored judge. This the great colored population of New York is entitled to and this would be a boon to the progress of race relations in this city and section. The Democrats, however, will not do anything of the kind. For Tammany to nominate a candidate for judge would be for Tammany to injure the presidential aspirations of Governor Smith. The Republicans have everything to gain by so doing. If they are wise, they will do so.

POPE B. BILLUPS NOMINATED FOR MUNICIPAL BENCH

Both Political Parties Nominate Harlemites for Alderman and Assemblyman in 19th and 21st Districts —Rufus Perry Nominated for City Court in Brooklyn

With comparative peace and small opposition pervading, the New York primaries passed into history. Three Negro candidates were nominated for Alderman, one for the Assembly and two for judgeships.

Pope B. Billups, Republican representative for the bench in the Municipal Court, triumphantly led the Republican field in what was perhaps the most interesting feature of the primaries. Through a tardy decision Billups' name had not been placed on the Republican ballots, and his supporters were forced to write his name in putting him over.

George E. Hall and Henri W. Shields in a hectic last moment rally concluded successful campaigns for positions on the regular Democratic ticket, the former for the Assembly, and the latter for re-election to the Board of Aldermen. On the Republican side, the wreath of victory was jointly borne by Fred R. Moore and John Clifford Hawkins for Alderman on the Republican side in Nineteenth and Twenty-first Assembly districts respectively.

PERRY IS BROOKLYN NOMINEE.

Over in Brooklyn Rufus L. Perry, who leads a strong contingent, was nominated on the Socialist ticket for judge of the city court. The attorney in an interview with a reporter of the Amsterdam News stated that in his opinion the final issue in November would dissolve itself into a factional clash between the Democratic and Socialist parties.

NOMINEES CONFIDENT.

All of the contestants are voicing confidence that the final showdown will see them emerge victoriously.

Elections.

A THREE-FOLD VICTORY.

In viewing the results of the local election last week, there were several features that are deserving of more than casual consideration. One of these was the election of alderman in the Nineteenth district of Manhattan, where Fred R. Moore was elected by a substantial majority in a district that had gone Democratic for the past four years. The election of Mr. Moore marked a threefold victory. First, it showed that a candidate who represented moral issues could be elected in a metropolitan district. Second, it demonstrated that white voters would readily vote for a Negro candidate possessing character and fitness for office. Third, it showed that Negro voters could be relied upon to give unflinching support to a candidate of the race who has earned their confidence and respect.

It is seldom that an election for a local office, such as alderman, brings out such widespread interest and comment as were manifested in Mr. Moore's campaign. People in all parts of the country wrote expressing their interest in his candidacy and offering their encouragement and moral support. While this was all very gratifying and contributed to sustain the morale of the campaign, the active work of making a canvass and getting out the vote devolved on the residents of the Nineteenth district. It was their votes that counted in the final result. And their response was clear and unmistakable in its tenor.

The cynical belief that moral issues were not popular among sophisticated New Yorkers was shattered. The fear of some doubters that the candidate's war upon bootleggers and numbers gamblers, conducted through The Age, would make him lose votes among those who patronize both of these forbidden pursuits, were not realized, to any perceptible extent. The result proved that the majority of the community is in favor of decency and law, and will support a candidate who fights openly in such a cause.

Mr. Moore's action in showing himself to the white voters of the district and inviting a comparison between the issues which he represented and those of his opponent, resulted in his gaining a large number of votes in that section. It proved beyond question, if proof was necessary, that intelligent voters can make a choice between two candidates on the basis of party principles and character, irrespective of such minor details as race or color. This gratifying fact was clearly brought out in a letter written by Miss Sarah Schuyler Butler, vice chairman of the Republican State Committee in which she said: "We are all very happy at the news of your election to the Board of Aldermen and I am particularly delighted that the Thirteenth Assembly district gave you such loyal and devoted support."

The racial aspect of the election was shown in the fact that party lines were wiped out to a large extent in the desire of the colored voters to cast a ballot for Mr. Moore. Many of those who had enrolled and voted with the local Democ- for them and their children. Such a testfy their appreciation of his efforts to make Harlem a better place to live in for them an dtheir children. Such a testimonial rarely comes to any man in his lifetime.

The fact that Mr. Moore was taken suddenly ill at the close of his arduous campaign, due to his persistent work in impressing his personality and his platform upon the voters, made this a fitting opportunity for the writer to indicate thus briefly the three-fold nature of his victory. His campaign was of such a nature as to raise the standard of local politics in the district. With the anticipated recovery of his health and resumption of his normal activities, he may be white. At the election for Republican district leader, held in September, Robert S. Conklin, white, was easily elected over Charles W. B. Mitchell, colored. The Negro needs to be more assertive and more aggressive in his politics. He complains that there is nothing in it for him, but one reason for that is that he fails to take that which is within his grasp. He lacks the will, or the tact, to combine to win, to subordinate his personal ambitions or prejudices to the greater good of the racial group. He is not peculiar in this respect, although at his present stage of development his shortcomings score more heavily against him than in the case of other groups with like aspirations.

The political apathy that was so marked among the Negro voters of Harlem was by no means confined to that group. It was characteristic of the whole voting population and reached its depths among the Republicans of Brooklyn, who lost their entire ticket, with the exception of one Assemblyman in the Seventeenth district. When it is remembered that Kings county was at one time a Republican stronghold under the leadership of Lieutenant Governor Timothy L. Woodruff and Michael J. Dady, the loss of votes is significant. The main reason for this debacle, as the papers termed it, was ascribed to lack of enlightened and progressive leadership. It was charged that the present leaders were more concerned with holding their fat Federal of city jobs and finding soft places for their favorites, than in stimulating the party workers and getting out the voters.

Republicans generally and Negro voters specifically appear to be the victims of the inroads of General Apathy. Unless he is routed within the next twelve months the electoral vote of New York State is apt to be counted in the Democratic column.

Political - 1927

North Carolina.

Elections.

ONE LESSON OF ELECTION

(The News and Observer, Raleigh, North Carolina)

The election in Raleigh yesterday convinced every Democrat of the danger of non-partisan city elections in this city. The theory is an excellent one and works well in some places, but in practical operation in Raleigh it revived scenes like those which prevailed in the days of Russellism. The spectacle of whites hauling Negroes to the polls to vote and the voting of Negroes is one that if continued will open a Pandora's box and virtually repeal the suffrage amendment. So far as Raleigh can repeal it. No Democrat could look upon some of the things witnessed in Raleigh yesterday without condemnation and a resolve that they should never occur again.

There is but one safe way to prevent the danger and the evil of appealing to Negro voters by men who care more for success than for the blessings won in 1898-1900. That is to return to a Democratic primary for the selection of candidates. Non-partisan government in Raleigh means, in crises, dependence on and solicitation of Negro votes.

If you had been in the second division of the Third Ward in Raleigh yesterday you would have imagined that it was the election in 1896 when Russell was elected Governor. The only difference is that then no white men helped Negroes to vote or procured their registration except active Republicans. Yesterday some who had professed to be Democrats were responsible for the registration and voting of the Negroes. This is the ward in which supporters of the city administration procured the registration of 558 Negroes since the first primary. The vote in that ward was 432 for Culbreth and 98 for Dowell. If Dowell supporters had not challenged the more ignorant Negroes, many more Negroes would have voted.

If other cities and towns should follow the example set by the supporters of the "ins" in Raleigh, another Russell will be elected Governor in North Carolina and we shall have a return to the sort of government in this state that cursed North Carolina in 1894-99 the law, whose duties are to preserve order and to protect property and the rights of citizens, appear to be poorly instructed as to their duties, because they often exceed the scope of their authority, where the Negro is involved, and they seem to find certain satisfaction in exercising physical violence and other modes of intimidation upon an unoffending Negro.

Today there are vast tracts of land lying idle in the South, without tenants and grown up in brush; outstanding evidence of the South's unfair dealings with the Negro. The vast amounts of flour and corn, chickens and eggs, beef and pork and many of the other necessary things which the South uses, and which could be produced here, are being imported, and because the South has been unwilling to distribute equitably the fruits of the land, which the Negro helped to produce. The Negro furnished the labor, the white man enjoyed the results of his labor and failed to pay off. The South has driven the Negro from the rural districts by its unfair dealings, but the white man will not condescend to perform the menial tasks which the Negro formerly carried on in the fields of the South. The South can afford to pay high prices for its necessities in the other parts of the world, but it could ill-afford to pay an equitable wage to the Negro who has been willing to produce these commodities at home at a far less money cost to the South. Here is one of the curses of the South's drastic policy.

These practices hold forth on the South's daily program and form the pernicious policy of the South. These are the conditions under which the Negro exists, but they also retard the progress of the South, yet the South is attempting to perpetuate this policy for its future generations to the ultimate destruction of the citizenship of the Negro.

Commonwealth
Scotland Tech.
MAY 7 1927 N.C.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

It would seem that the memory and record of the stirring days of the late nineties would deter any patriotic North Carolinian from attempting to register ignorant negro voters for nothing is more dangerous to politics and society than an ignorant class of voters controlled by unscrupulous persons with the power and arrogance to command or control them to vote, whether it be one's employees, who fear their masters' ire for failure to vote as they instruct, or such a class as some parties have made themselves interested in registering at Raleigh among the ignorant class of voters in order that they might participate in the coming municipal elections.

North Carolina, from carpetbagger days until the memorable days of the late nineties squirmed under the control of unscrupulous Republican appointees and elected officers through the influence of the ignorant negro vote, until it was enabled to elect a legislature and enact a constitutional amendment which provided that no person could vote in the State elections unless he were the son of a Confederate Veteran or could read and interpret the Constitution of the United States. Such a provision deterred ignorant whites as well as negroes from qualifying. No intelligent and educated negro who desired to vote has been disqualified and could not be under the constitution, which is just and right, but to clutter up the registration books, as charged, with ignorant and uneducated negroes is a menace to modern government and an affront to the constitution, and those who are responsible are playing with fire. The negro has made unbelievable progress under the conditions which have existed since they were made to realize that in order to qualify as a voter they must prepare themselves for individual citizenship and personal thinking and not be the tool of any unscrupulous person who might be able to buy or command their vote, and the intelligent leaders of the race are well satisfied with conditions as they exist, for they create an ambition among the members of the race to strive dilligently to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of citizenship, realizing that they have no right to the privilege of voting until they can do so intelligently and not at the threat or command of another.

Political 1927 Ohio.

Elections

CLEVELAND NOW HAS THREE RACI MEN ON COUNCI

Cleveland, Ohio.—(ANP)—Clev land stepped out in a class to itse here Tuesday, when three Negroe were elected to the city aldermani oard. The successful candidates were: Thomas Flemming, who wa re-elected for the eighth time, Attor ney Clayborne George, and Dr. E. J Gregg.

Both Flemming and Gregg were elected from the third district, the former running on the Republican ticket, and Gregg ran as an independent. The election of three colored councilmen places Cleveland ahead of all other cities in the number of Negro aldermen, including Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.

George is a prominent attorney, a World War veteran, a Mason, Elk and a member of the Boule. He is active in civic and religious affairs. He is the president and founder of the East End Political club composed of 700 members.

The election of three Colored councilmen here marks a unique victory, as having more representatives than any other city in the United States, including Chicago, New York city and Philadelphia, which have practically twice Cleveland's Race population. Cleveland therefore becomes a forerunner for all the cities in the United States in its election of Race men to regulate city government.

VOTERS ELECT 3 COUNCILMEN IN CLEVELAND

Ohio City Heads List in Representation

Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 18.—Attorney Clayborne George was elected to the city council from the fourth district at the regular biennial municipal election, Tuesday, Nov. 8. George, who ran as an independent, made a surprisingly good run, polling 4,090 first choice votes, to become one of the 25 councilmen.

George's election means that the Race will have three representatives in the council for the next two years. The others are: the veteran, Thomas W. Fleming, who was re-elected for his first term, and Dr. E. J. Gregg, who was also elected for his first term. Both Fleming and Gregg were elected from the populous third district, Fleming being a Republican, and Gregg being indorsed by the Democratic organization.

CLEVELAND IS FIGHTING FOR RACE OFFICIALS

Candidates Named For Municipal Court & City Council

Cleveland, O.—A political awakening such as this city has never witnessed has stirred the colored people of this community in their effort to place one of their own on the Municipal Bench of this city. The colored people have selected as their candidate Attorney William R. Green, who has been an active practitioner at the bar for 30 years. He is the son of ex-Senator John P. Green, popularly known as the "Daddy of Labor Day." William R. Green, actively identified with civic, fraternal and political movements, has the backing of the Baptist Ministers' Conference, the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance, Republican organization, Democratic Leader, Conservative Voters League, East End Political Club, Thirtieth Ward Republican Club, the Elks the Italian newspaper, Councilman Thomas W. Fleming, many foreign groups and prominent white judges and officials. According to Hazel Mountain Walker, chairman of Green's Campaign Committee, his election is assured if the colored people will register and vote.

Not satisfied with seeking to elect a colored judge, the people are determined to re-elect Councilman Thomas W. Fleming who has served as a member of the City Council for 14 years.

Dr. E. J. Gregg who was runner-up in the Third District two years ago, has received the endorsement of the Democratic Executive Committee, the conservative Republican Voters' League and Baptist Ministers' Conference.

Attorney Clayborne George is a candidate for Council from the 4th District. He is endorsed by the East End Political Club, Baptist Ministers' Conference, and the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance.

Harry E. Davis, state representative, has been selected by a Citizens Committee (white) as one of 15 candidates for election on a Charter Commission to be voted on in November.

CLEVELAND PUTS THREE NEGROES IN CITY COUNCIL

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 17.—Three Negroes—one a staunch Republican, another an independent, and the third a Democrat—were elected to the city council in the election of November 8, final tabulation of the votes here Saturday showed. Their election was the climax to one of the most spectacular local political fights in the history of the city.

The men are Thomas W. Fleming, Republican, who was re-elected for another term; Clayborne George, an attorney, who was elected as an independent, and Dr. Eugene J. Gregg, who had the Democratic endorsement.

Attorney George defeated Mrs. Helen H. Green, who had served two terms. The final tabulation gave Mr. George 4,537 votes and Mrs. Green, 4,203 votes. Many Negroes supported Fielder Sanders, a white man.

Dr. Gregg, who was supported by the Democrats, received more votes in the third ward than Tom Fleming, the Republican machine candidate.

Clayborne George is a graduate of the law school of Howard University. His wife, who aided him in his campiagn for election, was formerly Miss Enola McDaniel. Prior to her marriage she taught physical culture in the public schools of the District of Columbia.

Cleveland To Have Three Race Council Members

Clayborne George Elected In Fourth District

CLEVELAND, Ohio,—Nov. 17—Attorney Clayborne George was elected to the City Council from the 4th district at the regular biennial municipal election, Tuesday November 8th. George, who ran as an independent made a surprisingly good run, polling 4,090 first choice votes, to become one of the 25 councilmen.

Cleveland To Have Three Colored Councilmen

George's election means that the race will have three representatives in the council for the next two years as against only one in previous years. The others are, the veteran Thomas W. Fleming who was re-elected for the 8th consecutive term, and Dr. E. J. Gregg who was also elected for his first term. Both Fleming and Gregg were elected from the populous Third District. Fleming being a Republican, and Gregg being endorsed by the Democratic organization.

George is a prominent attorney, a world war veteran, former president of the N. A. A. C. P., a Mason, Elk, and a member of the Boule'. He is active in civic and religious affairs. He is the president and founder of the East End Political Club composed of 700 members.

The election of three colored councilmen in Cleveland marks a unique victory, being more councilmen than any other city in the United States including Chicago, New York City, and Philadelphia, which have practically twice Cleveland's colored population. Cleveland therefore becomes a forerunner for all the cities in the United States in its election of colored councilmen.

ATTY. CLAYBORNE GEORGE, elected to Cleveland Council last Tuesday.

Politics - 1927

Ohio.

Elections
COLUMBUS, O.
Citizen
MAY 13 1927

THE COLORED VOTE.

Editor of Citizen:

THE only colored man ever elected to office in Columbus by the voters of the whole city was, strange to relate, a Democrat. Giles Scurry was chosen constable, and was connected with Squire Matt Martin's Court, which was held on N. High-st, near Broad-st, about the time of the celebrated tally sheet forgery. Altho scratched by many Democrats, the colored vote turned over to him in a body.

Columbus and Franklin-co are controlled by the colored vote, caused by their vast influx from the south during the past 10 years. There are now at least 20,000 negro electors in this city, about one-half of whom are in the habit of voting; and as the white vote is about evenly divided between the two parties, the Republicans start out with about 10,000 votes to their advantage, for at least 99 per cent of the negroes vote the ticket straight.

They certainly have the legal right to vote as they please, and for the Republican ticket if they wish, yet because they do unthinkingly and blindly vote it straight, it constitutes no real choice, which is what an election really implies, and thereby becomes a dangerous power to give to a political machine, as it is almost impossible to elect any Democrats at any time no matter how superior to his opponent he may be. Democrats in the Court House or City Hall are very, very scarce.

The white Republicans so far are content with the situation as they are always able to nominate a complete white ticket, which they proceed to elect with the help of their colored brethren. But will this always continue, or will the colored voters demand a more equal division of the spoils in the near future?

If they secure nominations for higher offices the result will be a stampede of white Republicans to the Democracy, and if they do not, there will be a revolt among the negroes. The latter will not be apt to go to the Democracy, however, as that name to them is linked with slavery, but they will likely name an independent ticket of their own, which, if they are mad enough, they will support and bring crushing defeat to the Republicans.

How it will work was illustrated on a small scale by Miss Daisy Perkins' independent candidacy for the Legislature last fall, when she drew enough votes away from the ticket to cause Jacob Woehrle to defeat Denny Cross. It is known that Cincinnati turned against Myers Cooper for governor, altho giving the rest of the ticket large majorities, because the negroes did not approve of the anti-negro clauses in all the deeds to the numerous additions he had laid out and sold.

This matter constitutes another menace to Republican solidarity, since the question of declaring such clauses in deeds for real estate unconstitutional, must come to a decision soon before the state and national Supreme Courts, both of which are overwhelmingly Republican.

Political -1927

Pennsylvania.

Elections

INQUIRER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MAY 17 1927

COLORED VOTERS ADVISED TO GUARD THEIR BALLOTS

Too Many Controlled by Gang Politicians, Darrow Tells Association

Clarence Darrow last night in the Metropolitan Opera House told members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that their most powerful means to insure the maintenance of their constitutional rights lay in the proper use of the election ballot.

The speaker told his audience that they had thrown away their greatest weapon in allowing their leaders to dictate the manner in which their ballot should be cast.

"The colored people of the United States," Mr. Darrow said, "have thrown to the winds the use of the ballot. They have been be-deviled, and their votes bought, sold and delivered by a cheap gang of politicians everywhere in the country.

"It is the only weapon given you and you have tossed it away. You must retrieve that lost power in order to obtain that which is assured you by the Constitution, but which will not be accorded you unless you make an effort to get it yourself. What you get will depend on your own efforts and not on what someone else may do for you.

"To get anything from your vote, you have to make it entirely independent and you must refuse to allow it to be counted before it has been placed in the ballot box. You must always pick out your own friends. By that means you will be enabled to fight with more certainty of success. Try for the recovery of your vote and do not allow anyone but yourself to own it."

REELECTED



PHILADELPHIA — Judge Henry sweeps city despite cutting in certain sections by disgruntled politicians on face of complete returns, all poll fourth highest vote. Twelve judges were to be elected, seven colored candidates on the ticket elected election Henry's victory parade Wednesday night expected over three thousand in line.

Political 1927 Tennessee

Elections

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

OCT

NEGRO BOOSTED FOR ALTERNATE

Walter Robinson Said to Have Strong Backing.

May Be One of Men Sent From This District to Republican Convention.

Possible selection of Walter C. Robinson, negro, who has been termed the "'Bob' Church of Hamilton county," as alternate from the Third congressional district to the coming national convention of the republican party has been the subject of rumors for some time in local republican circles.

Robinson is known as the man who dethroned the late Hiram Tyree, for many years a political czar of the Fourth ward, which is considered one of the most powerful republican precincts in the south. It is estimated that this ward can swing a republican majority of from approximately 1,200 to 2,000 votes in any election.

The rise of negro political leaders from the ranks of the republican party has been a comparatively common phenomenon in southern cities in late years. Of such negro leaders, the outstanding example in the state is "Bob" Church, of Memphis, who is said to wield tremendous influence in the control of thousands of republican votes in Shelby county and western Tennessee.

During recent years Robinson has been looked on by many local republicans as one of the leaders of his element in the party of Hamilton county. His influence now extends over many negro voters in the Third congressional district, consisting of fourteen counties. The negro republican vote is said to be of considerable volume in many of the towns of the district.

Robinson has the reputation of being adept at political organization work among the negroes. He is said to be the possessor of an academic education and is noted among his element for his oratorical powers. Church, of Memphis, is reported to be a college graduate.

In recognition of his oratorical ability and his rapidly rising political star, the national republican executive committee several years ago invited Robinson to conduct a campaign tour through a number of northern and northwestern states. He accepted, and the newspapers in the northern states and towns in which he spoke gave him liberal space and praise. Since that time the colored element of the republican party in the Third congressional district has insisted that their race is entitled to representation in the next national republican convention, and efforts have been made to secure the selection of Robinson as alternate. Many negro pastors and professional men of the district were said to be especially active in backing Robinson.

The district is entitled to two regular delegates with full vote in the convention, and two alternates, who will vote only on the floor of the convention in the absence of the regular delegates.

Mayor Owes Office To Negro Support

14. — The election of Watkins Overton as mayor and the defeat of Mayor Rowlett Paine was a personal victory for Robert R. Church, who made a bi-racial combination with E. H. Crump, white, and supported the successful candidate and his entire ticket.

Overton defeated Paine by 12,780 votes. The total vote was: Overton, 19,806; Paine, 7,026. More than 7,000 Negroes voted in the election, casting their ballots solidly for Overton and his ticket.

Mayor Paine sought to return to office on a wave of racial prejudice. He raised the hue and cry of Negro domination of city elections and declared that unless the opposition ticket were defeated, "those who wish to be candidates for office in the future in this city, like applicants for federal jobs, will have to 'see Bob Church.'"

Church and George W. Lee mobilized the Negro vote. They organized the West Tennessee Civic and Political League and started a campaign for the registration of Negro voters. They demanded Negro firemen, Negro policemen and admission to all city parks and the zoo.

Mayor Paine answered that "there will be no Negro policemen, no Negro firemen, nor removal of the restrictions now governing the admission of Negroes to the white parks of the city, including Overton Park Zoo, as long as I have any voice in the control of the city government."

Church and his organization decided to oppose him. They endorsed the candidacy of Mr. Overton. A bitter campaign resulted.

A full page advertisement appealing to race prejudice was run in the daily newspapers. The question was, "Shall Crump and Church rule through Overton?" Mayor Paine himself defined the issue to be: "Shall candidates for office in this city run on their own merit and qualifications or shall they be compelled to obtain the indorsement and support of E. H. Crump, the whtie boss, and Bob Church, the Negro boss, in order to be elected to office in the city of Memphis?"

On Wednesday night preceding the election the Beale Street Church was bombed while Mr. Church was addressing a mass meeting in it.

Mayor Paine had an enlarged picture of Mr. Church in his headquarters and under it was printed: "Will Southern white men and women allow this Negro man to name the next mayor of Memphis and defeat a Southern white woman for office?"

On Wednesday night preceding the election Mayor Paine made an inflammatory speech in which he said:

"The livest issue of the campaign is that created by our challenge of the right of a Negro political organization to hold the balance of power in Memphis elections. The way for such a movement was paved by the politicians who brought the Negroes into the Democratic primary last year. Organized under the leadership of Bob Church to enforce racial demands through political action the West Tennessee Civic and Political League published the demand for Negro policemen and general admission of Negroes to the white parks of the city.

"In the face of that demand Mr. Overton remained silent until we forced the issue. He denies any agreement or understanding with the leaders of this league but so far he has not raised his voice in protest against the fundamental purpose of its organization, namely, controlling city elections with the solid Negro vote. Speakers in behalf of Mr. Overton and Negro papers both here and elsewhere have denounced us for blocking the program of Church, which included Negro policemen and general admission to the white parks of the city.

"Church and his aides are engaged in the most sinister political activities ever undertaken in this city. Victory through their votes and influence means that in the future candidates for office in this city, like applicants for federal appointments, must 'see Bob Church.'

"No such issue was ever before presented to the people of Memphis. Nothing akin to it was involved in the campaign four years ago. Improper appeals for Negro votes were not made in behalf of any of the candidates. Bob Church had not then become the absolute dictator of federal appointments in this city. No Negro club had been organized to place in his hands the keys to every office in the city of Memphis. Then there was only a normal Negro registration; now it is nearly one-third of the total registered vote.

"The resentment of a Negro club, incensed because one of the candidates for mayor had refused its demands for Negro policemen and general admission to the white parks of the city, and forced the other candidate to declare his views on these demands, was not then a factor in the campaign.

"Four years ago there were few if any in this city who would have dreamed that a Negro political leader, intoxicated with his success in matters of federal patronage, would have the audacity to organize a Negro political club and publicly voice such demands. We have the opposition of this Negro political club. Our opponents have its endorsement. They should have joined us in repudiating the support of such a club and in denouncing the objects of its organization.

"That club is a new thing and a dangerous thing in Memphis politics. Its existence means friction and not unity between the races. Its activities present an issue that is perfectly plain. The duty of Memphians is equally clear. It is to stop Bob Church and his Negro club with ballots now. It is the part of both wisdom and righteousness to face and not shrink from this issue. Meet it like men and victory is assured."

Mr. Church's comment on the results of the election was, "It was a bitter campaign but a great victory."

OVERTON'S ELECTION 'LANDSLIDE'

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Nov. 17—(A. N. P.)—The election of Watkins Overton as mayor of this city last Thuursday brought to a close one of the most bitter political campaigns ever staged in this section, and forced out of office H. Rowlette Paine, whose tactics during the campaign stamped him as a typical southern Negro-hoist.

The race issue was injected in the campaign in the early stages and charges were hurled that Overton was courting the Negro vote and herding the Negro vote by a promise to appoint Negro fireman, policemen, and general admission of the municipal parks. The mayor-elect denied that this was true, but stated that "if I am elected I shall be the mayor of all the people and not for a select few."

In the 1924 election it is reported that Negroes were responsible for Paine's election and that he made certain definite promises at that time which were never fulfilled. Overton charged Paine with double-crossing the Negro voters and pointed out that "Paine's treacherous breach of faith caused his Negro allies to desert him."

In addition, he declared: "I will deal with the Negroes fairly and honestly. My actions will be performed openly; there will be no secret agreements."

Bob Church Enters Battle

For a time it seemed as if the Negro was between the proverbial "devil and the deep blue sea." In the early stages of the campaign the West Tennessee Republican Political League, a body initiated by George W. Lee, Wayman Wilkerson, Dr. J. B. Martin, and a few other leaders, decided to refrain from supporting either candidate. Bob Church, the recognized political leader of this section, stepped into the breach and after analyzing the platforms of the candidates urged his followers to lend their support to Overton. This they did, and Overton was elected.

At the announcement that Church was supporting Overton, every underhanded trick was tried by the opposing ticket. Page advertisements in the daily newspapers were published setting forth the menace of Negroes holding the balance of power. Church was held up as the boss who would

rule national local politics and who could be "able to defeat a white woman for office in this city." They pointed to his power in national politics and charged that he had named the postmaster and district attorney of this city. Even this argument failed, and on Thursday, right thinking citizens of both races went to the polls and proved that neither group wanted a Negrophobist as mayor of the city.

This election proved that the Negroes held the balance of power and that the majority of white citizens were tired of Negro-haters as office holders. The mayor-elect made his position plain from the beginning and is reported to have conducted a clean but vigorous campaign. He made no plea on the ground of race prejudice and referred to the race question only in defending himself against the charges hurled by his opponents.

Church Bombed

Wednesday evening the most cowardly deed of the whole campaign was perpetrated when a voting school, which was being conducted by the Overton forces for Negro voters at the Prospect Baptist Church, on Beale avenue, was bombed. While the class was being carried on, in order that Negroes might know just how to vote, a skyrocket bomb was placed in the basement and set off. The explosion threw the meeting into a panic and damaged the church considerably.

The deed, which was charged to the Paine forces, brought forth the criticism in general and caused sheriff Knight to declare that "there is no place in Memphis for a bomb thrower. It may or may not have been thrown for political effect. That does not matter. It may have been a political "joke." Regardless of that there is no room here for such a person regardless of which political side he favors."

Another Victory for Fighting Bob

The election of Overton and his ticket, is being looked upon here as another victory for Bob Church and for justice for all citizens. Through the effort of Church and the league, some eleven thousand Negroes were registered and a goodly number of these voted Thursday. Whether or not the mayor-elect will carry out his promise as to dealing fairly and honestly with the Negro citizens is problematical but the citizens, white and colored, have given him the chance.

Elections.

Political - 1927

West Virginia.

Elections.

MAIL

Charleston WVa

APR - 1927

Why the South Did So: The negro majority of 55,000 votes, had it gone to Dever instead of to Thompson, would have turned the election. The negroes were brought to Chicago during the war, were welcomed by Thompson, were given the organized vice privileges and are bound to Thompson, body and soul. Chicago, like Indianapolis and other Northern cities, is learning what negro control means and why the South has kept these voters from the ballot box. May the day never come when Harlem runs New York.—From the New York Post.

NDS IN GOTHAM

Political—1927

Legislation Suggested, etc.,

EXPRESS
PORTLAND, ME.
OCT 15 1927

Negro Community Forum Grows To Large Proportions

Idea, Starting Year Ago, Given Great Impetus. Organization Now Serves Religious, Social And Economic Welfare Of Colored People

The Sturgis bill at the last term of the Maine Legislature was the reason for the first meeting of the Negro Community Forum. Previous to this there had been no civic organization for the 400 colored people in the city, or in Maine either, for the Forum claims the distinction of being the first and only society to form a secular and non-partisan association for Negroes.

Last year, while the Sturgis bill was in debate, a group of 15 Negroes met at the home of Cornelius Harris for the purpose of taking immediate action for preventing the passage of a bill which prohibited marriage between whites and persons of African descent. It was an informal gathering, and led by John M. George, Portland attorney, a petition was drawn up to be presented at Augusta. It might be added that this bill was killed by the judiciary committee of the Legislature.

From this little gathering the idea of the Negro Community Forum was conceived. On the following Sunday it was decided to send an invitation to every Negro family in the city to meet at Miller's Hall for the purpose of organizing a body for the future betterment of the colored race in Portland.

The objects of the Forum is to unite and uplift, educate and promote the progress of the Negro race, affording opportunities for literary and social intercourse among members and for the protection of the rights as citizens and a race.

The meetings are held once a week on Sunday afternoon at Miller's Hall and are opened and closed by a devotional service.

Since its organization much interest has been shown in the Forum, large gatherings attend every week to take part in the discussions or to listen to the well known speakers of the day.

John M. George, who recently came from New York to practice law, is largely responsible for the widespread interest in these meetings. He is legal advisor to the Forum, and Cornelius Harris is the president.

Aside from the educational and social value that is derived, the society cares for the sick and needy. A coal and necessity club has been formed and several tons of coal and baskets of groceries have been distributed to members in want.

On Sunday afternoon Mrs. A. A. Kendall will speak on What Can We Do for the Community in Which We Live? Miss Margaret Harris will sing a solo, Joseph Nash, C. Verra and A. Verra will give trio selections and the juvenile choir will also sing.

This program is only an example of those presented at the Forum by a group of Americans who believe that the best results are accomplished b unity and coooperation.

New and Novel Political Ideas

— By FREDERIC J. HASKIN

FALL RIVER, MASS

Herald

JUN 27 .7

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The abolition of all the States of the United States, each under a district governor general, with all laws of the four districts to be uniform under national laws, is one of the startling proposals in the platform of a new political party just announced in Washington.

Singularly, enough, in view of this and other planks, the party is to be known as "The Conservative Party of America." For example, the eleventh plank declares that "no other than white people can ever own property in the United States," while plank No. 9 declares for absolute freedom of speech and the press, "without hindrance, restraint or taxation in any way."

And if such proposals are not regarded as ultra- conservative, consider the seventh plank which favors the admission of all foreigners without the right to own land or to vote until they have been residents within the continental limits of the United States for a period of 20 years, and the next one which advocates the registration of all foreigners and their admission to citizenship only by the act of Congress.

Plank No. 8 is somewhat inconsistent or in conflict with the seventh in that the latter would open wide the doors of the country for the admission of all foreigners, while the former stipulates that all permanently diseased, deformed, or mentally deficient people are to be forever prohibited from entering the United States, "except those who have become so through service in the military of naval forces of the United States."

Just how all foreigners can be admitted to the country while at the same time certain classes of foreigners are to be barred is not explained. Possibly that is a problem that Congress is to wrestle with once the new party has carried an election and come into power.

Orf possibly consistency in platform declarations is not regarded as necessary by the founders of the new party. They may subscribe to the view, attributed to divers leaders of the old parties, to the effect that a political platform is not supposed to be carried out but is merely molasses to attract voters and they may be disposed to welcome into their fold all voters of whatever shades of political opinion.

The first plank of the platform—and any one who had two guesses as to what it might be could throw one away—is wet, decidedly so. It was framed, apparently, to be the complete anti-prohibition pronouncement. It reads:

"Submit to the States an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to repeal the 18th amendment and do away with any and all restrictive legislation which seeks to regulate what people shall eat and drink, within the meaning or intent of 'the liquor question'."

Of course it does not require a constitutional amendment to "repeal or do away with" restrictive legislation or any other kind of legislation, but perhaps it would make it more conclusive or more binding if Congress should set about it in that way, once the new party has a sufficient majority in both branches. Equally, of course, the sweeping program avowed in this particular platform declaration might result in the repeal of the pure food law and the anti-narcotic law, but it is possible that leaders in the new movement seek absolute freedom of the alimentary canal as well as of speech and of the press.

The second plank is an expression of the idea that there should be granted "an amnesty to all persons convicted of violating the 'prohibition laws' and suspension of all fines imposed thereby." And while it is about the job of repealing obnoxious laws and tinkering with the Constitution the new party proposes that the President of the United States shall be elected for a term of eight years—nothing is said about eligibility for a second or third term—the abolition of capital punishment, and the submission to the states of an amendment to repeal the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

These three amendments, it may be recalled, were those abolishing slavery, giving the negro citizenship, and decreeing that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Another proposal of the new "conservatives" is to "give all men and women over 60 years of age a pension, living wage, payable by the government, it being optional with them whether they wish to work or not, in addition to receiving allowance from the government." Conservative as they are, it is scarcely to be expected that Calvin Coolidge and Andrew Mellon will endorse that proposal, for they are rather committed to the idea of holding down government expenditures and reducing Federal taxes, and an old age pension, beginning with people still 10 years short of the biblical life span, would hit the Treasury about as hard as the World war did.

Speaking of pensions and the like, the new party wants Government 4 per cent. gold bonds substituted for the Adjusted Compensation Certificates which have been issued to veterans of the World war.

Still others of the conservative declarations are those against the marriage of whites and negroes or Asiatics, for the creation of a new Department of Education in the President's Cabinet, and favoring compulsory military training starting in the schools for all males and conscription of capital as well as man power in time of war.

The 17th and last plank would decree:

"Uniform military and naval service in the event or war—all men being subject to military regulation, irrespective of physical condition, financial, social or other position under civil conditions, and the 'replacement system' of the military and naval forces so adjusted as to give every man, regardless of age, an opportunity to serve his country at the front where danger of death is paramount—thus equally dividing the dangers of war among the rich and poor, educated and uneducated, strong and weak."

Other planks will be added, it is stated; in fact, the idea is conveyed that anybody can join the new party and bring his plank or planks with him because every party member is entitled to at least one plank on which he can stand.

As might be inferred, the new party with its platform was designed to appeal, especially to World War veterans. It is launched under the caption, "Why not a private soldier of the World war for president in 1928?" in the current issue of the Service Record, a publication which is avowedly devoted to subjects appertaining to veterans, national defense, literature, art, science, politics world current events and the photo drama.

Propose $00,000 Memorial

Harrisburg, February 15.—The Legislature finished the sixth week of the 1927 session today with a meeting of the House of Representatives at which five measures were finally passed and sent to the Senate.

Bee

Among the measures passed was the Sterling bill, the purpose of which is to clear up a financial tangle resulting from the Sesqui-Centennial celebration in Philadelphia. The measure would validate bonds, certificates of indebtedness, securities and obligations incurred by the city on account of the Sesqui-Centennial.

Representative Thomas Evans' bill authorizing counties of the fourth class to arrange for and pay the premiums on the bonds required of county officers, employes and delinquent tax collectors was also sent to the Senate.

Rep. Hart, Philadelphia, introduced a bill providing for the erection of a statue in Philadelphia to commemorate the services of Negro soldiers in the various wars in which the United States has been engaged and providing for an appropriation of $100,000 for the purpose.

The nine Whitehouse bills were placed on the postponed calendar with the consent of their sponsor. The measures would repeal obsolete and duplicate legislation. Five more of those measures by the same author were reported out.

The proposed constitutional amendment which would make the Secretary of Internal Affairs an appointive instead of an elective office was reported for passage by the Committee on Constitution Reform. The measure is sponsored by Representative Alexander, Delaware.

Three bills affecting highways were sent to subcommittees for continued study at a meeting of the Committee on Public Roads.

The Voltz measure fixing the speed of motor vehicles through municipalities at twenty-five miles

an hour, providing fines ranging from $25 to 100 for violations and exempting physicians, ambulances and police and fire departments from its provisions was referred to Representatives Armstrong, Gelnett and Wright.

The Thomas measure, which would prohibit police officers from stopping motor vehicles to solicit sale of tickets for entertainments, was referred to Representatives Williams, E. P. Brown and Witherspoon.

The Haas measure, increasing the civil jurisdiction of justices of the peace and aldermen in action for damages arising out of operation of motor vehicles, was given to Representatives Wheeler, Thomas and Fockler.

The Haas bill would permit these civil officials to have jurisdiction in cases involving sums up to $300. Under the present law they cannot have action in cases involving more than $100.

Representative Helen Grimes, Allegheny, introduced a bill establishing the minimum marriage age at 16 years. A judge of the Orphans Court would have discretion to authorize a license in special cases where one or both are under 16 years of age.

Another bill by Miss Grimes provides that no license to marry be issued except after five days' written notice. In extraordinary cases a judge of Orphans Court might authorize licenses before the period expired. Similar measures were introduced in the Senate by Senator Daix, Philadelphia, and are pending in the Judiciary General Committee.

Representative Reader, Beaver, introduced a bill which would impose a state tax on liquid fuels, including gasoline, of 3 cents a gallon. The tax would be collected from the retailer. The act would become effective July 1, 1929. Fifty per cent of the tax proceeds would go to the counties for roads and the remainder would go to townships.

THE LEGISLATURE

It is no easy matter to form an estimate of the 1927 Alabama legislature which yesterday brought its interesting and at times amazing career to a close. It defies classification. With no political viewpoint did it agree consistently. One may not put it down as either radical or conservative altogether, or as anything in between. It had strong radical leanings; in fact, it leaned over backwards in that direction more than once. But, if one is inclined to put it down as radical on the whole, one hesitates on recalling that several of its significant acts were in direct contradistinction to that point of view. On the other hand, the legislature could by no stretch of the imagination be called conservative, or even moderate.

9-3-27

It was, in brief, a legislature of curious anomalies. It presented a number of notable inconsistencies. It reversed itself more than once, and the two houses did not mind reversing each other now and then.

Montgomery, Ala.

Now that history has claimed the legislature of 1927, it is well to review its accomplishments. One meets with no difficulty in classifying its separate acts. Usually when it did jump, in either direction, it jumped far. But try to sum up its accomplishments, with a view to determining whether its record was good or bad, on the whole, and you get nowhere.

The legislature did some things that seemed unwise and calculated to be harmful. It failed to do some things it should have done. But it did much good work, and for this it is to be commended in highest terms.

First, there was the general revenue bill. It was over this measure that the first battle took place. It will be remembered that a recess committee, appointed to draft a revenue bill, put in some hard work on it before the summer session began, and that all its work went for nothing, or very little, at best. The Tunstall revenue bill, as drafted by the recess committee, passed safely and unamended through the house. It was in most respects a good, sound measure. Its most objectionable feature was the nuisance tax on tobacco which it contained.

But the senate, a majority of the members of which had organized a "steam roller" with which to crush all opposition, rewrote the revenue bill according to its own ideas. It was at this time that one of the strange reversals took place. First the senate struck out the proposal to put a 15 per cent stamp tax on tobacco, evidently heeding the widespread popular protest against that measure. Then it proceeded to put the nuisance tax back in again, in slightly different form.

But mainly, the senate, in rewriting the revenue bill, pounced on industries. It resorted to taxation which seems to The Advertiser to have been unwise and unnecessary. The bill, as finally drawn and passed by the senate "steam roller," was then passed by the house, which reversed its original stand on principles of taxation in doing so.

The additional money to be raised by the revenue bill is to go mainly for education. Governor Graves asked for a $4,000,000 increase in revenue for school needs. The additional amount the revenue bill will raise has been variously estimated at from $5,000,000 to $10,000,000.

But if the legislature is to be criticized for certain of the measures embodied in the revenue bill, it is to be commended for what it has done, by means of this and the general educational appropriation bill, for the cause of education in Alabama. If industry is to be penalized, the money can go to no better purpose than to advance the educational interests of the State. The legislature did unusually well by the schools. In addition to passing the $600,000 emergency relief bill for the needs of the common schools at the time, it provided for an annual expenditure of nearly $5,000,000 for the State's educational system. Moreover, it proposed a $20,000,000 school bond issue which is to be submitted to the voters within a few months.

Among the good works of the legislature, besides its efforts in behalf of education, should be mentioned its generosity with the health department. The public schools and the public health are matters of vital importance, and the legislature has provided well in both instances.

In another matter of vital concern—good roads—the legislature has acquitted itself creditably. Called into special session last December, shortly before the regular session was to begin, for the purpose of considering a $25,000,000 road bond issue, the legislature authorized an election for bonds in that amount. The highway program that has been put into effect is giving Alabama roads that we need. We will need still more after the proceeds of the $25,000,000 bond issue are exhausted, but the future will take care of itself in this respect.

Thus, in three things on which the State's progress largely depends—education, public health work and good roads—the legislature has made ample provision. In commending the legislature for its work in these matters, we also wish to give to Governor Graves the credit that is his due. They were the Governor's measures.

The Advertiser gladly commends the legislature for the good it has done, but we do not hesitate on that account to criticize it for failing to do things it should have done.

For one thing, there was the defeat of all attempts to enact an anti-masking law. While the legislature was in session, there came to light in Alabama one of the greatest menaces with which this State has ever been confronted—the evil of flogging. A long series of floggings by masked bands of night-riders was exposed. These brutal crimes naturally aroused the indignation of the entire State, and of the Nation. Vigorous steps have been taken to put a stop to these outrages. Floggers have been convicted and sentenced to prison. But it was plain that the mask was one of the roots of the evil. The mask afforded protection to members of flogging gangs. The legislature was called upon to strike at the root of this evil by making it unlawful to wear masks in public and by making the crime of flogging a felony, instead of a misdemeanor. But the legislature refused to remove the mask in Alabama. An anti-flogging bill was passed, making the crime a felony; but the mask remains. The anti-flogging law is something, of course. Half a loaf is better than no bread. But a whole loaf would have been better still.

For another thing, there was the defeat of the double-primary bill, by means of which the people of Alabama expected to have majority rule restored to them. There was a strong popular sentiment for the return of the double primary. The house passed the bill by a vote of about two to one. That, we would say, at least represented the popular sentiment in Alabama for restoration of the double primary. But the senate refused to approve the measure, and so Alabama must go for four more years, at least, under an election law which permits government by a minority.

We have mentioned the fact that the legislature presented curious anomalies.

Political - 1927 II

Legislation Relating to

In some respects, it was an illiberal body of law-makers. Yet it revealed, in some things, a significant liberality of thought. Its liberal impulses were responsible for acts that reflect credit on the State of Alabama. The legislature promptly killed efforts to put over an anti-evolution law. It turned a deaf ear to all appeals for the enactment of Sunday blue laws. It did not listen to the proponents of the home-brew bill. And it passed a State boxing law. The legislature deserves all praise for its refusal to consider seriously such extreme measures an anti-evolution bills, Sunday blue laws and the proposal to legislate against the sale of malts, etc., in order to prevent the manufacture of home-brew.

But the credit reflected on the State by these things is partly obscured by the shadow cast by the failure to enact anti-masking legislation and by the proposed press-muzzling laws, which attracted the attention and aroused the consternation of the entire country.

Another thing we should like to mention in the legislature's favor, however, is that it raised some salaries that should have been raised. The people of Alabama, we think, believe in paying their public officials adequately. Certainly The Advertiser favors fair salaries for our officials.

And now that the legislature is over, we trust that its members will leave Montgomery with pleasant memories of the city. We feel sure their stay here has been made as enjoyable as Montgomery could have made it.

SMALL SIGNS TWO JIM CROW HOUSE BILLS

Hospitals and Schools Under Ban

Springfield, Ill., July 15.—Among the last minute bills signed by Governor Len Small at the close of the assembly were two that were vital to the interest of our Race in Chicago and throughout the state. These two bills were anti-discrimination measures introduced by Representatives Charles A. Griffin and Warren B. Douglas to fight injustices dealt our people in vocational schools and hospitals. Governor Small signed the school bill June 29 and the hospital bill July 5.



Hon. Chas. Griffin

Marks Sponsors Bill

These bills were pushed through the house after several readings and sent to the senate with Senator Adolph Marks of the First senatorial district as their sponsor. They were skillfully maneuvered through the senate by the senator.



Hon. W. B. Douglas

The anti-discrimination school bill was sponsored by Representative Charles A. Griffin of the First senatorial district in the house and passed by a vote of 89 ayes and one nay. This law provides that no school which bars persons of any race or color can be considered in good standing by the state and that the graduates of such schools cannot be admitted to take examinations for licenses to practice their trades or professions. Many schools in the state have barred members of our Race from entrance which this amendment to the civil administration code will prevent from operating. The bill was especially aimed at beauty culture training schools, business colleges, a few art and advertising schools, chiropractic schools, and other institutions which teach vocations and trades that are in constant demand for expertly trained help. Representative Warren B. Douglas aided Representative Griffin in his fight for the passage of the measure.



Hon. Adolph Marks

Hospitals Are Hit

The hospital bill sponsored by Representative Warren B. Douglas of the Third senatorial district, which passed the house by a vote of 107 ayes and no nays, was aimed at the hospitals which refuse to admit our Race, even for first aid treatment after accidents. The law provides that any hospital, public or private, that denies to any applicant of any race first aid treatment in case of accident or serious injury shall be fined a sum not less than $50 nor more than $200. During the fight in the house and senate for the passage of this measure, hospitals in Chicago that had been guilty of Jim-Crowing members of our Race, bombarded the assemblymen with hundreds of telegrams protesting against the bill. Adolph Marks steered it successfully over strong opposition and passed it in the senate by a vote of 27 ayes and 6 nays.

The hospital bill was also aimed at institutions of mercy which refused to treat applicants until they were assured that their fees were guaranteed. The bill also carried a clause which stated that hospitals should treat applicants for injuries without considering the payment of fees. During the past year scores of persons have died for lack of proper medical treatment after admittance to hospitals. The indifference of white hospitals in the treatment of members of our Race caused Representative Douglas to introduce the bill April 13.

Sen. Marks Aids Passage

The representatives who sponsored these important bills stated that Senator Adolph Marks should have a great part of the credit for their passage. Each time that the senator has been called upon to take a position in favor of the Race, he has done it courageously, the members of the lower house said. It is safe to say that both of these bills would have been dangerously imperiled in their passage in the senate if it had not been for the indomitable courage and skill of Senator Marks. His friendship for the Race has stood the test.

Commissioner Edward H. Wright was extremely interested in the passage of these bills and it was greatly through his efforts that Governor Small signed these so readily, thereby protecting members of the Race throughout the state and especially in Chicago.

CONGRESS PETITIONED FOR REMEDIAL

WASHINGTON,———

Senator Gillett, Republican, of Massachusetts, has presented to the United States Senate the petitioned formulated by the National Lincoln-Douglass Colored American Conference on February 14th, and this same has been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"For a long time," states the petition, Colored American citizens of the United States have been especially denied civil and political rights in violation of Section, Article 14, of the amendments to the Federal Constitution, which states that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Declaring that these civil and political disabilities imposed upon our people have increased as we have receded from the Civil War, a war brought to the happy consummation of freedom and civil equality by President Lincoln, the Emancipator, and Frederick Douglass, the colored abolitionists, the petition requests remedial action which will bring lasting peace and contentment. "Chief among the disabilities," states the petition, is the wholesale disfranchisement of millions of our people who are without a voice or vote in the selection of their representatives to the Federal and State legislatures, which they are taxed to support."

The petition, which was signed by men allied with all political parties, asked Congress for legislation to reduce State representation in the Federal House in proportion to adult disfranchisement To forbid denial of accommodation, or segregation, by or for race or color, in interstate commerce and in public places and facilities in Federal property or in other Federal domains: To more quickly detect and more adequately punish the crime of peonage: To make mob murder and lynchings a Federal crime; and, finally, to refuse to seat those elected under conditions of disfranchisement because of race and color. Claiming that the passions of the Civil War have long since outlived, the petitioners averred that "A new generation of white and colored men are now working for the upbuilding of the country, and this work will be greatly aided by establishing in every community the law of even-handed justice and by abolishing the evils and injustices which our people suffer." The petition was signed by the President, Dr. W. H. Jernagin, and the Executive Secretary, George A. Larkin, of the National Race Congress, and also by other members of the Conference.

Political-1927

Office Holding.

Connecticut

PEAKER WINS ALDERMANIC SEAT AT 75

poke on Platform With Depew

New Haven, Conn., Dec. 2.—After assing his 75th birthday, Joseph P. eaker, one of the most distinguished tizens of the state, has been elected a member of the board of aldermen this city. Although Mr. Peaker as been very active in political af- irs, he has devoted a great deal of s attention to fraternal and civic fairs. He even gives some thought the "flaming youth."

The gray haired disciple of philoso- her says that though his life had een merged with politics, this had een but a means to an end. Mr. eaker has lived in Connecticut since 87 and since then has mixed ac- vely in the affairs of the state. His enunciation of the administration ction in the Brownsville troops af- air received so much space in the ewspapers of the state that a dele- ation from New York waited upon im asking him to consider the fu- lity of his stand.

Requested 12-3-27 Chicago 12-2-27

On Stump for Roosevelt

Shortly after the Spanish-American ar Mr. Peaker took the stump in ehalf of Theodore Roosevelt through ie New England states. His educa- on is so obvious, his refinement of peech so evident, his choice of words o right that the divulgence of a uni- ersity background would not have ccasioned surprise. But there has een no such advantage in his life. His system, he says, is to read and bsorb the best that he can find in ood books.

An event that Mr. Peaker considers high light in his life was his ap- earance on the same platform and rogram with Chauncey Depew at the ooper-Union hall, New York city. he occasion, he says, was a Fred- rick Douglass celebration. In 1864 e met Lincoln while with his father n Philadelphia. The work of the reat emancipator has been also the ork of the alderman. For years he as fought for the passage of bills at would assure all men their civil ghts. He was born in Bucks county, a., in 1852.

Political - 1927

Calais, France.

Office Holding

CARTER DECLINES LIBERIAN POST; GOES TO FRANCE

Washington, D. C., March 30.—James Garneth Carter, of Georgia, has declined the appointment of minister resident and consul general of the United States to Liberia, the State Department announced Tuesday.

He will continue in the consular service and will be transferred to Calais, France, as the United States consul. This is a promotion for him.

The State Department expressed regret at his declination of the Liberian post. The reason given for the declination is that Mr. Carter did not desire to live any longer in the tropics. He has been living in the tropics for 20 years.

Mr. Carter, it has been learned, was never particular about the Liberian appointment. Shortly after his nomination for the post was sent to the Senate by the President, the question of his status in the consular service was raised and he indicated to the State Department that unless he retained his consular status while serving as Liberian minister and would be returned to the consular service at the end of his diplomatic term, he would not accept the post.

This objection, however, was overcome. Under the law, it was found, he could be returned to the consular service inasmuch as his

Monrovia shortly after his return from a visit in the South. Instead the State Department announced his deilination of the post and his transfer to Calais.

Mr. Carter was nominated to be minister resident and consul general of the United States to Liberia on February 11. The Senate confirmed him on March 1.

Mr. Carter has been in the foreign service for 20 years. His first appointment was as a consul at Sivas, a province in Turkey, September 6, 1906. He declined this post. He was appointed consul at Tamatave, November 1, 1906. He was made a consul of class 8 by act of Congress approved February 5, 1915. He was assigned to Tananarive, Madagascarr, July 8, 1916. He became a consul of class 6 June 4, 1920, and a foreign service officer of class 7 July 1, 1924. He is married and has a daughter

It is the first time State Department officials can recall that a consul has declined a ministership.

Carter Declines as Liberian Minister

James G. Carter, who has spen about twenty years in the consula service of the country, and who was confirmed as United States Minister to Liberia, has declined to accept the place and has been named as consul to Calais, France.

The State department regrets Mr. Carter's disinclination to go to Liberia. It is understood the change was made owing to Mr. Carter's desire to remain away from tropical countries in which he has spent so many years.

The declination of Mr. Carter of the Liberian post opens up an appointment for some worthy Republican. Who it shall be no one is able to forecast at this time. Some of those mentioned are: Charles E. Mitchell, of Institute, W. Va., who now has a residence in Washington; George W. Harris, editor of the New York News, and former commissioner to the Virgin Islands; Woodson, Des Moines, Iowa

CARTER NOT TO GO TO LIBERIA

Washington, D. C.—James C. Carter, of Georgia, recently appointed minister to Liberia, has declined the post. The State Department announced on Tuesday. The department expressed regret at the declination of the appointment. The reason given for the refusal was that Mr. Carter, who has seen 20 years diplomatic service in the tropics, has no desire to return.

Mr. Carter has served in Turkey and Madagascar. The declination of a post is said to be the first in which a counsel has refused a ministership.

CARTER DECLINES LIBERIAN POST; POLITICAL CIRCLES STIRRED

Washington, D. C., April 7.—(By A. N. P.)—The recent announcement that James G. Carter had declined the post as United States Minister to Liberia, to which he was recently appointed by President Coolidge, has rocked political circles and already the powers that be are endeavoring to carry out the desire to make this position of honor held by Dr. Solomon Porter Hood, a political pawn.

Mr. Carter's decision, which was announced Tuesday, came as a distinct surprise and had the usual bomb-shell effect. Having spent twenty years in the tropics, and having reached the age of fifty years, Mr. Carter did not consider it advisable for him to tackle the African climate which in his opinion might also endanger the health of his wife and children, the younger of which is a mere infant.

Following Mr. Carter's action, it was announced that he would continue in the consular service, in which he has been for the past twenty years and will probably be appointed to the consulate at Calais, France, which will be a distinct promotion for him.

Prior to his selection, Attorney William Francis, of St. Paul, was the leading contender

NO LIBERIA FOR CARTER

REFUSES MINISTER TO LIBERIA POST—FIRST CASE IN HISTORY

Washington, D. C., March 28, 1927 James Garneth Carter, of Georgia has declined the appointment of minister resident and consul general of the United States to Liberia, the State Department announced Tuesday.

He will continue in the consular service and will be transferred to Calais, France, as the United States consul. This is a promotion.

The State Department expressed regret at his declination of the Liberian post. The reason given for the declination is that Mr. Carter did not desire to live any longer in the tropics. He has been living in the tropics for 20 years.

Shortly after his nomination for the post was sent to the Senate by the President, the question of his status in the consular service was raised and he indicated to the State Department that unless he retained his consular status while serving as Liberian minister and would be returned to the consular service at the end of his diplomatic term, he would not accept the post.

Mr. Carter has been in the foreign service for 20 years. His first appointment was as consul at Sivas, a province in Turkey, September 6, 1906. He declined this post. He was appointed as a consul at Tamatave, November 1, 1906. He was made a consul of class 8 by act of Congress approved February 5, 1915. He was assigned to Tananarive, Madagascar, July 8, 1916. He became a consul of class 6, June 4, 1920, and a foreign service officer of class 7 July 1, 1924. He is married and has a daughter.

It is the first time State Department officials can recall that a consul as declined a ministership.

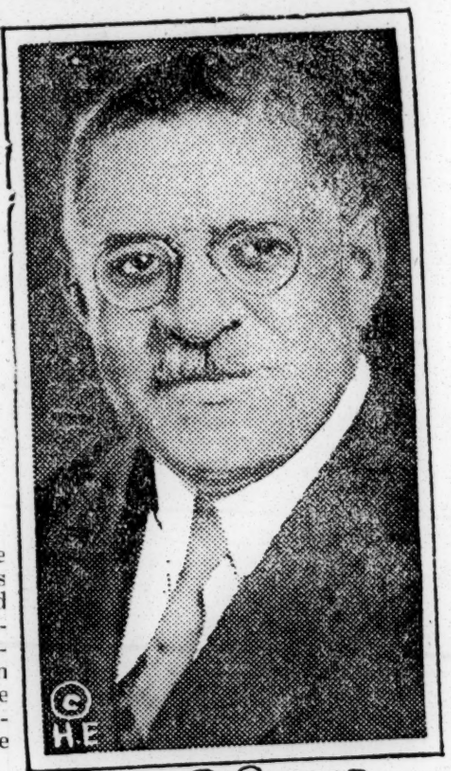
Consul James G. Carter Sails for French Post

Washington, D. C., April 8.—James G. Carter, United States consul, who will sail in a few days for his new post at Calais, France, called at the White House last Wednesday to pay his respects to the president.

After confirmation by the senate, Mr. Carter, who has been in the consular service for 20 years, declined the post of United States minister resident and consul general to Liberia. The state department continued him in the consular service and transferred him from Tananarive, Madagascar, to Calais, the French seaport on the English channel, facing Dover.

Mr. Carter said he declined the Liberian post because of the tropical climate. He has lived in the tropics for the past 20 years

Firestone's Watchman



JAMES G. CARTER

Carter is newly appointed U. S. Minister to Liberia. With the establishment of the great Firestone rubber plantations there, the state department begins to take a tighter grip on the government of the little Negro republic.

CARTER SEES COOLIDGE

NEW CONSUL TO FRANCE CONFIRMED

Washington, D. C., Apr. 7, 1927.—James G. Carter, United States Consul whoi will sail in a few days for his new post at Calais, France, called at the White House last Wednesday to pay his respects to the President.

After confirmation by the Senate, Mr. Carter, who has been on the consular service for 20 years, declined the post of United States minister resident and consul general to Liberia. The State Department continued him in the consular service and transferred him from Tananarive, Madagascar, to Calais, the French seaport on the English Channel, facing Dover.

Mr. Carter states that for reasons of health for himself and family it was thought best not to return immediately to the tropics and he therefore declined the Liberian post. He has lived in the tropics for the past 20 years.

MR. CARTER DECLINES THE LIBERIAN MISSION

WE are all interested in the fact that Mr. James Garneth Carter of Georgia, who was appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate before its adjournment recently, to be minister resident and consul-general to the Republic of Liberia, has declined that position and has been transferred to the consulate at Calais, France. Mr. Carter has been in the consular service, mostly in Madagascar, off the coast of Africa, for twenty years, and it was given as a reason for his declining the Liberian mission that he did not care longer to reside in a tropical country. It was also found that his acceptance of the mission would affect his high rating in the consular service, and would not be a promotion, while the transfer to the Calais consulate would be.

The Liberian mission is not a very desirable post. The salary is small, when the demands on a minister's purse are considered; the post an isolated one, with little social attractions, and the climate has proven to be very deadly to American ministers in the past. But there have always been plenty of applicants for the position, and there will be plenty who desire to accept what Mr. Carter has cast aside.

It is an interesting fact that there are now living four former ministers resident and consuls-general to Liberia, as follows: Rev. E. E. Smith of North Carolina, Rev. Ernest Lyon of Maryland, Mr. W. H. Johnson of Ohio, and Rev. Solomon P. Hood of New Jersey. And the United States has never sent a white man as minister to Liberia.

Carter Declines

Decision of Mr. James G. Carter not to accept the post of minister and consul general to Liberia has set political tongues to wagging.

Refusal of the post because it lies in the tropics is nothing unusual in the history of the state department. It was offered to Dr. J. B. Oliver of Brazil, Indiana under the Wilson administration, who declined it for similar reasons and stated that he would not be averse to going to Haiti.

In appointing Mr. Carter, the State Department let it be known that it favored the policy of advancing those already in foreign service in filling its posts as ministers instead of regarding the office merely as a political plum.

It seemed therefore that Mr. Carter's 20 years service as U. S. Consul to Madagascar gave him the requisite background with which to handle the Liberian situation. As an inducement to make the post attractive, the Department further obligated itself to raise the salary from $5,000, the present figure, and to see to it that Mr. Carter did not lose his consular standing entitling him to retirement and pension under the rules of the consular service.

Apparently the State Department felt Mr. Carter would be satisfied with these concessions, for the President sent his name to the Senate which promptly confirmed him. But he wasn't for he promptly declined.

Just why the President and the Senate were allowed to go so far with this nomination and confirmation while Mr. Carter's mind was not made up is a mystery.

This much is evident however, that Mr. Carter must have asked for further concessions which were not granted, and secondly that he came thru the whole affair with the confidence of the State Department which promoted him thereupon to the consulate at Calais, France.

CARTER REJECTS POST AT LIBERIA AS U. S. MINISTER

Appointee To Former Post Of Solomon Hood Says He Has Enough Of Tropics

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6.—The State Department announced Tuesday that James Garneth Carter of Georgia has declined the appointment of minister resident and consul general of the United States to Liberia. The report further stated that he will continue in the consular service and will be transferred to Calais, France, as the United States consul. This is a promotion for him. The reason given for the declination is that Mr. Carter did not desire to live any longer in the tropics, where he has spent twenty years.

It was learned that Mr. Carter was never particular about the Liberian appointment. Shortly after the nomination for the post was sent to the senate by the president, the question of his status in the consular service was raised and he informed the state department that unless he retained his status while serving in Liberia, he would accept no post.

The Liberian post pays $5,000 per year.

Has Served 20 Years

Mr. Carter has been in the foreign service for 20 years. His first appointment was as a consul at Sivas, a province of Turkey, September 6, 1906. He declined this post. He was appointed consul at Tamatave, November 1, 1906. He was made a consul of class 8 by act of Congress, approved February 5, 1915. He was assigned to Tananarive, Madagascar, July 8, 1916. He became a consul of class 6, June 4, 1920, and a foreign service officer of class 7, July 1, 1924. He is married and has a daughter.

It is the first time State Department officials can recall that a consul has declined a ministership.

CARTER DECLINES POST AS LIBERIAN CONSULAR

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6—James G. Carter, whose appointment as Consular to Liberia was confirmed by the last Congress, has declined to accept the post. Mr. Carter is said to have objected to returning to tropical countries having spent about twenty years in the U. S. Consular Service in regions south of the equator. He will be transfered to Calais, France, as the United States Consul.

Many outstanding race men have been considered for appointment as Liberian Consular. It is beleived that another representative will be chosen at an early date.

Georgia Negro Refuses Liberian Minister's Job

Washington, April 21.—(AP)—James G. Carter, of Georgia, one of the few negroes in the consular service, has declined appointment as minister to Liberia. He told the state department he was afraid his health would not permit him to live in Monrovia, the capital.

Carter, who has served as consul at Tananarive, Madagascar, is in special duty at the state department. He is to be designed to duty as consu at Calais, France.

APR 22 192

GEORGIA NEGRO TO BE CONSUL AT CALAIS

WASHINGTON, April 21 (AP) James G. Carter, of Georgia, one of the few negroes in the consular service, has declined appointment as minister to Liberia. He told the State department he was afraid his health would not permit him to live in Monrovia, the capital.

Carter, who has served as consul at Tananrive, Madagascar, is on special duty at the State department. He is to be assigned to duty as consul at Calais, France.

Political-1927
Office Holding

D.C.

Oldest Senate Employe Is Dead

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—(By A. N. P.)—Joseph R. Montgomery, who had been working around the capitol since the administration of President Grant, is dead here following a long illness. Mr. Montgomery was 83 years old and had worked in the Capitol 58 years. His funeral was largely attended, many members of the Senate and House together with other officials being in attendance.

Secretary Kellogg Retains 72-Year-Old Negro Messenger

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 23.—Edward Augustine Savoy, the 72-year-old colored messenger to the Secretary of State, known to generations of officials and to sightseers at the Secretary's door, where he has been stationed for fifty-eight years, was retained by Secretary Kellogg today for two more years, preventing his forced retirement from the service for age.

He was appointed by Secretary Hamilton Fish in 1869 and has forsaken his post only once, when he accompanied the Peace Commissioners as messenger in 1898 during the deliberations which ended the war with Spain.

After attaining the rank of chief messenger he was rated as a $1,200-a-year clerk by order of President Wilson, on the recommendation of Secretary Bryan. This was increased to $1,400 by Bainbridge Colby and to $1,500 by Secretary Hughes.

Aged State Department Doorkeeper Reappointed

WASHINGTON, April 25.—Eddie Savoy, the venerable messenger who has been stationed at the door of American Secretaries of State since 1869, was retained Saturday to serve two more years. Savoy long ago reached the age of retirement as a government employee. Mr. Kellogg, in fact, has twice extended his retirement time because he is regarded in a large sense indispensable as the doorkeeper at the Secretary's office.

U. S. CAPITOL DOORMAN FOR THE PAST 58 YEARS WILL CONTINUE ON JOB

Secretary Kellog Continues Services Of Faithful Attendant Who Has Known Many Celebrities

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27.—Eddie Savoy, the venerable messenger who has been stationed at the door of American Secretaries of State since 1869, was retained today to serve two more years. Eddie, as he is familiarly known to perhaps more public officials than any other messenger, long ago reached the age of retirement as a government employee. Mr. Kellogg in fact has twice extended his retirement time because he is regarded in a large sense indispensable as the doorkeeper at the Secretary's office.

Savoy was appointed to the job by Secretary Hamilton Fish. Every since he has served in the capacity and has known ambassadors and ministers from every country.

Savoy's services have been singled out for special recognition by many secretaries and he holds the rank of a clerk in that department and draws $1,500 a year as a mark of appreciation.

GETS RESPONSIBLE POSITION IN D. C.

Washington, D. C., April 1.—Hon. Jefferson S. Coage of Delaware, second deputy recorder of deeds, has been promoted to the position of disbursing and financial officer in charge of all funds in the office of the recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia. Coage is the first to hold the office of the second deputy, created by the 68th congress in 1925 upon the recommendation of Senator F. Heisler Ball of Delaware. His duties were accounting and bookkeeping, all reports being made to the general United States accounting office.

Upon the request of Chairman Madden of the appropriation committee and Chairman Zilliman of the house district committee, the United States bureau of efficiency recommended that all accounts of financial affairs of the office be turned over to the second deputy recorder. Acting upon this report, the recorder of deeds immediately appointed Mr. Coage.

Mr. Coage was one of the five commissioners appointed by President Coolidge to investigate conditions in the Virgin islands. The report of that commission has been the basis of the legislation just enacted by congress on the Virgin islands.

Coage is a graduate of the Howard high school of Wilmington, Del., and Wilberforce university, Ohio. He is a Delawarian by birth. He is a charter member of Hercules lodge, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, Wilmington, Del., and a member of the A. M. E. church.

MESSENGERS TO RESENT CLOCK PUNCH ORDER

An order requiring all messengers to sign in and sign out has been recently issued for the observance of all Treasury department messengers.

This order signed by A. W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury states that messengers in the auditor's Building, Liberty Loan Annex, Registers' Annex, Butler Building, Darby and Graham Buildings will be required to report for duty at 8 a.m., and must register at the main entrances on report slips in the possession of the guard force. These registration slips transmitted each day to the several activities will enable them to maintain a record of arrival and departure of the messenger force, says the bulletin.

Claims Plan Unfair

In an interview with several employees who refused to give their names the writer was told that the move is considered an injustice. There are a number of messengers assigned to offices of Presidential appointees or Officials appointed by the President like the Secretary or Assistant Secretary of the Treasury who do a great amount of overtime work. The men who work in these offices are seldom able to leave their respective buildings before 6 o'clock and sometimes as late as 7 o'clock in the evening. These men feel tthat it is unjust that they should be required to report at 8 a.m. the same as the messengers who do not have to make the extra time and who get off at 4:30 promptly.

Tardy Messenger

The new ruling affects less than thirty whites and over one hundred Negro employees. Hence the ire of the messenger force has been aroused. The idea for the new order was gotten when a white messenger in the office of the Supervising Architect had been constantly tardy until one morning the Chief Clerk of the Treasury on entering the Supervisor's office at past nine was surprised to find the

Political-1927
Office Holding

General.

Negro-Caucasian

1/31/27

NEGROES IN CONGRESS

Since the establishment of the present government of the United States, two negroes have sat in the senate. They were Hiram H. Revels who was senator from Mississippi in 1870 and 1871, and B. K. Bruce who was senator from the same state for the term 1875 to 1881. There have been 21 negro representatives in the national congress. The states which have had one or more negro representatives are as follows: South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi Louisiana, Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama and Florida. George White, of North Carolina, was the last negro to serve as a congressman. His second term expired in 1900.—The Pathfinder.

23 AMERICANS REPRESENTED U. S. IN LIBERIA

List Of Ministers To W. Africa Republic Includes Distinguished Men

AVERAGE TERM OF OFFICE ABOUT 3 YRS.

Dr. Ernest Lyon And J. Miller Turner's 7 Year Stay The Longest

The list of diplomats who have represented the U. S. in Liberia numbers 23 according to information furnished by the Consul General, Dr. Ernest Lyon.

Dr. Ernest Lyon and J. Milton Turner, the first U. S. ministers served 7 years each, the longest term of any. The average term is 2 years, 3 months. The torrid climate and the advanced years of the men appointed are said to have influenced the shortness of the terms.

This list is as follows:

.1 John E. Forney was only U. S. Commercial Agent.
2. John Seys, Vice Commercial Agent from 1858-64.
3. Abraham Hanson, Commercial Agent from 1862-66.
4. John Seys, First American Minister Resident and Consul General from 1866-70.
5. J. Milton Turner, American Min., Res. and Con. Gen. from 1871 to 1878.
6. John H. Smythe, American Min. Res. and C. Gen. from 1878-81.
7. Henry Highland Garnet, Am. Min. Res. and C. Gen. from 1881 to 1882.
8. John H. Smythe reappointed at death of Minister Garnet—from 1882 to 1885.
9. Moses A. Hopkins, American Min. Res. and C. Gen. from 1885 to 1886. Died at his post.
10. C. H. J. Taylor, Min Res. and C. Gen. from 1887 to 1887. Resigned.
11. Ezekiel E. Smith, American Min. Res and C. Gen. from 1880-90.
12. Alexander Clark, American Min. Res. and C. Gen. from 1890-91.
13. Wm. D. McCoy, American Min. Res. and C. Gen. from 1892 to 1893.
14. Wm. H. Heard, American Min. Res. and Con. Gen. from 1895 to 1898.
15. Owen L. W. Smith, American Min. Res. and Con. Gen. from 1892 to 1902.
16. John R. Crossland, Min. Res. and C. Gen. from 1902 to 1903.
17. Ernest Lyon, Res. and Con. Gen. from 1903 to 1910.
18. W. D. Crum, Min. Res. and Con. Gen, from 1910 to 1914.
19. Dr. G. W. Buckner, Min. Res. and Con. Gen., from 1914 to 1915.
20. James L. Curtis, Min. Res. and Con. Gen., 1916 to 1917.
21. Richard C. Bundy, Acting Min. and Con. Gen., 1918.
22. Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, Min. Res. and Con. Gen, 1918-1921.
23. Solomon T. Hood, Min. Res and Con. Gen., 1923-1926.

Fine Italian Hand of 'Chief' Bill Matthews Seen In Naming Francis As Minister-Designate To Liberia

Mitchell of West Virginia, Only Unpaid Campaign Manager In Last Presidential Struggle, Left Outside By Coolidge Policy

By R. B. LEMUS

Washington, D. C.—William C. Matthews was chief director of Negro activities for Republican National Committee in 1924. His assistants were W. T. Francis, directing the west from Chicago, and Charles E. Mitchell in charge at New York.

Chief Matthews is filling a major assignment as special assistant to U. S. Attorney General Sargent out on the Pacific slope, headquarters at San Francisco. "First Deputy Chief" Francis is Minister-designate to Liberia. Only "Second Deputy Chief" Mitchell remains out in the cold, to console himself with happy memories of his invaluable service on the salaryless, erstwhile Virgin Islands' Commission.

Many Called, Few Chosen.

Many are called but few chosen; and the seeming paradox of developments in respect to rewards for the three great chieftains of 1924 is that the most is least, from the political asset point of view. For Mr. Mitchell, who also served at New York without pay, the solely unrewarded of the trio, hails from the one commonwealth with a statewide Negro political organization which can be depended upon at the polls on election days.

It is seriously alleged that Mitchell is only elegible for non-paying posts because of the "Coolidge quota" which restricts Negro federal appointees to one per state, and Recorder of Deeds Froe enjoys priority. Messrs. Froe and Mitchell are West Virginians.

Allegations are not sustained by facts. Chief Matthews is accredited from Massachusetts. So is Assistant U. S. Attorney John W. Schenck—Matthews' law partner—whom Matthews kept in office when an insistent superceding District Attorney wanted Mr. Schenck "kept out." That the posts do not require Senate confirmation is beside the point, as none believes either Francis or Mitchell would decline as good a job as Matthews has. It's the job, not the confirmation, that counts. Hence, Massachusetts, with the earth's sorriest Negro politicotariat, exceeds the "Coolidge-Negro-quota" allotment by an even 100 per cent.

A Political Nonentity.

Then, there's Minnesota, where Francis lived so long and so well. It also is a political nonentity—but for lack of numbers, and unlike Massachusetts, whose Negroes are just politically "sorry" and trifling, yelping about the segregation in Washington, howling over disfranchisement in Missisippi, while sleeping on election day.

But Minnesota gets the fourth assignment which requires Senate confirmation. And what may be said about Massachusetts because it's the President's state really applies to Minnesota: Mr. Coolidge has allotted this State four major appointments, in addition to those of Secretary of State Kellogg and Supreme Court Justice Pierce Butler.

But why "Billy" Francis for Liberia? is what most folks want to know. First, there's the influence of Matthews. During the campaign, and since, Francis was the big chief's "fair-haired boy." When Matthews became convinced that he couldn't get Francis in as Register of the Treasury he named his gentle, always smooth, competent assistant for the Liberian post—even when Mitchell seemed to have intensely desired it and was alleged to have gone out to Akron to seek the Firestone influence in his own behalf. Mr. Matthews neglected himself for Mr. Francis, and the effect of Matthews' choice of Francis, as between Francis and Mitchell, cannot be discounted.

Had Home Influence.

Then, there was organized effort in Mr. Francis' behalf. He was indorsed by representative Negroes of many states; additionally, Francis and Secretary Kellog hail from the same state and home town, are well acquainted, and thus it was entirely practicable for the President's Premier, who has to do with diplomatic appointments, to add his meed of praise and honor to the indorsements submitted.

Factionalism among West Virginia whites, also probably handicapped Mr. Mitchell, who is a friend of Governor Gore. The governor recently removed T. Edward Hill, state Republican Negro leader, from the post of Director of Negro Research and Statistics, because Hill opposed Gore in the nominating primary back in 1924. Gore, however, is doomed, insofar as elective office goes. He cannot succeed himself as Governor and the Republican leaders are determined to keep him out of the U. S. Senate next year.

This writer sincerely hoped that Mitchell would have landed the Liberian post, and hopes he may yet land one worth while. He does not wonder why Mr. Mitchell comes to Washington so often, as Prof. W. H. Ferris recently wrote to a West Virginia paper. This writer knows Mr. Mitchell quite well. What he wonders about is why Prof. Ferris spends so much time hereabouts and what has become of his former monthly magazine.

Scott's Sons-in-law

You know that the two sons-in-law of Dr. Emmett J. Scott have recently landed fat political plums.—Aaron Payne is now Assistant Corporation Counsel out in Chicago, and Hubert T. Delany is now Assistant United States Attorney in New York. I heard a few of the senior Howard law students talking about how powerful Dr. Scott was, and they wanted to know if he had another daughter, unmarried.

Before I close, please let me beg of you to read Mencken's editorial in The American Mercury for October. He indulges in delicious sarcasm, and the whole thing is too sweet for words. You'll enjoy it. And now I must away—cheerio!

Affectionately,

BUZZ

Political - 1927
Office Holding
Georgia.

SAVANNAH, GA., Press
MAR 1 1927

NEGRO NATIONAL G. O. P. COMMITTEEMAN VISITS

B. J. Davis, colored, Republican national committeeman for Georgia, is here on a visit today. He called on local friends. Davis, whose home is in Atlanta, is president of the National Negro Editorial Association and editor of a weekly newspaper.

FORMALLY MADE MEMBER REPUBLICAN NAT'L COM.



HON. B. J. DAVIS

B. J. Davis, editor of the Atlanta Independent and president of the National Negro Press Association, was formally made a member of the Republican National Committee this week, succeeding the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, who was National Committeeman from Georgia until his death.

Mr. Davis will, no doubt, be re-elected next year by his constituents, as he is quite popular in Georgia politics.

Political - 1927

Illinois.

Office Holding

Bishops In Political Offices

Viewing the appointment of Bishop Archibald J. Carey as a member of the Chicago Civil Service Commission by Mayor Thompson as one not calculated to help the reputation of the Christian Church, the Washington Tribune revives the age-old question of the propriety of ecclesiastics participating in politics or accepting political plums. The Journal and Guide, like the Tribune, is unable to see this sort of thing in any other light than that it is harmful to the church. When the vestments of the clergy become enmeshed into the forever designing game of politics it looks too much like subjecting this high and holy office to pollution for personal and political ends.

While there is no doubt as to the fitness of Bishop Carey to fill the position of Civil Service Commissioner of America's second city, there is neither any doubt as to the fitness of a number of lawyers and laymen in Chicago to fill the position tendered the bishop. And one chosen from this number occupying a position of political patronage would certainly fit better into the scheme of appropriateness than does a bishop, according to the universal impression regarding the spiritual estate of the church and its clergy. The fact that this appointment passed over the heads of all the other professional and lay groups in Chicago, among which there are as active political leaders as is the bishop, to this church dignitary whose position as a spiritual leader gives him a great following and wide denominational influence might be regarded as indicating a sinister move on the part of astute politicians to bag as political game a great Negro denomination by the simple expedient of hiring a few high church leaders. The appointment of the Rev. Solomon Porter Hood of the A. M. E. Zion Church as minister to Liberia is recalled as giving emphasis to this point.

Certainly the race appreciates all that it can gain in the way of recognition of its citizenship through the appointment of members of the group public office, but the field is a wide one from which the representatives of our political patronage may be selected and we believe it would be better for all concerned if the field of the ministry offered no competition in this respect. The exactions of politics are inexorable, demanding always that the end dictate the means, and we believe that the church, through its leaders, can best preserve its character as a medium of spiritual uplift and edification by steering clear of such activities. It is alright, even desirable, that the clergy be concerned with the material as well as the spiritual welfare of the people. In fact it is an obligation that they should be. But they can best leaven the crass materialism of this world with spiritual light by themselves remaining above taint in things the world is wont to look upon as belonging more appropriately to the secular.

BISHOP CAREY ACCEPTS POLITICAL PLUM—LOWERS STANDARD OF EPISCOPACY

We had something to say last week about church politics. We hav something more to say this week, and with no change of our slant, excep to make it more perpendicular.

About eight months ago the A. M. E. Church Bishopric turned itself wrong side out to expurgate the thought of a Bishop's accepting the presidency of a national educational institution—one that for the most of its career had been headed by a minister.

The Council benignly decided that Brother John Gregg had been fishing in unholy water, and, though he made a fine catch, it could not see its way to endorse such ambition, and it could find no means of saving his robe, according to the laws of the church, if he should accept. In effect, it refused to honor the denomination on the technical grounds that its antiquated polity showed no precedent; it assumed that acquiesence to this type of honor on one of its Bishops would put the Negro Bishopric henceforth and forever up into the air.

Now it happens that opportunity in another direction comes, in a field less honorable for this holy craft; under circumstances less sacredly auspicious; offering a reward for less dignified and less constructive service and offering it to a man as eminently suited by practice, training and temperament for the job; will they, like so many buzzards, follow their fine scent and dive for it in concert? Will they prove that their ardor for precedents is conveniently subject to fluctuation; that their hypocrisy is a brand made to the order of the political demands within their circle?

Politics makes men cut strange capers. Our observation is that religious or church politics proves no exception. Nor is the robe of sanctity often a preventable bar.

Bishop A. J. Carey has been appointed to the Civil Service Commission of the City of Chicago. This comes as a reward for service as a ward politician. It could not come otherwise from the source from which it came. It could not have come if he had not deserved it. More, it would not have come sincerely if he had not sought it. It is an honor (if such, under the circumstances we might call it) well placed. But ward politics and the Methodist Bishopric are antipodal dignities rarely combined in one man.

Will he accept?

When Bishop Gregg was elected president of Howard a few months ago the same question was asked. The Bishop's Council answered for Gregg. Will it answer for Carey?

Aside from whether or not Bishop Carey relinquishes his robe to accept, aside from whether he will be required to do so or not, if he should accept, there is still the fact of what he is, what he has always been, what, most likely, he will always be—a ward politician. More, he is not lonesome. He was lifted from the lurid surroundings of his first love and robed. The promise to his friends, who are responsible for his elevation, that he would shed his "old skin" and be a consecrated Bishop proved as futile as campaign promises usually do with hardboiled eggs that soften temporarily under the influence of campaign expedients. It was deeper than the skin; instinctively stronger than his religious impulses.

Once over in the Negro Bishopric, the immunity guarantees a full development of the actual character; authority provides the means and measures for its display; the consecrated robe becomes a reasonable cloak of excuses for its defects; the company and the patronage become a protective wall against which to kick for any reason is death to an outsider.

It is a signal honor that such a nice job should be given a Negro. That is as it ought to have been. It would have never been offered a Bishop of the white Methodist Church and that fact proves more than we feel free or necessary to say. There are dozens of Negro laymen quite as able to perform it. Perhaps, they have neither a position commanding so much influ-

WEEK'S BEST EDITORIAL

BISHOP CAREY'S APPOINTMENT

(From The Christian Recorder)

Concering Bishop Carey. As we analyze the comments, they are chiefly from men who are jealous because a bishop is getting this particular position. They do not take time to analyze what it means.

The fact is this; if Bishop Carey had not gotten the position, no other colored man would have gotten it, for it was given as a personal appointment by Mayor Thompson, the Bishop's friend. Therefore, it would have been lost to the colored people. The men who complain abut it culd not get it. But after Bishop Carey has held this postion and opened it up to the race. he can resign (if he wants to) and have another race man accept it. Rev. A. J. Carey was a motion picture censor in Chicago by his political influence and friendship with William Hale, the then Mayor. No Negro ever held this position. There was a protest among the white people, but Bro. Carey as a censor was able to do in one respect, more good for his people than he did as a pastor of the church. As a pastor of the church he could merely protest bad pictures being used, but as a censor he could demand that they be changed. And moving picture conditions in the City of Chicago are better than any other city in the United States, due to the fact that on the board of censors, that every moving picture had to pass, was a Negro who was zealous for his race, and who would not permit anything to pass except over his vigorous protest that seemed to do injustice to the Negro. We believe that those who look at the office from the point of view of money, seem to overlook the wonderful service that Dr. Carey did. When he left the motion picture, he turned it over to a colored man.

Now, Bishop Carey has the opportunity that a few colored people in this country have. The orators who speak against Bishop Carey, the writers who write against Bishop Carey, will write millions of words and speak millions of words which will not have as much effect on getting a colored man a job in Chicago as ONE WORD from Bishop Carey. It seems to us that the appointment of Bishop Carey is an answer to prayer. We have been praying for opportunities for colored men. Young colored men have gone to schol, have studied to be engineers, architects, clerks, accountans, and to follow other lines of higher endeavor; they have graduated; but when they have gone out against the hard commercial world they often have not been able to get a position.

Now, in Chicago, at least, when a colored man comes before the Civil Service Board, is he is otherwise qualified, Bishop Carey, we are sure, will insist on him getting the job. As we look at it, there could not be a better answer to the prayer of the race, for enlarged opportunities than putting an aggressive colored man on the board of civil service commissioners. If this could happen in every state in the United States, it would mean a new Now it is only an unimportant incident that the man who got the place is a Bishop. Dr. Kelly Miller is quite inconsistent when he criticized Bishop Carey in one article and in the next makes an able plea for a colored man on the U S. Civil Service Commission. But we are accustomed to Mr. Miller's inconsistencies. Other white preachers and leaders have been on such boards; many leaders in other lines are on such board. Theodore Roosevelt was on the civil service board, which usually has only high class men.

It would be the most ridiculous thing in the world if Bishop Carey should all leaders have made), about giving a "square deal," "equal opportunity" to colored people and refuse to take this biggest opportunity for getting a square deal for the Negro everywhere.

Political - 1927

Illinois.

Office Holding

Bishops In Political Offices

Viewing the appointment of Bishop Archibald J. Carey as a member of the Chicago Civil Service Commission by Mayor Thompson as one not calculated to help the reputation of the Christian Church, the Washington Tribune revives the age-old question of the propriety of ecclesiastics participating in politics or accepting political plums. **The Journal and Guide**, like the Tribune, is unable to see this sort of thing in any other light than that it is harmful to the church. When the vestments of the clergy become enmeshed into the forever designing game of politics it looks too much like subjecting this high and holy office to pollution for personal and political ends.

While there is no doubt as to the fitness of Bishop Carey to fill the position of Civil Service Commissioner of America's second city, there is neither any doubt as to the fitness of a number of lawyers and laymen in Chicago to fill the position tendered the bishop. And one chosen from this number occupying a position of political patronage would certainly fit better into the scheme of appropriateness than does a bishop, according to the universal impression regarding the spiritual estate of the church and its clergy. The fact that this appointment passed over the heads of all the other professional and lay groups in Chicago, among which there are as active political leaders as is the bishop, to this church dignitary whose position as a spiritual leader gives him a great following and wide denominational influence might be regarded as indicating a sinister move on the part of astute politicians to bag as political game a great Negro denomination by the simple expedient of hiring a few high church leaders. The appointment of the Rev. Solomon Porter Hood of the A. M. E. Zion Church as minister to Liberia is recalled as giving emphasis to this point.

Certainly the race appreciates all that it can gain in the way of recognition of its citizenship through the appointment of members of the group public office, but the field is a wide one from which the representatives of our political patronage may be selected and we believe it would be better for all concerned if the field of the ministry offered no competition in this respect. The exactions of politics are inexorable, demanding always that the end dictate the means, and we believe that the church, through its leaders, can best preserve its character as a medium of spiritual uplift and edification by steering clear of such activities. It is alright, even desirable, that the clergy be concerned with the material as well as the spiritual welfare of the people. In fact it is an obligation that they should be. But they can best leaven the crass materialism of this world with spiritual light by themselves remaining above taint in things the world is wont to look upon as belonging more appropriately to the secular.

BISHOP CAREY ACCEPTS POLITICAL PLUM—LOWERS STANDARD OF EPISCOPACY

We had something to say last week about church politics. We have something more to say this week, and with no change of our slant, except to make it more perpendicular.

About eight months ago the A. M. E. Church Bishopric turned itself wrong side out to expurgate the thought of a Bishop's accepting the presidency of a national educational institution—one that for the most of its career had been headed by a minister.

The Council benignly decided that Brother John Gregg had been fishing in unholy water, and, though he made a fine catch, it could not see its way to endorse such ambition, and it could find no means of saving his robe, according to the laws of the church, if he should accept. In effect, it refused to honor the denomination on the technical grounds that its antiquated polity showed no precedent; it assumed that acquiesence to this type of honor on one of its Bishops would put the Negro Bishopric henceforth and forever up into the air.

Now it happens that opportunity in another direction comes, in a field less honorable for this holy craft; under circumstances less sacredly auspicious; offering a reward for less dignified and less constructive service and offering it to a man as eminently suited by practice, training and temperament for the job; will they, like so many buzzards, follow their fine scent and dive for it in concert? Will they prove that their ardor for precedents is conveniently subject to fluctuation; that their hypocrisy is a brand made to the order of the political demands within their circle?

Politics makes men cut strange capers. Our observation is that religious or church politics proves no exception. Nor is the robe of sanctity often a preventable bar.

Bishop A. J. Carey has been appointed to the Civil Service Commission of the City of Chicago. This comes as a reward for service as a ward politician. It could not come otherwise from the source from which it came. It could not have come if he had not deserved it. More, it would not have come sincerely if he had not sought it. It is an honor (if such, under the circumstances we might call it) well placed. But ward politics and the Methodist Bishopric are antipodal dignities rarely combined in one man.

Will he accept?

When Bishop Gregg was elected president of Howard a few months ago the same question was asked. The Bishop's Council answered for Gregg. Will it answer for Carey?

Aside from whether or not Bishop Carey relinquishes his robe to accept, aside from whether he will be required to do so or not, if he should accept, there is still the fact of what he is, what he has always been, what, most likely, he will always be—a ward politician. More, he is not lonesome. He was lifted from the lurid surroundings of his first love and robed. The promise to his friends, who are responsible for his elevation, that he would shed his "old skin" and be a consecrated Bishop proved as futile as campaign promises usually do with hardboiled eggs that soften temporarily under the influence of campaign expedients. It was deeper than the skin; instinctively stronger than his religious impulses.

Once over in the Negro Bishopric, the immunity guarantees a full development of the actual character; authority provides the means and measures for its display; the consecrated robe becomes a reasonable cloak of excuses for its defects; the company and the patronage become a protective wall against which to kick for any reason is death to an outsider.

It is a signal honor that such a nice job should be given a Negro. That is as it ought to have been. It would have never been offered a Bishop of the white Methodist Church and that fact proves more than we feel free or necessary to say. There are dozens of Negro laymen quite as able to perform it. Perhaps, they have neither a position commanding so much influ-

WEEK'S BEST EDITORIAL

BISHOP CAREY'S APPOINTMENT

(From The Christian Recorder)

Concering Bishop Carey. As we analyze the comments, they are chiefly from men who are jealous because a bishop is getting this particular position. They do not take time to analyze what it means.

The fact is this; if Bishop Carey had not gotten the position, no other colored man would have gotten it, for it was given as a personal appointment by Mayor Thompson, the Bishop's friend. Therefore, it would have been lost to the colored people. The men who complain abut it culd not get it. But after Bishop Carey has held this postion and opened it up to the race, he can resign (if he wants to) and have another race man accept it. Rev. A. J. Carey was a motion picture censor in Chicago by his political influence and friendship with William Hale, the then Mayor. No Negro ever held this position. There was a protest among the white people, but Dr. Carey as a censor was able to do in one respect, more good for his people than he did as a pastor of the church. As a pastor of the church he could merely protest bad pictures being used, but as a censor he could demand that they be changed. And moving picture conditions in the City of Chicago are better than any other city in the United States, due to the fact that on the board of censors, that every moving picture had to pass, was a Negro who was zealous for his race, and who would not permit anything to pass except over his vigorous protest that seemed to do injustice to the Negro. We believe that those who look at the office from the point of view of money, seem to overlook the wonderful service that Dr. Carey did. When he left the motion picture, he turned it over to a colored man.

Now, Bishop Carey has the opportunity that a few colored people in this country have. The orators who speak against Bishop Carey, the writers who write against Bishop Carey, will write millions of words and speak millions of words which will not have as much effect on getting a colored man a job in Chicago as ONE WORD from Bishop Carey. It seems to us that the appointment of Bishop Carey is an answer to prayer. We have been praying for opportunities for colored men. Young colored men have gone to schol, have studied to be engineers, architects, clerks, accountans, and to follow other lines of higher endeavor; they have graduated; but when they have gone out against the hard commercial world they often have not been able to get a position.

Now, in Chicago, at least, when a colored man comes before the Civil Service Board, as he is otherwise qualified, Bishop Carey, we are sure, will insist on him getting the job. As we look at it, there could not be a better answer to the prayer of the race, for enlarged opportunities than putting an aggressive colored man on the board of civil service commissioners. If this could happen in every state in the United States, it would mean a new deal for the Negro everywhere. Now it is only an unimportant incident that the man who got the place is a Bishop. Dr. Kelly Miller is quite inconsistent when he criticized Bishop Carey in one article and in the next makes an able plea for a colored man on the U. S. Civil Service Commission. But we are accustomed to Mr. Miller's inconsistencies. Other white preachers and leaders have been on such boards; many leaders in other lines are on such board. Theodore Roosevelt was on the civil service board, which usually has only high class men. It would be the most ridiculous thing in the world if Bishop Carey should all leaders have made), about giving a "square deal," "equal opportunity" to colored people and refuse to take this biggest opportunity for getting a square deal for the Negro everywhere.

ence from the viewpoint of a fiduciary relationship nor could they be so useful as a tool in case tools were needed, but, if the Bishop could have foregone his ambition and lust and pulled it for a layman instead of pulling it for himself, he might have increased public respect for the sacred dignity of his clan. But he could not rise to any such lonesome heights. We read with a mixed feeling of surprise and chagrin the account of his exploits and accomplishments; his degrees, his heritage, his intimate knowledge of the mayor's plans and his convenient reconsecration to the service of driving the crooks out of Chicago. We happen to belong to the generation in which this bit of history has been current. We breathe heavily and wonder if reasons for his acceptance are as faulty as his interviewer shows his account to be; or, if he feels that he can reach the soul of the city through the police force better than the pulpit. We are compelled to wonder if his acceptance is compatible with the polity of his church so recently pronounced, if the Bishops will ask for his dirty robe, and if he fails to give it, will they tear it from him and expose his filthy hide for the sake of decency.

If he were the only Negro in Chicago possessing his avowed qualifications for this post, being Bishop he should not accept. In view of the fact that there are dozens and many who outpoint him, his failure to reject is, in spirit, a calamity, in fact, a travesty on modern religious idealism.

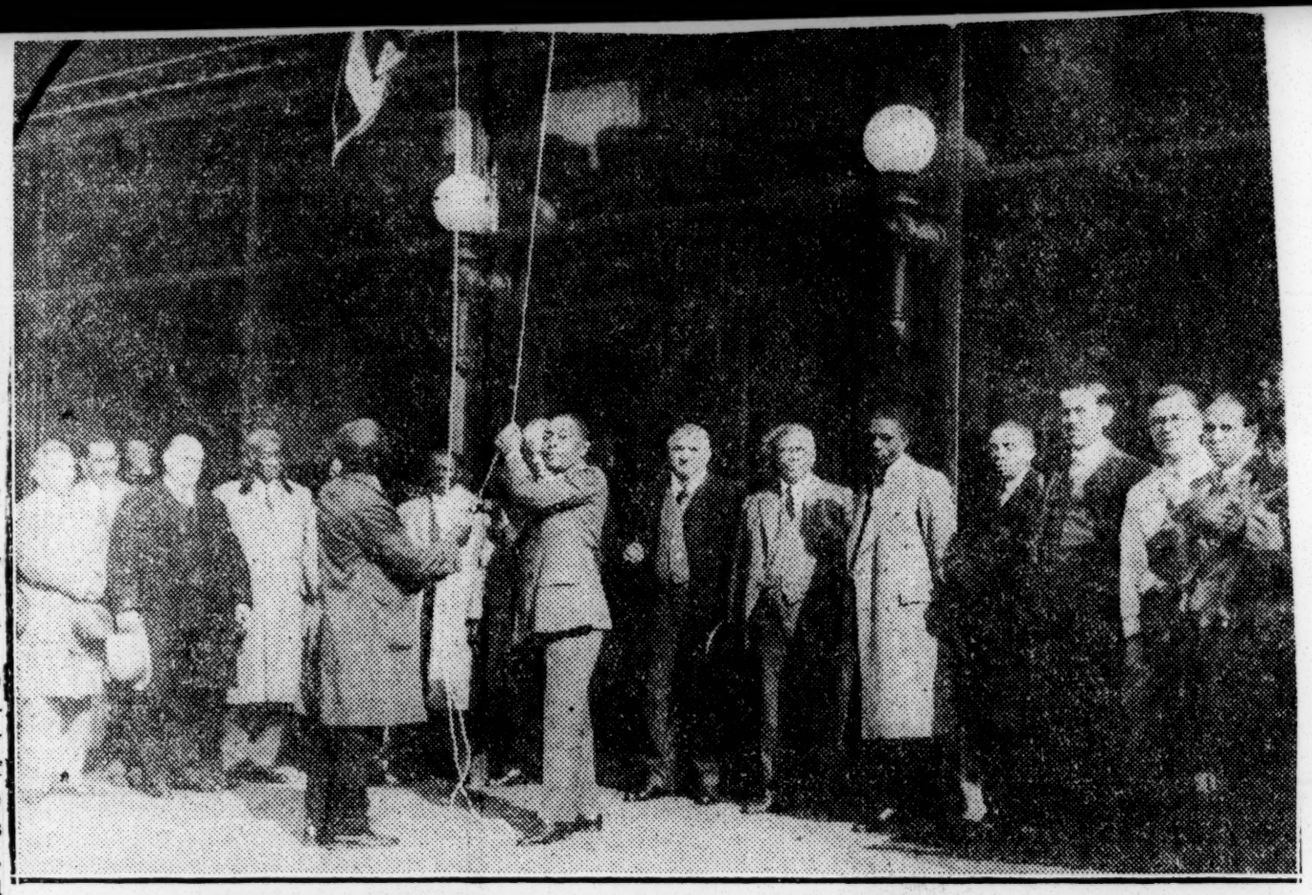
There might be some doubt about whether Bishop Gregg could have worn his Episcopal robe with tolerable dignity as president of Howard University, but there is not any about the undignified figure that Bishop Carey would cut in a toga patterned to suit this new antipodal combination of Methodist Bishop-Civil Service Commission-Ward Politician. Considering the different types of service and the different types of men, Bishop Gregg has as many advantages over Bishop Carey for wholesome, constructive, honest, moral and elevating service for his people as president of Howard, as Howard has over the office of Civil Service Commission. The fact that Carey dives for it is a final and a conclusive proof in a long chain of flaring evidences of the materialistic buccaneering spirit of this some-time minister and all-time politico religious blatherskite.

There are more of them like Carey who follow Jesus with as much method as Anninias or any other loaf hunter; who have a holy appetite that must be satisfied with loaves and fishes blessed and increased by the touch of holy hands; who will dive into any barrel of swill from which the scent of coin emanates; who will swallow as much slop as any hog, fatten on it, wallow in what they cannot swallow and raise their own peculiar type of hell with every man or measure that challenges their decency. Why not cut out the heavenly stuff, leave the church unmessed and unhamepred and go to it in the shape of the coon that he is; or why not hit the trail of the faithful, make it to the altar and be hidden in a glorious fortress impregnable as the eternal hills?

What do we want with spiritual leadership that cannot rise above the level of dirty ward politics? Whether it be inside the church or outside of it, or straddling both sides of it, the result is the same disrespect that must eventually undermine and destroy the fundamental potency which has made it effective.

The acceptance of Bishop Carey is a personal matter. The coin is inviting and that makes it attractive and appealing to the primal instincts of the secular man, but the level to which he drags a high and sacred public trust in this ignominous dive to scoop it in is a matter of grave public concern, and our duty and disposition shall be expressed in a plain open, unhesitant effort to rip the last shred of the Episcopal toga from his inexorably coin-cankered character.

If he wants it, let him have it; he deserves that and more; but let it go to Carey, the man, the ward politician, the buccaneer-incarnate, and not to the Methodist Bishop.



FLAG RAISING AT ARMOUR—One of the most important items in connection with the taking over of Armour station, by its new superintendent, Dave Hawley, was the flag raising exercises. Col. Otis B. Duncan, who led the "Fighting Eighth" in France, is shown hoisting Old Glory to the heights at the 31st St. postoffice. Mr. Hawley is the first person of the Race to be named superintendent of a United States postoffice branch.

GASSING AUTO CLUBS

Quite a few of the Chicagoans have been heard to voice their sentiments against the new gas tax and many of the white race have been heard to lambast Senator Roberts because of his race and activity in passing the new Gas law. These white people who comprise the membership in the various automobile clubs have expressed their disgust and resentment without restraint and have heaped their maledictions on "that damned nigger senator." These same people in formulating admission blanks to their organiaztions have boldly set up as one of the qualifications of membership the race and nationality of the applicant and whenever a member of our race and the senator's race has made application he has been summarily denied. We have been denied the many useful aids and conveniences that these automobile organizations have afforded and now retributive justice is at hand. We, thru our elected representative, have imposed a tax on every auto owner and even tho we are not sufficiently qualified to gain membership in their clubs by the power and strength of our vote we are able to make them pay. Race prejudice should be made costly in every instance. We should make those who scorn and spurn us, those who discriminate against us pay and pay dearly. When prejudice becomes unprofitable and no capital can be gained out of it then prejudice does not dare show itself. The gas tax episode has clearly shown what a strategic part we play in the affairs of this state and our part in national affairs could be made equally as important if we did not allow our votes to be counted before they were passed. We have gassed the auto clubs nicely.

Political-1927

Office Holding

Illinois,

BISHOP CAREY PONDERS $7,500 CHICAGO POST

CHICAGO—Bishop A. J. Carey of the A. M. E. Church has been named civil service commissioner at a salary of $7,500 a year.

His salary as bishop is $3600 a year.

There are 37,500 employes of the city who come under the civil service commission. Seven thousand five hundred of these are policemen. Two white men with Bishop Carey make up the commission. It is expected that Bishop Carey will accept.

Bishop J. A. Gregg of the same church declined a $10,000 post as president of Howard University.

Bishop Carey Given Civil Service Post

With Mayor William Hale Thompson's appointment of Bishop Archibald J. Carey, 4760 South parkway, prominent M. E. churchman, as a member of the civil service commission, Chicago became the first big city in the nation to have a member of the Race in the mayor's cabinet.

Thompson, re-elected Republican candidate, supported by The Chicago Defender and victor over William E. Dever, Democrat, was sworn in as mayor Monday afternoon by Police of City Clerk Al F. Gorman.

Immediately after he was given the oath, his colleagues, Patrick Sheridan Smith and Charles S. Peterson, were sworn in as city clerk and city treasurer, respectively.

The appointment, the first of its kind a member of our Race has ever received, came to the bishop Saturday and was a reward for his services in the recent campaign. He will be associated on the commission with Michael Kelly. Mayor Thompson proved his statement that the Democrats were liars.

The mayor's new cabinet contains the following:

Chief of police, Michael Hughes; president of the board of local improvements, Michael J. Faherty; building commissioner, Christian P. Paschen; commissioner of public works, Richard W. Wolfe; deputy commissioner of public works, Edward H. Moore; boiler inspector, George E. Nye; welfare bureau, Mrs. Anna L. Smith; civil service commissioners, Bishop A. J. Carey of the A. M. E. church and Michael Kelly; city comptroller, Charles C. Fitzmorris; corporation counsel, Samuel A. Ettelson; president of the civil service commission, Thomas J. Houston; zoning commission, Mrs. Eva Holland, chairman of the Thompson woman's committee.

The bishop's new duties will be to classify offices and places in the city service, fix standards of duties and tests, examine applicants for employment in such office and places, certify to the heads of the departments as required the names of those standing highest on the list of eligibles, investigate charges against employees in the classified service, remove employees for cause and check pay rolls. Two weeks' notice by advertisement of the time and place of holding examinations is given.

Bishop Carey will begin his work next week after returning from Washington, where he will consult the finance department of the A. M. E. church in regard to the recent purchase of Sinai temple by Greater Bethel church. He is chairman of the finance board of the A. M. E. church.

SON OF SLAVE IS NAMED ON CHICAGO COMMISSION.

(By Chicago Tribune-Commercial Appeal Leased Wire.)

CHICAGO, April 14.—Chicago will have the son of a slave as a member of its Civil Service Commission when Mayor William Hale Thompson's selection of Bishop Archibald J. Carey for that important body is confirmed by the city council. Carey is Episcopal head of the colored Methodist churchmen in Illinois, as well as titular bishop of Missouri and Nebraska.

The announcement of Bishop Carey's appointment as a civil service commissioner came simultaneously with the news that he will be the head of the greatest African Methodist church in the world. The directors of Sinai Temple, Forty-sixth Street and Grand Boulevard, announced their decision to sell the temple and social center to the greater Bethel African Methodist Church for $450,000. The purchase was brought about through Bishop Carey.

Prelate Accepts Post



The Rt. Rev. Archibald J. Carey, presiding Bishop of the 5th Episcopal District of the A. M. E. Church, who has accepted the post of Civil Service Commission under Mayor William Hale Thompson. Bishop Carey is the first colored citizen to serve in this capacity in Illinois.

Atlanta Born Negro Bishop To Receive Post

(By Leased Wire to The Constitution and The Chicago Tribune.)

Chicago, April 13.—Chicago will have the son of a slave as a member of its civil service commission when Mayor William Hale Thompson's selection of Bishop Archibald J. Carey for that important body is confirmed by the city council.

Bishop Carey is head of the negro Methodist church in Illinois, as well as titular bishop of Missouri and Nebraska.

The announcement of Bishop Carey's appointment as a civil service commissioner came simultaneously with the news that he will be the head of the greatest African Methodist church in the world. The directors of Sinai temple, 46th street and Grand boulevard, announced their decision to sell the temple and social center to the Greater Bethel African Methodist church for $450,000. The purchase was brought about through Bishop Carey.

The Sinai temple and social center was for many years the scene of the work of the late Dr. Emil G. Hirsch. The Sinai congregation will move to a $2,000,000 temple and social center at 76th street and South Shore drive. The removal of the Jewish congregation from Grand boulevard and its sale to negroes is an indication of the growth of the south side colored district. Two years ago the Bethel African church at 42nd street and Grand boulevard was burned. White people of the neighborhood who represented the moving in of a negro congregation were supposed to have instigated the fire. Another negro church on Michigan boulevard was bombed about the same time.

Bishop Carey's father and mother both were slaves. He was born in Atlanta, Ga., in 1868. After his graduation from Atlanta university he was for several years a teacher in southern negro schools.

Bishop Carey also studied at Wilberforce university, an Ohio Methodist theological school. Here he received the degrees of doctor of divinity, doctor of philosophy and doctor of laws.

BISHOP CAREY IS APPOINTED BY THOMPSON

A. M. E. Prelate Member of Chicago Civil Service Commission

Chicago.—Bishop A. J. Carey, of the A. M. E. Church, has been appointed to the Civil Service Commission by the recently re-elected Republican Mayor William Hale Thompson.

Designation of the bishop was one of the first official acts of the executive after he was inaugurated this week. Bishop Carey worked actively for the election of the mayor who piled up an overwhelming majority of votes in the colored wards. The new appointee, Bishop Carey, resides at 3428 Vernon avenue, Chicago. He presides over the Fifth and a part of the Eighth Episcopal District.

BISHOP CAREY IS APPOINTED BY THOMPSON

CHICAGO, Ill., April 13.—Bishop A. J. Carey of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was appointed City Civil Service Commissioner today by Mayor William Hale Thompson.

It is the first time that such an important office has been given a colored man here.

Bishop Carey worked for Thompson during the recent mayoralty campaign. Just as he was appointed he received word that his offer of $450,000 for the Sinai Temple had been accepted. The Sinai Temple is being bought by the Bethel A. M. E. Church of Chicago, which burned down several years ago.

Parents Were Slaves

Bishop Archibald James Carey is the son of slave parents, Jefferson Alexander and Anna Bell Carey. He was born in Atlanta, Ga., August 25, 1867. He received his education in Atlanta University, the University of Chicago and the Chicago Theological Seminary. He married Miss Elizabeth Hill Davis, of Athens, Ga., December, 18, 1890.

Bishop Carey was ordained in the A. M. E. ministry in 1891. He has pastored Bethel Church, Athens; Mt. Zion Church, Jacksonville, Fla., and various churches in Chicago. He was elected to the bishopric May 13, 1921, and assigned to a diocese comprising Kentucky and Tennessee.

Just after his graduation in Atlanta at the age of 21, he became principal of a colored high school of some 1,000 pupils, where he remained four years. In 1895 he became president of Edward Waters college at Jacksonville, Fla., where 1,000 young negroes were receiving their education. He remained there as president and pastor of Mount Zion Methodist Episcopal church until 1898, when he came to Chicago.

BISHOP CAREY PLAYS K. K. K. AT OMAHA MEETING

Nebraskans Extend Cordial Reception To Commissioner Carey Thru Press

(Omaha News-Bee Service)

OMAHA, Neb., May 4.—Bishop Archibald James Carey of Chicago, mighty man of the African Methodist Episcopal church in the United States, launched the first of a series of attacks against the Ku Klux Klan at the St. John A. M. E. church, Twenty-second street and Willis avenue Thursday night. He lauded the "Square Seven" for their opposition to the klan.

Bishop Carey was appointed civil service commissioner of Chicago three weeks ago, the first person of his race to serve in that capacity. His appointment was the first made by Mayor Thompson, following his spectacular election. As civil service commissioner Bishop Carey directs 7,000 police, 2,700 firemen and 3,600 civil service employes. In his 29 years in Chicago he has been pastor of three of the largest colored churches, has been a member of the state constitutional convention, and has been chief examiner of claims. In his home town he is regarded as the political ace of his race.

Met by Committee

When he reached Omaha at 2 p. m. he was greeted by an enthusiastic ovation. A reception committee of 150, headed by Rev. John H. Grant, pastor of St. John A. M. E. church; Rev. John Adam, presiding elder of the Omaha district, A. M. E. church and Rev. T. W. Jidd, pastor of the Bethel A. M. E. church, paraded with him from the Union station to the home of Mrs. Martha Smith, 2211 Ohio street, where he is being entertained during his stay in Omaha.

He will speak Friday night at Jewell hall, Twenty-fourth and Grant streets.

Sees End of Klan

Dignified and imposing, the gray-haired, white-mustached bishop caught the attention of his audience with the opening sentence and held it throughout his address. "The Relation of the Klan to the Future of the American People."

"In 10 years, the Ku Klux Klan will be dead," he predicted. "It cannot live because in principal it is un-American, un-Christian and unpatriotic. Anyone who studies the situation knows that the klan is losing.

"Their present insidious power is due to their system of canvassing. It's a follow-up system, often done under the guise of social calls.

"When I speak of the klan I know my subject. I knew the man who fathered it, Hiram Wesley Evans, when he lived in a little house in Atlanta, Ga. Now he has a millionaire's palace on Peach Tree road. He was a man without capital, without enterprise, without anything to build an enterprise. But he was anxious to become rich. Looking about, he saw that American prejudice, racial and religious, would be a good thing to capitalize.

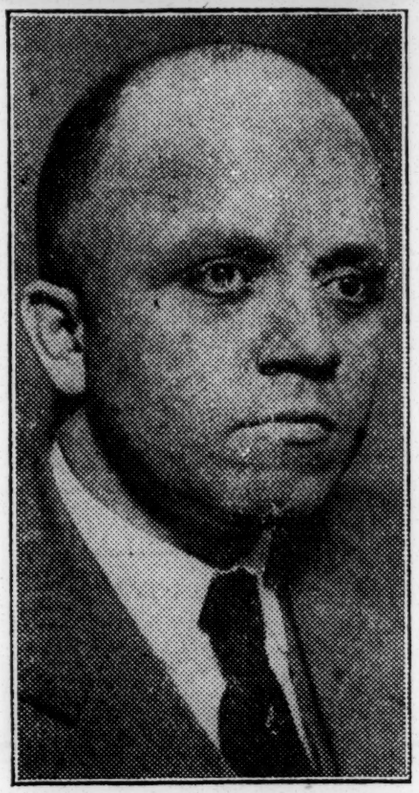
Refuses to Organize

"He divided prejudice into shares, sold it at $10 a share, under the name 'membership.' Enough so-called Americans were foolish enough to invest to build that millionaire's palace.

"To my office came a delegation of high klansmen. They offered me any weekly salary I would name to oranize a Negro branch of that order. I pretended to consider it, let them come back. But when they returned, all they said was taken down by hidden stenographers. I have their terms on that proposition. I even have their ritual. And when they had finished I told them. "Not for $1,000,000 a week would I affiliate with your organization.'"

HARRY LEWIS IS APPOINTED DEP. CORONER

Mr. Harry Lewis, 3400 Michigan avenue, secretary to Committeeman Dan. M. Jackson, was appointed Deputy Coroner last Saturday afternoon, by Coroner Oscar Wolfe. Mr. Lewis took his official title Monday morning.



—Ganaway Photo
HARRY LEWIS

For several years, Mr. Lewis has been connected with the Emanuel Jackson Funeral Parlors, 3400 Michigan avenue as an embalmer. He has made an enviable record in the business world. In addition to his preparation for the embalming field, Mr. Lewis has served in the capacity of private secretary to Committeeman Jackson.

Lewis was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 3, 1899, taken to Cincinnati, Ohio, by his mother at the age of two years. He was schooled in the public schools of Cincinnati. He holds a diploma in accounting from a leading business school in Chicago, and is a graduate of the Detroit Business School.

As a young man he has made quite a mark in life, and Coroner Wolfe, when appointing him said:

"This young man deserves all of the consideration that we can give him. He is a loyal worker and honest at heart. His ability has won for him a host of friends."

Mayor Thompsonp romised the young man an opportunity when he went into office as Mayor of Chicago, and he seems to be keeping that promise as several young men have been appointed to responsible positions.

The following is a list of appointees that the Mayor has approved.

Assistant to the corporation counsel: Hyman R. Ritman (24th ward), $6,000; Helmer C. Patterson (30th ward), $6,000; Frank Cuneo (44th ward), 6,000; Gotthard A. Dahlberg (9th ward), former speaker of the Illinois house and former assistant corporation counsel, $5,000; Roy N. Lesch (7th ward), $3,600; Harry W. Meneely (28th ward), former assistant state's attorney, $5,000; Michael J. Maloney (28th ward), $3,000.

Corporation counsel's office: Law office manager, Gus Wendling (11th ward), $5,000; business manager, Frank Butzow, former newspaper man, $6,000; librarian, Attorney Edward Green, colored, (4th ward), $3,000; tax valuation clerk, Stanley Herold (3rd ward), $3,600; clerk, Richard B. Prendergast (50th ward), $4,500.

OUR COMMISSIONER

Black people of the nation should look with unrestrained pride on the appointment of Bishop Carey as a member of the Chicago Civil Service Commission by William Hale Thompson, Chicago's mayor. Such a position as Bishop Carey now holds carries with it respect, authority and dignity. There are only three such Commissioners in Chicago and they pass upon all matters of dispute arising in such departments of city that have been made matters of civil service.

This appointment breaks the ice and creates a new precedent in Illinois municipal government it will operate as a stepping stone to higher and greater recognition. Bishop Carey is ideally fitted for the position. He has had a wealth of experience in dealing with his fellows, his philosophy of life has become mellow and his intellect full grown and ripe. He will serve his fellow citizens admirably and point the way to loftier achievements. Our civil service commissioner is a distinctive asset to the American black people.

A DESERVING HONOR

The appointment of Bishop A. J. Carey to a place on the Chicago civil service commission, by Mayor Thompson, is a signal honor conferred on a man worthy of such, and in addition, it is recognition accorded the race of which the venerable churchman is a member that is in keeping with the fair and unprejudiced attitude which the city's chief executive has always exhibited. Mayor Thompson has always been popular with a large majority of the people and the Negro racial group especially admire him because of his spirit of fair play and equal rights.

Political—1927

Office Holding

Spirit of John Brown comes back to Kansas and the colored race has begun to march again. State Auditor French heeds the call.

We are proud to see Kansas starting again to give the colored voters a square deal. In 1886, E. P. Mc Cabe, a colored citizen of Graham county was elected Auditor of State and served



Miss Stella Stokes

two successive terms. After that, B. K. Bruce was nominated, but southern sentiment had gained such hold he was defeated by the Republican Party in the November election. Prejudice began to grow stronger and the last reminent of a colored person holding a position in that office was Paul Jones who served four years under Auditor Cole. From that on, no colored clerk was considered, notwithstanding the pleas and lamentations sent up. The Party Bosses would not adhere. Now comes that noble little Roman of them all, Will J. French, elected last November and who said, if elected, he would be fair to the colored voters. Being a true World War Veteran, he knew no fear, like the heroic late General U. S. Grant, after serving his country in defense of the Flag and the freeing of millions of slaves, he returned to civil occupation, and when his country called him to the Presidential Chair, he saw to it that the colored people be recognized in every part of this land as citizens, and saw to it that they exercised the right of Franchise and hold office which is the duty of every loyal soldier who accepts the Franchise of the voters. Now Auditor Will J. French, imbued with the idea of the late Grant and appointed for the first time in the history of Kansas a young colored woman as clerk in his office. Her name is Miss Stella Stokes and she hails from Kansas City, Kansas and resides with her mother, Mrs. Cleva Bowman, 433 Quindaro. She was born in Leavenworth County, graduate from Sumner High School, Kansas City, Kansas, will graduate from Pittsburg Normal February 1, and will afterwards assume her position as Bond Clerk in the State Auditor's office. She is a fine christian young lady, attended Sun. School all her childhood and now an active member and worker in the Baptist Church of Kansas City, Kansas. She has the best wishes of every loyal christian Kansan who hopes her nothing but success. We are glad to know that Kansas City, Kansas is developing a class of colored men who will make the race's votes count for something and it was through their good work that Miss Stokes landed this position. We want colored leaders who can go to the front and seek positions for others without seeking for themselves and without double-crossing each other.

Now pardon the Editor for noseing in on this appointment. We sincerely believe our candidate for U. S. Senator last year has some effect on both white and colored voters in Kansas. It made the colored voters take a higher view in the political area and also the white voters begin to see if they wanted to use the colored voter they would have to offer something more tangible than a hardy hand shake and plenty of empty promises In our campaign for U. S. Senator, we called the attention of the sluggishness of our race and no consideration given by the other race who was swept into office by the colored voters—so we think our candidacy helped to open the eyes of both races as to what would take place, what the young colored voter is thinking and demanding recognition for their votes.

GIRL GETS STATE JOB

TOPEKA, Jan., 27.— Will J. French new state auditor, Saturday confirmed reports that he has appointed Miss Stella Stokes, 428 Quindaro boulevard, Kansas City, Kas., a clerk in his office. She will do general work in the auditor's office, he said.

Political - 1927
Office Holding

Kentucky.

PROF JONES TAX COLLECTOR!

Henderson, Ky., Jan. 6.—Prof. H. Francis Jones has been appointed by the city administrator to collect the delinquent taxes, both poll and property.

This is the first time in the history of Kentucky any Colored man has served as tax collector in any city.

Kentucky Republicans Receive Appointments

Pittsburg Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
12/19/27

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 15.—Among the many political appointments already announced was that of C. L. Grundy, a young man who under the former administration of Republicans, served as engineer in the Number 8 Engine Company. Mr. Grundy has been appointed to a place in the County Clerk's office as Deputy County Clerk. Messrs. Page Hemphill and W. B. Wood former detectives, have been restored to their places, also three Probation Officers in the Juvenile Court, two Bath House Attendants one policewoman, and a number of men in the custodian's department of the City Hall and the Street Cleaning Department. It is expected that a number of very important positions will be named in the City Health Department. Detectives James Murphy and Alex. Morris are being held in jail at $15,000 bail each, they were captured in Cincinnati and ten charges growing out of false arrests have been filed against them. A race man who had been falsely arrested was found by the new administration after being in jail for sixteen days with no charges against him. The arresting officer has been indicted.

Political - 1927
Office Holding

Liberia.

NEW MINISTER TO LIBERIA

Christian Recorder

What does it mean? A politician did not get one of the big plums. A Negro almost totally unknown has been appointed minister to Liberia, while dozens of black politicians were getting "endorsements."

Haiti, Liberia

For nearly a year now the post of minister to the republic of Liberia, West Africa, has been vacant. Since the resignation of Mr. Solomon Porter Hood, Ruth Page Clark has been charge de affaires.

For nearly a score of years there has been no colored man appointed as minister to Haiti.

Haiti and Liberia have always been regarded as two foreign countries which not only welcomed but expected American diplomats to be men of color. To be sure, President Garfield, thinking ahead of many of the occupants of the White House, planned to appoint a colored man as minister to one of the South American republics. Assasination, however, robbed him of the opportunity.

The list of black men who have served in diplomatic posts in Haiti include some of the most brilliant Americans in our history. Among them were Ebenezer G. Bassette, graduate of Yale and author of several documents on Haiti; John M. Langston, one time a member of the House of Representatives, from Virginia, serving in the terms of Presidents Arthur and Grover Cleveland; Frededrick Douglass, appointed by Benjamin Harrison; John R. Durham, like wise under Harrison; Harry W. Furniss, appointed by Taft and Roosevelt; F. M. Powell, named by President McKinley.

Mr. Bassette, the first colored man appointed as minister to Haiti served eight years. Hamilton Fish, secretary of state of United States, said of Mr. Bassette and also of John Mercer Langston, his successor at Port au Prince, that "he wishes that one-half of his ministers abroad performed their duties as well as Bassette and Langston."

In the same manner, Liberia has been served by a number of distinguished black Americans.

There was never any question of appointing colored men to these diplomatic posts till white capital began to invest large sums in both countries.

Colored ministers to Liberia succeeded themselves in an unending string until Firestone went to the West African republic last year and began the investment of $100,000,000 in rubber plantations.

Our intention in Haiti ostensibly to help the Haitians but in reality to protect the National City Bank of New York and other American interests who have invested a few dollars in Haiti, marks the end of colored men appointed as minister to that government.

Ninety-seven per cent of the population of the Virgin Island is colored but ever since we purchased these possessions from Denmark, they have been ruled by a white United States Naval governor.

These diplomatic posts are not only few in number but comparatively small and insignificant. Only one or two men can occupy them in a generation. The salary is not any more than a successful man can earn in business or in the professions.

What is significant and important, however, is that the United States shall continue to recognize its colored citizens as eligible for diplomatic posts abroad.

Haitian and Liberian posts occupied by white men mean that diplomatic careers are as securely closed to colored people as a career to colored people in the United States Navy.

No one in this country believes that Haitian officials have expressed their preference for a white minister to our Department of State.

However, even if this has been done under the instruction of the naval officials and the white capitalists who are in control of Haition affairs there is no reason why we should take the announcement seriously.

The AFRO-AMERICAN does not contend that a colored man shall be immediately appointed minister to Liberia or to Haiti.

We do maintain, however, that no President or secretary of state counting themselves representative of the whole people can justly close the doors of the diplomatic career in the face of one-tenth of its citizens solely on the ground of color.

BISHOP BROOKS PLACED UNDER ARREST MONDAY

Liberians Act Against A. M. E. Bishop In West Africa

PRELATE INCARCERATED WITHOUT A HEARING

Secretary Cables AFRO The Charges Of Debt Are False

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, (By Cable to the Afro)— Bishop W. Sampson Brooks was placed under arrest here Monday.

Without a hearing he was incarcerated on charges, alleged by his secretary Lorenz B. Graham to be false.

Bishop Brooks is a former pastor of Bethel Church, Baltimore, and was sent by the A. M. E. church as bishop to West Africa seventy years ago.

Thru country-wide campaigns he raised over $100,000 in America with which he built a $60,000 concrete school in Liberia and maintained it for the past four years.

Hostility towards foreign missionaries began five years ago and in his last message to the Liberian Congress, President King urged a native church adding that every Liberian should find God for himself.

An attempted tax placed upon all schools supported by foreign denominations four years ago brot threats from the United Missionary bodies to leave on the next boat unless it was rescinded.

Bishop Brooks was threatened with arrest a year ago on alleged debt charges. He escaped by leaving at once for the U. S. A. He only returned to Liberia two months ago.

William T. Francis Is Appointed Minister to The Republic of Liberia

Minnesota Attorney Appointed by President This Week; Represents Younger Group of Colored Men.

Washington, D. C., July 13.—The appointment of William T. Francis, of St. Paul, Minnesota, as Minister to Liberia by President Coolidge this week is recognition of that younger group of colored men who have fitted themselves by education and training for such recreation.

For nineteen years Mr. Francis was employed in the Law Department of the Northern Pacific Railroad, at St. Paul, Minnesota. He has been following the general practice of law in the city of St. Paul. He was presidential elector for Minnesota in 1920 and was graduated from St .Paul College of Law in the class with Senator Thomas D. Schall from Minnesota.

He served as chairman of the Western District of the Colored People's National Head at Chicago from September 1, 1924, during the Coolidge - Dawes campaign with general supervision of the campaign activities among the colored people of the entire western faction of the United States, from Ohio to the Pacific. He had the endorsement of the colored members of the Advisory Committee of the Republican National Executive Committee.

Endorsement of his campaign was registered with the State Department and with the President; by Dr. L. K. Williams, of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Honorable C. A. Campbell, formerly secretary of Western Division of Colored Voters, working under the authority of the Republican National Committee, who was also connected with the Department of Labor and Industry at Lansing, Michigan; Honorable William L. Houston, of the faculty of the School of Law, Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Judge Hugo B. Hanf, of the District Court, St. Paul, Minnesota, and by three of the associate judges of the District Court of St. Paul, Minnesota.

In his formal application, Mr. Francis referred, in the matter of his standing before the Bench and Bar of the State of Minnesota, to the present Secretary of State; to Honorable William D. Mitchell, U. S. Solicitor General; Honorable John B. Sanborn, U. S. District Judge, St. Paul; to Senator Thomas D. Schall and Governor Theodore Christianson.

In his own state, such representative colerd citizens as the following supported his candidacy: Charles W. Scrutchin, lawyer, Bemidji, Minnesota; William R. Morris, lawyer, Metropolitan Life Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Rev. William H. Griffin, 435 Jay Street, St. Paul, Minnesota, and Dr. Valdo Turner, Dakota Building, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The wife of the new minister is a woman of education and great influence. She has been very active in church, social, civic, political and club work in St. Paul and throughout Minnesota and the northwestern section of the country. She is also a member of the Ramsey County (St. Paul) Republican Committee.

Colored people generally throughout the country will hail

the President's appointment of Mr. Francis with great favor because of the rumor formerly circulated that his last diplomatic post was to be withdrawn from the race. They are also pleased that a man of such training, ability and outstanding importance, representative of the younger group of colored Republicans, has been selected for this important post.

The Firestone operations in Liberia, amounting to more than ten million dollars ,including the loan of $5,000,000 which has been negotiatd, have brought the Liberian post to the forefront as one of commanding importance. William T. Francis will admirably serve in this important relationship.

Former Counsel For Northern Pacific Railroad Selected As 24th Minister To Africa

WASHINGTON, D. C, JULY 20—Advices here last week disclosed the appointment of William T. Francis of St. Paul, Minnesota as minister to Liberia by President Calvin Coolidge. The selection is considered by many as a fitting recognition for the younger group of colored Americans who have spent the greater part of their lives in fitting themselves by education and general experience for positions of trust.

For nineteen years, Mr. Francis was employed in the law department of the Northern Pacific railroad at St. Paul. He was residential elector for Minnesota in 1920. During his college days, he was a class mate of Senator Thomas D. Schall at the St. Paul College of Law.

24th Minister

Mr. Francis is the 24th colored American to represent his country on the west coast of Africa. He succeeds Dr. Solomon Porter Hood, who resigned over a year ago because of some alleged financial difficulties. Following this, President Coolidge named James C Carter of Georgia who was confirmed by the senate. Mr. Carter declined the position. His first reason made public was that he would not be able to adjust himself to the tropical climate. It later developed however that the real cause of his r[illegible] to accept the appointment was on[illegible]unt of the low salary of $5,000. Eve[illegible]ther ministerial post throughout th[illegible]world pays twice that amount.

Worked For Cal

Francis served as chairman of the western district of the Colored Peoples National Headquarters at Chicago. In September, 1924 during the Coolidge-Dawes campaign with general supervision of the campaign activties among the colored people of the entire western faction of the U. S from Ohio to the Pacific coast. He had the endorsement of the colored members of the Republican National Executive Committee.

Endorsement o fhis campaign was registered with the State Department and with the President by Dr. L. K. Williams, of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, President of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Honorable C. A Campbell, formerly Secretary of the Western Division of Colored Voters, working under the authority of the Republican National Committee, who was also connected with the Department of Labor and Industry at Lansing, Mich.; Honorable William Houston of the Faculty of the School of Law, Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Judge Hugo D. Hanft of the district court, St. Paul, Minnesota, and by three of the Associate Judges of the District Court of St. Paul.

Francis Appointment Confirmed By Congress

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 22.—The nomination of William T. Francis of St. Paul, Minn., to be minister resident and consul general of Liberia was confirmed by the Senate last Saturday.

Mr. Francis was nominated by the President on December 9. He is now in Monrovia, serving under a recess appointment.

Political - 1927
Office Holding.

Liberia.

THE LIBERIAN POST

Negro politicians have come to expect federal positions as a reward for their efforts and loyalty. At one time they got almost as many jobs as they expected. Of late years, however, the pickings have been very lean. There has been much soul-searching on the part of our politicians and many visits and fervent appeals have been made to Washington, but to little avail. Many of the political brethren grew decidedly pessimistic and loudly mourned the falling off in jobs. Thus when Rev. Solomon Porter Hood resigned the post as minister and consul general of the United States to Liberia, it was widely rumored that the next appointee would be a white man. The large investments of the Firestone interests in Liberia lent support to the rumor. But after all it seems that a Negro is to have the Liberian post. Mr. Coolidge has sent in the name of James G. Carter, now consul at Tananarive, Madagascar, to the Senate which will very likely approve the nomination. Mr. Carter is expected and capable, having been in the consular service for twenty years.

This brings to mind the fact that the Liberian post is the lowest paid in the diplomatic service. While the incumbent must be both minister resident and consul general, the salary paid is $5,000, only half that received by other ministers of the United States. The British and French consuls at Monrovia are each paid $7500 a year, with allotments for entertainment and household expenses. Inability to live properly on such a meagre salary is said to have been the principal reason for Rev. Hood's resignation. The United States Senate has taken no steps to increase the salary, probably because the Liberian post is a "Negro" post.

It is fitting at this season of the year when impassioned orators are having so much to say about Lincoln and Washington and the Constitution, to point out anew the fact that this country is tolerating discrimination in every department, including, of course, the State Department, which has been sending so many notes all over the world recently concerning the rights of American citizens. It is virtually impossible for a black American, no matter what his ability, to get in the diplomatic and consular service. There are more educated and capable Negroes in this country today than ever before in its history, yet the Government itself offers less opportunities to them than formerly. Posts in Venezuela, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua and many other places used to be given to black citizens. Not so today. And even at the sole remaining "Negro" post of prominence, the salary is only half that paid to all other American ministers.

What can be done about it?

J. G. Carter Named for Liberian Post

(Preston News Service.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 18.—Hon. James G. Carter, of Georgia, now United States Consul at Tananarive, Madagascar, was named by President Coolidge last Saturday morning as minister and resident consul general to Liberia.

The position was formerly held by the Rev. Solomon Porter Hood, who resigned on account of ill health. It is believed that the Senate will confirm Mr. Carter's appointment without opposition.

FOR MINISTER TO LIBERIA.

The announcement that James G. Carter of Georgia has been nominated by President Coolidge to be Minister to Liberia, to fill the vacancy left by the resignation of the Rev. Solomon P. Hood of New Jersey is in line with the policy of promotion which should prevail in the foreign service. Mr. Carter has served with credit for a great many years in the consular service, having filled several posts in the Eastern countries, his latest being Dakar, a French colony off the African coast. By training and experience he should be well equipped to discharge the important duties now developing upon the United States diplomatic representative at Monrovia.

This promotion of Mr. Carter to a higher grade in the foreign service emphasizes the inadequate representation now held by members of the race in that branch of the government, as he was one of the two consular officers who survived the Secretary of State's axe, when Mr. Bryan was making places for "deserving Democrats." Since the administration of President Grant, the post of Minister to Liberia has been filled by Americans of African descent. J. Milton Turner of Missouri was the first representative at this post, appointed in 1871. He was followed by a long line of others, including Dr. Henry Highland Garnet of New York, John H. Smythe of North Carolina, Dr. William D. Crum of South Carolina, Alexander Clark of Missouri, C. H. J. Taylor, of the same state and James L. Curtis of New York.

Previously to the appointment of a minister to Liberia, President Grant in 1869 named Ebenezer D. Bassett of Connecticut as Minister Resident and Consul General to Haiti, this marking the first appointment to the diplomatic service of a colored American. Among his successors in that post were such men as John Mercer Langston, Frederick Douglass, William T. Powell, John Stephens Durham, Dr. Henry M. Furniss, the last two like Mr. Carter having been promoted from consular positions. The first colored appointee to the consular service named under the Grant administration was Stanilas Goutier in 1870, at Cape Haitien. In 1873 John F. Quarles was appointed consul at Fort Mahon, Minorca, and later transferred to Malaga, Spain.

Under the succeeding Republican administrations, up to the time of President Roosevelt, a number of qualified men of the race were appointed to consular posts in several of the South American and Central American republics and a few to France and Spain and some of the West Indian islands. President Cleveland, when the Democrats came into power, during his first term, tried to vary these appointments by sending a white Virginian to Haiti and nominating C. H. J. Taylor as Minister to Bolivia. But a Republican Senate would not have it so, Ingalls of Kansas denouncing "a black Democrat as a monstrosity." Nevertheless, Cleveland sent a black man from Alabama as consul to a Brazilian port.

Most of our race representatives in the foreign service acquitted themselves of their responsibilities creditably, but the lack of promotion and the zeal of Secretary Bryan in filling their places with Democrats, under the Wilson administration, resulted in the elimination of nearly all of them. Under the Harding and Coolidge administrations, in the foreign service, as in nearly all other departments of the government, every obstacle has been raised to prevent the appointment of Americans of African blood. Even in Haiti, which for nearly half a century welcomed such official representatives, the American occupation has placed a ban upon the appointment of a minister of that race.

The American legation at Monrovia and a consulate in France are the sole surviving remnants of racial representation in the foreign service.

NEGRO NAMED MINISTER

J. C. Carter of Georgia Given Post at Liberia by Coolidge

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18. (AP)—J. G. Carter, of Georgia, a negro, was nominated today minister resident and consul-general to Liberia. Carter is now a foreign service officer, class seven.

THE NEW MINISTER TO LIBERIA

The President has appointed J. G. Carter as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Republic of Liberia. Mr. Carter has been in the diplomatic service for a number of years and is admittedly a trained diplomat. With the new economic conditions obtaining in the African Republic it is very important that a trained man be sent there. It is creditable to Mr. Carter that he rendered such efficient service in the consular service that when the time came for promotion he was recognized. Our information is that the appointment has no political significance and is purely one of merit.

We are pleased to know that we have men in the diplomatic service who render such service as to justify their promotion. It is a compliment to the Republic of Liberia that the President of the United States thinks the government of Liberia is sufficiently important to cause him to select a trained diplomat to be sent there. Should Mr. Carter accept the appointment we feel confident the interests of this government will be well protected.

CARTER NAMED U. S. MINISTER TO LIBERIA

Name Of U. S. Consul To Madagascar Sent To Senate By Coolidge

POST LEFT VACANT BY SOLOMON HOOD

Appointment Is Attributed To Committeemen Davis And Howard

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(Special)—The President sent the name of James G. Carter, of Georgia, to the Senate Friday for the post of minister resident and consul general of the United States of America to Liberia.

Mr. Carter has been since 1906 a foreign service officer of class seven assigned as counsel at Bananariv, Madagascar. An AFRO reporter discovered him late Tuesday stopping at the Raleigh Hotel here. He refused an interview or to pose for a photo.

The salary will be $5,000 a year Congress having refused to raise it to $10,000 at the request of the President and the State Department a year ago.

MAY NOT ACCEPT

Carter may not accept the post, the AFRO learned Wednesday. As consul with a 20-year record, he is entitled to a pension on retirement. As minister to Liberia he would forfeit pension claims.

Mr. Carter has been in the States since November 1, with his wife and daughter, Miss Ulett Carter, on a leave of absence.

Whether he will accept the post will not be definitely known until next week.

Charge D'Affaires

Clifton R. Wharton, of Boston, is now secretary of the Legation at Monrovia. Liberia. Dan Reid Page Clarke, is acting charge d'affaires pending the arrival of a regularly appointed American minister.

Gives Ben Davis Credit

Ben Davis, national republican committeeman from Georgia, is being credited for the Carter appointment. It was stated in the AFRO last week that Mr. Davis conferred with the president at the White House last week. Influence of Perry Howard, Mississippi Committeeman is also indicated.

Until recently it was stated that the White House had not planned now to fill the vacancy nor was Carter's name one of those prominently mentioned as candidates for the post.

Salary Too Low

The salary of the minister to Liberia is only $5,000 a year, for which he is required to perform both diplomatic and consular functions. This is $5,000 less than is paid to any other minister of the United States. It is also less than the salary received by any other foreign representative in Monrovia.

The British consul general and the German consul at Monrovia each receives a salary of $7,500 a year and, in addition, entertainment and household allotments. The British vice consul receives a salary of the same amount as is paid the American minister and consul general.

Solomon Porter Hood the former minister, as appointed October 26th, 1921 by the late President Warren G. Harden. Mr. Hood is now 73 years old. Feeling in Liberia was that the government had made a mistake in sending a man of this age to cope with the tropical climate and that a younger man, married with a business training should have been selected. Mr. Hood is a widower.

While he resigned several months after his return to this country, the resignation is regarded as a vital removal.

Carter's Experience

James Garneth Carter was born in Brunswick, Ga., December 15, 1877. He was educated in the grammar, normal and industrial schools of Georgia and Alabama. His early experiences were as a merchant, a tailor and a letter carrier. For a period of 9 years he was the manager of a newspaper. He served for 2 years as a member of the civil service examining board in Brunswick, Ga.

His first apointment in the foreign service was as consul at Sivas, a province in Turkey, September 6, 1906, but he did not go to this post. November 1, 1906, he was appointed consul at Tamatave. He was made a consul of class 8 by an act of Congress approved February 5, 1915. He was assigned to Tananarive July 8, 1916. He became a consul of class 6, June 4, 1920, and a foreign service officer of class 7, July 1, 1924.

He is married and has one daughter.

Liberia Willing

The government of Liberia is not likely to offer any objection to the proposed United States' minister. So far as is known the West African government has never officially objected to the appointment of any individual as United States' minister. It is known at the State Department, however, that Liberia prefers for racial reasons the appointment of a colored man.

Dr. Ernest Lyon, Liberian consul general to the United States, when interviewed by the AFRO Tuesday, said that "he did not konw then ew minister designated, but that the Liberian government would be very likely to accept whoever was appointed and sent by the American government as its accredited representative."

Liberian Post Difficult

The Firestone Tire Company's investment of $100,000,000 in Liberian rubber plantations gives the United States extraordinary interest in the West African republic Any minister must be skilled in diplomacy and business and know how to handle men.

CONFIRM J. C. CARTER

NEW MINISTER TO LIBERIA IS IN

Washington, D. C., Mar. 2, 1927:—James C. Carter, foreign service officer of class seven assigned as consul at Bananariva, Madagascar, was confirmed by the Senate Tuesday and is now the new minister to Liberia.

The delay in confirming Carter was not due to any question of his qualifications, but in order to debate the question as to whether he could maintain his consular status and eligibility for a pension if he accepted the Liberian post.

Carter had served 26 years as consul and is entitled to a pension upon retiring. The Senate and State Department understand that since Carter's new official title is minister resident and consul general he can accept the post without forfeiting his pension or consular perogatives.

THE LIBERIAN MINISTERSHIP GOES TO A GEORGIAN

The many friends of the Honorable James G. Carter, of Brunswick, Georgia, will be pleased to learn that President Coolidge has nominated him for Minister to Liberia, the place having been vacant for a number of months on account of the resignation of Former Minister Solomon P. Hood.

Mr. Carter is a Georgian, a graduate of Tuskegee Institute, and has kept himself identified with the Republican organization in Georgia during the twenty years that he has been stationed in foreign fields as consul and consul general. His last assignment was at Madagascar, a French colony, where he has been located for the past fifteen years. He is one of the best men in the services, and his appointmnt was not the result of any political pull, but as a fitting recognition of the valued services he has rendered his country during the score of years he has been representing it in foreign lands.

Under the Rogers law, the consuls are under civil service and may be promoted from consulships to ministerships. In accordance with that rule, Mr. Carter was promoted. He was strictly the department's candidate.

The many friends of Dr. W. P. Harris, of Athens, Georgia, were pushing his claim for the place, and he had received many valuable indorsements from within and outside of the state. The organization was sponsoring his interest until it was advised that the State Department desired to promote Mr. Carter under the merit system. And, this information coming to the friends of Dr. Harris and Mr. Carter being a Georgian they were perfectly willing that the department should bestow the honor upon "Jim" Carter, as he is popularly known in Georgia. The Independent congratulates both Mr. Carter and the State Department.

In view of the Firestone interests, both the department and the business men of Liberia thought that it was best to have an experienced man at the post, and in accordance with these views, expressed from many sources, Mr. Carter was selected.

Mr. Carter is not the first Georgian that has filled the ministership to Liberia. Years ago Bishop Heard, of the A. M. E. Church, had the honor of filling the position.

Dr. Harris is the son of Dr. W. H. Harris, of Athens, Georgia, and is engaged in the drug business, and has been uniformly successful in all of his undertakings. He is a bright young fellow and his ability will yet be recognized, as he is one of the few young men of color who has time or interest enough to turn his attention from a good time to business and politics.

APPOINTMENT OF JAS. CARTER CONFIRMED

The Senate last Tuesday confirmed the nomination of James G. Carter, a foreign service officer of class 7, to be minister resident and consul general to Liberia.

Mr. Carter will accept the appointment. It was at first thought that he would decline, preferring to remain in the consular service. The State Department, however, stated that he would not lose his consular standing by accepting this appointment and that at the expiration of his term as Liberian minister he would be returned to the consular service.

Mr. Carter succeeds Rev. Solomon Porter Hood, who resigned last August on account of illness.

Political-1927

Office Holding

Louisiana

NEGRO POSTMASTER

Walkertown, La., Jefferson Parish boasts of the only Negro postmaster in Louisiana. W. A. McCullough, 34 years old, is this postmaster.

Mr. McCullough is a native of South Carolina, a graduate of Tuskegee, a shoemaker by trade, and now an operator of a meat market.

He is married and has two children. He states that he meets with practically no opposition from members of the white race in the execution of his duties.

PELICAN KLUB' WARS ON COHEN

Organization of Alleged Democrats Seek to Oust Cohen As Comptroller of Port of New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS, La., Oct. 27.—The Pelican Republican Klub of this city continued its war on Walter Cohen, one of the most prominent Republicans of the state, at the last meeting of the club, when the organization is purported to have framed declarations demanding the resignation of Cohen as comptroller of the port of New Orleans.

This club is alleged to be composed of Democrats who are also members of the Ku Klux Klan, and who have delegated themselves to defend "White Supremacy." Cohen at whom the attack is directed is a large tax payer and for years has been active in political circles in this section.

Once every so often comes the rumor that Walter L. Cohen will be deposed as secretary of the Republican State Central Committee and each time as the crisis nears, Cohen is again re-elected to that position. It is said that a sufficient number of votes have been assured to oust Cohen in January and that meetings are being held nightly in the club rooms of the regular organization looking towards this end. When Secretary of Commerce Hoover visited this city he was entertained by members of this organization, and was told that Cohen must go or the Republican party in Louisiana would be wrecked—that they did not wish to read him out of the Republican party, but that he was to be deposed as secretary of the state central committee. It is said that Victor Loisel, United States marshal, and O. D. Jackson, prohibition administrator, are definitely committed to the move to oust Cohen from office on the state committee. It is natural for the prohibition enforcement officer to wish to remove Cohen, as at one time Mr. Jackson was exalted cyclops of the local Ku Klux Klan in this city.

Reports having been circulated in the city and taken up by the daily press as to the conditions in the comptroller's office, 12 employees thereof, all white, drew up a set of resolutions stating that Walter Cohen gave to all employees a square deal, and that conditions in the office were better than practically any department of the service in New Orleans. Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Negro Press, all white employees in the government service with the exception of known klansmen, agreed that no fault could be found with the management of the office under the direction of Mr. Cohen.

TIMES-PICAYUNE
NEW ORLEANS, LA.
DEC 30 1927

COHEN IN DANGER OF LOSING POWER BY BAILEY RULING

White Republicans Likely to Gain Control of Committee

Walter L. Cohen, negro comptroller of customs and one-time boss of a Republican patronage machine in Louisiana, may lose his post on the Republican state central committee and see control of that body pass to a group of white leaders without the raising of any "lily white" or "black-and-tan" issue.

Legal action is said to be contemplated by Cohen's personal followers, a minority element in the Republican organization, to overturn a reported decision by Secretary of State James J. Bailey which will eliminate Cohen as a political figure through the operation of the Louisiana election laws. A series of informal conferences began Thursday with a view to attempting through mandamus to obtain a change in the ruling laid down by the secretary of state.

Mr. Bailey's ruling, which will leave the anti-Cohen element, headed entirely by outstanding white Republicans, in full control of party affairs in Louisiana, was reported to be an amplification of the recent decision by which the secretary of state held that no Republican primary may be held in parishes in which no regularly organized Republican executive committee has functioned since the last election. The decision directly affects some fifteen of the smaller parishes of the state and will eliminate candidates for election to the state central committee in all cases where there has been a contest. Unopposed candidates, however, may be certified to membership on the committee.

While Orleans parish met the requirements for a Republican primary by having a regularly functioning Republican parish committee, the secretary of state ruled further that in wards where the Republican parish committee has certified no candidates for nomination to the state Senate and Legislature, no primary may be held under the election laws for election of state central committee members. Accepting this interpretation of the ruling, it was said Thursday that Cohen will likely be eliminated from state committee membership because the vacancy created in this ward by the "no election" rule will be filled when the committee meets after January 17 for formal organization. Vacancies in the committee, resulting from "no elections" or other causes, are to be filled under the law by action by the committee.

A preliminary survey indicates that the elected members of the committee will support the regular organization leaders and that vacancies will be filled by the selection of regular Republicans who are not satellites of Cohen.

"We're making no fight on any one," Emile Kuntz, national committeeman and leader of the controlling faction, said in a recent statement. "We're busy building up the party along regular lines without regard to factional fight or personal ambition. In our growth we are going to be 'regular' in every sense, conducting our primary and general campaigns in accordance with the Louisiana election laws."

Political- 1927
Office Holding

Maryland

BALTIMORE WINS 2 COUNCIL SEATS IN HOT ELECTION

Harmony Of Republicans Gives Representation To The Citizens There

BALTIMORE, Md., May 11.—Unusual harmony prevailing in the Republican ranks despite the attempted injection of racial prejudice and the "color line" assigned by seasoned politicians here as the chief reason for the election of two colored councilmen in the election of last week. Warner T. McGuinn and Walter S. Emerson, the two citizens of color elected, together with a Caucasian colleague, Daniel Ellison, will represent the Fourth District. William F. Broening, republic candidate for mayor, was victor over his Democratic opponent by a plurality estimated at 17,376 votes.

Ellison Leads

Although Daniel Ellison led the councilmanic ticket in the Fourth District by 3858 votes, analysis of the precinct vote shows that the colored candidates broke well in several of the Caucasian precincts and were never in danger of defeat during the hours in which the returns poured in.

Walter S. Emerson led McGuinn by 184 votes and outdistanced his nearest Democratic opponent, Joseph Grinsfelder, by 180.

The first returns to reach headquarters came in about 6:35 from the 35th precinct of the 15th Ward and gave Ellison, 88; Emerson, 85 and McGuinn, 90. From that on the two colored men ran almost neck and neck and kept within striking distance of Ellison until such precincts were reached where the white vote as the 30th and 41st of the 15th seemed to have been divided by the Republican and Democratic candidates.

3rd Precinct Vote

Walter S. Emerson received his highest vote in the third precinct of the 14th Ward where he was given 238 votes. In this same precinct Ellison received 101 and McGuinn, 144. McGuinn also reached his high water mark in the 14th where in the 8th precinct he polled 218 votes. Here Ellison gat 200 and Emerson, 209.

Coincident with the victory in the Fourth is the general situation which will give the Republicans a working chance in the City Council which will comprise nine Republicans, nine Democrats and a Democratic president Republican councilmen won out in the Third, Fourth and Fifth Districts.

NEW COUNCILMEN FROM 4TH DIST.



Warner T. McGuinn who served in City Council four years ago, was re-elected Tuesday.

Nothing To Say—McGuinn

When reached at his home early Wednesday morning, Warner T. McGuinn stated that he had nothing to say.



Walter S. Emerson, AFRO bookkeeper, former deputy collector of internal revenue and executive of the 14th ward.

Emerson Thanks Voters

Walter S. Emerson stated that he could but thank the voters for the confidence they had placed in him and reiterated his campaign slogan. "that they would never have cause to hang their heads in shame for having favored him with their suffrage."

Political - 1927

Massachusetts.

Office Holding

BULLOCK GETS BIG JOB

APPOINTED TO PAROLE BOARD—GOVERNOR NAMES MATHEW W. BULLOCK, ATTORNEY

Mathew W. Bullock, Boston lawyer, has been appointed by Governor Fuller a member of the state board of



MATTHEW BULLOCK, ESQ.

First Colored American to be Member of Mass. Prison Parole Board—Salary of $2000.00, Giving Only Part of One's Time. He at least opens up new jobs, even if faulty, in some respects on rights, equality and principles.

parole, taking the place of Hugo Peterson, resigned.

Mr. Bullock was famous about 25 years ago as a star athlete at Dartmouth College, where he was graduated in 1904. He was a member of the football and track teams at Dartmouth for three years. Two years ago he was appointed by Atty.-Gen. Jay R. Benton a special assistant, to aid the metropolitan district commission in legal work in connection with the construction of the northern traffic highway from Boston to the Wellington bridge in Somerville.

Education in Mixed Schools

He was born in North Carolina, in 1881. Coming North he attended the Everett public schools, going thence to Dartmouth. He studied law at the Harvard law school, receiving his degree in 1907. He then taught economics and history at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., until 1912. The following three years he practiced law in Atlanta. From 1915 to 1917 he was dean of the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College. He then returned North, and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1917.

In 1921 he was one of the two Republican candidates for the Legislature from the 13th Suffolk District, the other being Dr. Andrew B. Lattimore, also a Negro. Their two Democratic opponents were Frank J. Burke and Timothy J. Driscoll. According to the official returns Burke defeated Bullock by 92 votes, and Driscoll defeated Lattimore by 137. This result was contested by Bullock and Lattimore, charges of intimidation and fraud being made in a sensational case. They were unsuccessful before the legislative committee, and Burke and Driscoll retained their seats.

The nomination of Mr. Bullock will be acted on by the council next week.

MAT BULLOCK GETS PAROLE BOARD POST

Boston, Mass., April 1.—Mathew W. Bullock, prominent lawyer and former Dartmouth college grid star, was appointed last week by Governor Fuller to the state parole board this week, taking the place of Hugo Peterson, who resigned.

Attorney Bullock was famous 25 years ago as a star athlete at Dartmouth, where he was a member of the varsity football and track teams for three years. Two years ago he was appointed by Attorney General Jay R. Benton a special assistant to aid the metropolitan district commission in legal work in connection with the construction of the northern traffic highway from Boston to the Wellington bridge in Somerville.

He was born in North Carolina in 1881, and attended the Everett, Mass., public schools. He studied law at Harvard, finishing in 1907, and taught economics and history at Morehead college, Atlanta, Ga., until 1912. The following three years he practiced law in Atlanta, and from 1915 to 1917 was dean of the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical college. He then returned North and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1917.

Mr. Bullock saw service during the World war as physical director attached to the 351st field artillery at Camp Meade. He was with the first soldiers who went overseas, and after the armistice served four months in a leave area at Savoie-Les-Eaux Challes. He accepted a special invitation from the United States government to attend the funeral of the unknown soldier buried in Arlington cemetery in Washington.

Philip Downing, Boston, Retires After 31 Years Service In Custom House

Boston, Mass.—Philip B. Downing, 70 years of age, has retired from active service after thirty-one years in the custom house. He is receiving a pension.

Mr. Downing is the only living son of the late George T. Downing, the abolitionist friend of Sumner, Grant and Garrison, and is a grandson of the Downing who established the Capitol Restaurant in Washington, which was frequently termed "The Third House of Congress."

Philip Downing was born in Providence and is said to be the oldest surviving member of his family, one of the most distinguished among the colored families of America. He is a widower, his wife having died a little more than a year ago.

His inventions have been of note, including an electric switch for street railways and a mail box, and some improvements for radio sets. He plans, now that retirement will afford him more leisure, to amplify his work along this line.

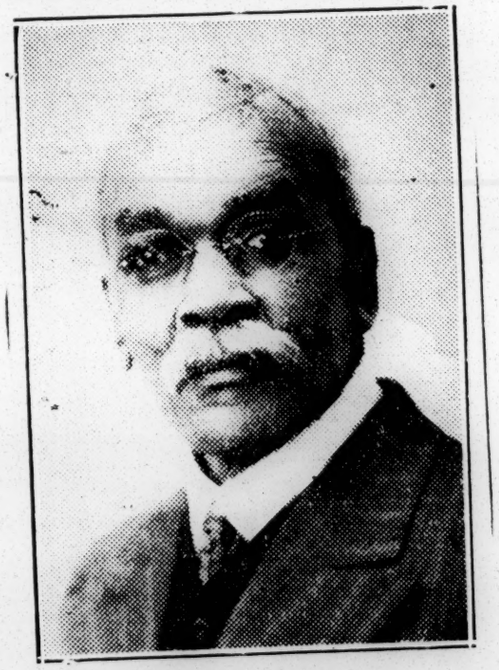
He owns collections of bric a brac, some more than 300 years old, and of considerable value, and he possess letters written his father and to himself from many of the most distinguished men and women of ante- and post-bellum days. An object of interest and sentimental value is a walking cane made from a spike used by one of the soldiers in John Brown's army at Harper's Ferry, which was presented originally to his father by the man who made it.

P. B. DOWNING RETIRED

VETERAN EMPLOYEE AT CUSTOM HOUSE—SON OF LATE GEORGE T. DOWNING—A TALENTED INVENTOR — PROUD OF HIS FATHER

(Boston Post, March 20, 1927)

"No, I don't think I'll ever get married again. I might get one of these flappers and that doesn't seem to work out very well these days," laughed Philip B. Downing, oldest surviving member of one of the most distinguished colored families in Amer-



PHILIP B. DOWNING
Able Inventor—Son of late George T. Downing.

ica, when, talking to a Sunday Post reporter the other day.

Mr. Downing, who celebrated his 70th birthday last Tuesday, retired from the customs service on pension after a 31-year period of service.

Son of Abolitionist

He was born in Providence and is the only living son of the late George T. Downing, the colored abolitionist and friend of Sumner, Grant and Garrison, and who was recognized as the greatest colored man this country has produced.

The famous Capitol Restaurant at Washington was established by Mr. Downing's grandfather, of whom it was written "has the most elegant manners in Washington." The restaurant was frequently termed the Third Hall of Congress.

Aside from his duties at the Boston Customs House, Mr. Downing has given much time to the invention of a number of things, several of which have been patented. One of them, a mail box, won favorable mention from one Postmaster-General. Another, an electric switch for street railways, similar to the type now in use in Boston, he is very proud of.

"Now that I will have more leisure, I shall go into the inventive game more extensively and you may expect to hear more of me soon," said Mr. Downing.

"Radio," he said, in reply to a question, "I look upon as the greatest invention and I am contemplating some improvements which I may attempt to make."

Pointing to his own set, he showed a device of his own invention which, since his hearing is somewhat impaired, aids him in enjoying the concerts. It consists of an attachment, by which his own ear-trumpet is connected with the radio loud speaker.

Despite his 70 years of age, Mr. Downing is in good health and, to prove it, he does all his own housework. His wife died a little over a year ago.

Mr. Downing is the possessor of some very valuable collections. Pieces of bric-a-brac which, he claims, are over 300 years old, form one of them. He has a great many original letters addressed both to his father and to himself from such famous people as Sumner, General U. S. Grant, ex-President Taft, Lucy Stone and Garrison.

A collection, if such it may be called, of one piece which Mr. Downing owns is of historic interest. It is a cae made from a pike used by one of the soldiers in John Brown's army and was used at Harper's Ferry. This cane was presented to Mr. Downing's father many years ago.

SPRINGFIELD WANTS NEGRO COUNCILMAN

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Sept. 29.—Pointing out that they have been intensely loyal to the Republican party, the Negroes of Ward Four have caused nomination papers to be filed for Attorney Alford H. Tavernier as candidate for the Common Council of the city of Springfield.

There are three vacancies in the Fourth Ward, which has a large number of Negro voters, and it is openly conceded that the three Republicans who are nominated will be elected.

Mr. Tavernier was a candidate for the Common Council in 1925. He made an excellent race. He was defeated by the small margin of 93 votes, losing to Councilman H. Walkner. At the time only one position was open.

Mr. Tavernier has law offices on Main street. He is a graduate of Howard University, Washington, D. C., and of Boston University school of law. He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

Political-1927
Office Holding

Michigan.

CAMPBELL IS "FIRED" IN MICHIGAN

Courier 2-26-27

LANSING, Mich., Feb. 24.—The Honorable Fred W. Green, newly elected Governor of Michigan, has conducted a house-cleaning in the State Departments that has "missed nobody." His latest change has been the discontinuance of the services of Charles A. Campbell of Lansing in the Division of Negro Welfare and Statistics.

Mr. William Jennifer, who for several years has engaged in business in the city of Detroit, has been named by Governor Green to succeed Mr. Campbell in the work of the Division. Mr. Jennifer received a liberal education in Southern schools, being awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1907, by Paul Quinn College at Waco, Texas. Four years were also spent at Howard University, Washington, D. C., pursuing a special course.

For 20 years he served as an employee of the United States Departmental Service in Washington, on one occasion establishing a record for "Quality work" which has never been duplicated. Starting in a clerical position, Mr. Jennifer worked up to the rank of Section Chief of the Division of Revision and Results, familiarly known as the "Highbrow Division." In this capacity, he was one of three Negro Section Chiefs under whose supervision the statistical tables of the report "Negroes in the United States" were planned and arranged, also being the first Negro Civil Service employee to travel as "Special Agent" for the U. S. Census Bureau.

In 1916, Mr. Jennifer transferred to the Federal Labor Department in which connection he served two years as Special Agent and as Special Examiner, later receiving an appointment as Supervisor of Negro Economics for the State of Michigan. While holding this position, a Certificate of Merit was awarded him by the U. S. Department of Labor for meritorious services during the war. With the signing of the Armistice, Mr. Jennifer was, at his request, transferred to the Internal Revenue Service serving as Narcotic Squad Officer and, subsequently, as Prohibition Officer until his resignation in 1920.

It was through the efforts of Mr. Campbell that the Division of Negro Welfare and Statistics became established, and under his guidance it has grown to a state of great usefulness. The marked change in the personnel in practically all the State Departments is the result of one of the most bitter primary campaigns in the State's history, when Mayor Fred W. Green, of Ionia, opposed Hon. Alex. J. Groesbeck who was aspiring for a fourth term as Governor. Green's promise during the campaign to "clean house" has been kept in a thorough manner.

Pittsburg Courier

NEWS
DETROIT, MICH.

OCT 31 1927

NEGRO HOPES TO AID HIS RACE

Green, Candidate for Council, Points to Living Conditions in Detroit.

George H. Green, the first Negro ever nominated for the Council in Detroit, believes that as a councilman he could do a great deal to better the conditions of his race in the city and much to help build a great future for Detroit.



G. H. GREEN

Mr. Green is 46 years old, an undertaker, and lives at 1939 St. Aubin avenue. He is a former postal employe and has never before been a candidate for public office.

"I have observed conditions in my group for a long time," he said. "A great many persons have a wrong idea of my group. When a colored man is involved in thuggery it frequently comes out in large headlines. If we only had some whip in an authoritative position, someone that could make clear the position of the better colored class, inter-racial conditions would be greatly improved.

"I don't wish to be misconstrued in what I say. In the districts largely inhabited by Negroes, such as the lower East Side, conditions are frightful. The alleys are unclean. The streets are in poor condition. The smoke ordinance is not enforced. There is a lack of police protection.

CITES HIGH TAXES.

"The more the opposite race comes in contact with the intellectual and refined members of my race, the better it will be for all concerned. The great majority do not understand the conditions among Negroes. For instance, a large number of Negroes have left the South and come here to educate their children. They are sacrificing a great deal to make them good and intelligent citizens. And you wouldn't believe it if I could describe the conditions under which many of my group are forced to live, and the rents they are forced to pay.

"Why, they are paying from $60 to $100 a month for four and five-room shacks that you wouldn't have a decent dog live in. They are taxed higher than any other group in the city. I am not saying this as a Negro, but as a citizen. These sections should be cleaned out, the buildings I mean, and clean, livable buildings built for the working men, so they would receive in value what they pay in living expense.

"Regarding police protection. Time after time I have run across policemen in our districts, asleep in their scout cars in the middle of the night. This is not so much a criticism of the individual policemen. They are only human and if they have to spend their daylight hours in courtrooms waiting for cases to be called when they should be home asleep, they can not be blamed if they sleep at night, even on duty.

CONDEMNS PIGS.

"Poor police protection leads to vice and vice leads to crime. I have observed conditions and know. There are half a dozen blind pigs within two blocks on one lower East Side street. Blind pigs are breeders of vice, and breeders of crime. When a man takes a drink, and then another and another, and then with his head spinning realizes he hasn't the money to buy another, he goes out quite frequently and gets the money. In his drunken state, he becomes a thug. Blind pigs of this sort breed thugs and ruined lives and should be wiped out. The fact of Detroit's being a 'wide open town' attracts thugs of all classes, from all parts of the country.

"The Board of Health should condemn the unsanitary shacks in the colored districts that are used as homes. This would force the landlords to build decent homes in the neighborhoods now neglected, it would have a great tendency to wipe out filth and vice and would improve conditions in general. The members of my group should have a living wage and proper living environment.

"As a councilman I would like to see Detroit as it once was, a city where life is worth living. I favor the Lakes-to-Sea waterway, would do everything in my power to further it and would help Detroit prepare to receive it. I favor proper airport facilities and widening of streets when necessary, as in the case of Gratiot and Michigan avenue. The people voted to widen Woodward avenue, which would be a fine improvement, and we should abide by their wishes.

FOR ONE-WAY STREETS.

"I have a plan which I believe would facilitate greatly the flow of traffic in the city. It should be tried and if successful extended. As a trial, I suggest that Second boulevard be made a one-way street for south-bound traffic and Cass avenue a one-way street for north bound traffic. On the East Side, John R should be a one-way street for south bound traffic and Brush for north bound.

"I don't believe in taking the garbage out of my yard and throwing it into my neighbor's. Therefore, I'm opposed to locating the sewage disposal plant in River Rouge if the people of River Rouge don't want it there. The sewage question should be solved in such a way that the people to the west of us are not made to suffer. Regarding a definite choice of sites, or a choice between disposal systems, I haven't studied either sufficiently to make a definite statement of position.

"I believe in a riverfront drive, and I favor other beautification projects as the city can afford them.

"I realize I am a member of a minority group, but I believe my group should have some representation in the City's governing body, I believe it would be the best thing for the city, and certainly would help inmeasurably the relations between mine and the other group. If elected councilman, however, I will act not simply as a member of my group, but as a citizen of Detroit, and will vote always for what I conceive to be best for the city as a whole."

Political-1927

Office Holding

Mississippi.

CLAIM HOWARD SOLD FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS

Three Other States Share Censure for Sale Of Offices

Boston, Mass., March 8.—A city publication, investigating the patronage abuses in southern states names Perry W. Howard, Negro national committeeman from Mississippi and special assistant to the United States Attorney-general in its charge that federal positions in Mississippi are sold to the highest bidder.

Post office appointments in Mississippi are said to be sold at from $200 to $1200 and Howard, according to allegations received $450 for the post office at Magee.

E. P. Booze, husband of the national committee woman appointed by Howard as the chief "collector," assisted by S. D. Redmond and W. L. Mhoon, Howard's former law partners in Jackson. Complaints of this illegal system are refused a hearing by the department of justice, according to the charges.

S. T. Moore, staff investigator for the publication making the expose, writes:

"To date, Mississippi has not been able to secure a hearing for the story of its scheme. The pity is that the doors of the department of justice, that of all others should be open; are closed against her earnest citizens, who are prepared to back up their accusations with evidence legally sound. The man whom they charge with responsibility for conditions sits prominently in two places they would reach, the department of justice and the republican national committee.

Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia in this expose come in for their share of censure for the sale of federal offices. A director of the bureau of investigation in the department of justice, is reported to have said on examining the evidence of patronage sales in Mississippi, "This is bigger than Teapot Dome. It could wreck the adminstration."

SALE OF SOUTHERN OFFICES.

Olive Branch, Miss., March 1.

To The Commercial Appeal:

I have just read the story in your columns relative to the investigation made by Moore, the independent investigator, in Mississippi. No more appalling story, or I should have said, no more deplorable facts can be published than these relative to the sale of federal offices. Of course, Howard and his negro associates can't be expected to do otherwise if the Republican party is to function in this great state of Mississippi.

Some of the party members think that we have never progressed above that of the carpetbag and scalawag rule which was meted out to us by our northern brethren in a time when we were not in position to reject such. It seems that the Republican leaders think we Mississippians are depending upon the help from outside sources and to take further advantage of us, that of placing incompetent men in charge with the power to say white is black and vice versa. Yes, these conditions have been running riot for some years in our state, especially since the close of the World War, but we have been at the mercy of the Department of Justice, as you have correctly said, because the wing which has been thrown about us has been a barrier to justice instead of giving us justice.

If times were the same as those from 1865 to 1872 we could stand the shock better because we could reconcile ourselves to the fact that it was all brought about because of the Civil War, but now since 60 years have elapsed and the many social, economical and political changes have occurred, we cannot say that anything other than party prejudice trying to undermine good government in this state and take the advantage through the unwise and unfair methods.

The negro question has always carried a sympathetic place in the hearts of our northern friends, wherein they have felt that the negro has not received a square deal. Let that sympathy be as it may, we are not going to stand for southern government to pass to the hands of negroes and those who wish to obtain office through negro patronage. We are fully aware of the scandalous sale of patronage in the northern states since 1921 and this influence has captivated some men to such an extent that they are willing to pay an outrageous price for an office which should be ruled and run on its merits, and the man or woman filling that position should not have the chair except upon merit and qualification. Some people would like to buy their way into heaven, but thank God, it can't be done.

With the revival of these vile practices, there is going to be revival of the fight for right and justice, not all of the people who stand for right are dead yet, and neither have they laid down the spirit which admonishes to truth and right principles in government. Why is it that we have to stand for such persons as Perry Howard in positions as he now holds? His relationship with the United States attorney general does not warrant such practices, and an attorney general needs no special assistant if this Perry Howard is the kind of man for the place.

R. L. BURROW.

STAR
KANSAS, CITY, MO.

JAN 17 1927

MANY NEGROES IN CONGRESS.

Mississippi Has Had Two Black Senators in Reconstruction Days.

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

There have been two negro members of the United States senate—Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi, in 1870-71, and Blanche K. Bruce of the same state, from 1875 to 1881. There have been twenty-one negro members of the house. Many important state offices have been filled by negroes, including, in one brief instance, that of governor. There are several negroes at present in the diplomatic and consular service, one is an assistant attorney general, and there are others in several other executive departments.

Political—1927

Office Holding

Missouri.

DOINGS AT THE STATE CAPITOL

Things Of Interest To The Colored People Going On In The State's Law Making Bodies At Jeff. City

By a Staff Correspondent

JEFFERSON CITY, Jan. 13 — Senate Bills 105-106 relating to a Reformatory for Negro boys and a sanatorium for the tuberculous and feeble minded Negroes respectively have been referred to committees on Penal and Eleemosynary Institutions. These bills were introduced by Senators Summers and Ralph.

Senate Bill No. 131 relative to Motor Bus control introduced by Senator Haymes is a very important bill. At the present time bus lines do not come under the Public Service Commission and on many lines Negroes are not permitted to ride. If this bill becomes law this irregularity will be corrected.

House Bill 294 introduced by Representative Page and Fowler, also provides for a Separate Reformatory for Negro boys. This bill which is different from Senate Bill 105 in that it makes provision for the purchase of land and carries an appropriation clause. One defect exists, however, in that the bill does not state from where the revenue will be derived. The bill should be amended so as to provide for drawing the money from the general revenue fund.

House Bill No. 166 which provides adequate educational facilities for colored children in Rural districts has been engrossed and many believe it has a good chance of passage.

Members of the Board of Curators of Lincoln University and President Young appeared before the appropriation Committee on Thursday eve. They showed the Appropriation Committee the need for an increase in appropriation over that as recommended by the State Tax Commission. Hon. Wathall M., Moore, Representative from St. Louis is a member of that Committee and will take care of our interests.

House Bill 294, as mentioned above, which provides for a separate Reformatory has been referred to the Committee on Criminal Justice of which Committee Rep. Davis of Jackson Co., is chairman.

Negro Industrial Commission

The Concurrent Resolution authorizing pay for the Negro Industrial Commission which recently passed unanimously in the House of Representatives, struck a snag when it hit the Senate.

On motion of Senator Painter, Democrat of Carollton, the Senate voted to refer the resolution to the Committee on Appropriations where it may die or be forgotten.

The Negro department was held up by the Senate notwithstanding the fact that every other department and employees were all authorized to receive pay.

A report from the Senate Committee on Appropriations is expected however, early this week.

Negro School Inspector

Notwithstanding the fact that the State Law requires that all school Inspectors in the State Department of Education shall receive the same amount which is $2400.00 annually the Tax Commission has recommended that the Negro Inspector receive only $1800 annually altho he has much more work to do than any other Inspector. The State Supt., Mr. Chas Lee paid the present Inspector $2400 anyway but the pay had to come from various funds to make up the deficiency in the appropriation.

Hon. Walthall M. Moore, who is a member of the House Appropriations Committee said that he would call the Committees attention.

Political - 1927

New York.

Office Holding

U. S. ATTORNEY TUTTLE APPOINTS H. B. DELANEY

Well Known Young Negro Lawyer Made Asst. U. S. Attorney

Charles H. Tuttle, United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, announced on Wednesday the appointment of Hubert T. Delany, a young Harlem attorney, with offices at 240 Broadway, to a position as Assistant United States Attorney to fill one of the vacancies in his office.

Mr. Delany, who is the son-in-law of Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University, was in Washington to attend the funeral of his late wife, Clarissa Scott Delany, who died just the day before his appointment was announced.

A native of Raleigh, N. C., and the son of the late Bishop H. B. Delany, the new Assistant U. S. Attorney was educaated at St. Augustine's School, Raleigh, and the College of the City of New York, from which he graduated in 1923. He studied law at New York University and completed his course in June 1926. He made a fine scholastic record both in college and in law school and since his admission to the bar had been associated with James S. Watson in the general practice of law.

Mr. Delany is the second Negro on Mr. Tuttle's staff. Richard L. Baltimore who was appointed by Mr. Tuttle's predecessor, continues in office. Mr. Baltimore's record, along with that of Attorney James C. Tomas, who served on the staff of Col. William Hayward, was such that the new United States Attorney was induced to add another member of the Negro race to his staff.

Mr. Delany was endorsed by Dean Paul Klapper of the College of the City of New York, Republican National Committeeman Charles D. Hilles, Samuel S. Koenig, Republican County Committee the chairman; and John A. Bowles, Republican leader of the 22nd Assembly District.

A Harlem Judicial Candidate

The eleventh hour nomination of a colored candidate by the Republicans of the Seventh Municipal Court District, is a step in the right direction. Behind this candidate, whatever may be the reservations and partisan differences that operate, colored Harlem should rally as one man. There must be heroic work done to bring out a monster registration of colored voters if he is to succeed. Every agency of the group in this community must co-operate to the fullest. It is a great step in advance if it can be taken. The nomination in itself is only an opportunity thrust by the force of circumstances upon Harlem at this late date. There is little time in which to plan and work. The dirt must fly if the work is to be done.

Fred R. Moore Sworn In As Alderman By Judge Davies Tuesday

Fred R. Moore, Alderman-elect from the 19th A. D., was sworn into office on Tuesday afternoon, December 20, in the Judicial Chambers, 7th District Municipal Court, with Judge John R. Davies administering the oath. He will assume his duties on Monday, January 2, at 12 o'clock, when the new Board of Aldermen assembles for organization.

Present in the Chambers were Valentine J. Hahn, chief clerk, 7th District Court, Republican leader in the 13th A. D., and recently named as a member of the Board of Elections; Deputy Clerks Michigan C. Brown and Wm. J. Donovan, and Wm. Pat Marshall.

Delany Named N. Y. Asst. Dist. Atty.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct—Hubert T. Delany, of New York city, was appointed an Assistant United States Attorney in the southern district of New York, on Oct. 13, it was announced at the Department of Justice Tuesday.

Mr. Delany is the son of Bishop and Mrs. H. B. Delany and the son-in-law of Dr. and Mrs. Emmett J. Scott. He is a graduate of the City College of New York and New York University. His wife was buried here last Thursday.

Mr. Delany was recommended for appointment by Charles D. Hilles, vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee; United States Attorney Charles H. Tuttle, and Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi.

HERBERT SIMMONS IS 1st NEGRO FOREMAN IN CITY'S ST. DEPT.

In Department 15 Years and Took Civil Service Exams For Promotion

Herbert Simmons of 437 West 35th street has the honor of being the first colored foreman in the Street Cleaning Department of the City of New York. Mr. Simmons has been employed in this department of the city government since 1911. In 1923 he was one of 500 applicants who took Civil Service examination for the position of assistant foreman in his department and was tenth on the list. He received an immediate appointment along with four other colored men.

In June, 1926, he again took the Civil Service examination for the position of foreman and passed, 14th on the list. On December 1, 1926, he received an appointment to the position he now occupies, the salary of which begins at $2,160 per annum.

Since his appointment in December, Mr. Simmons has had supervision over the streets from 142nd to 155th street and between the Harlem River and Bradhurst avenue. He has a large force of men under him, especially during the winter months when it snows.

Political - 1927
Office Holding
New York.

Collector Anderson Increases Uncle Sam's Income $24,000,000



COLLECTOR CHARLES W. ANDERSON

Of the Third district, New York City, with offices in the Fisk Building, 57th street and Broadway, told a Courier reporter last Saturday he collected $24,000,000 more from his district during the past year for Uncle Sam than the year before. Receipts for the past year were $189,000,000, while for the year before the figures were $165,000,000. Mr. Anderson has served as collector under five presidents, namely: Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge. He served during Wilson's first four years, then went out of office until he was reappointed by Harding. He has been in office continuously since. Mr. Anderson went to New York from Ohio 41 years ago. He lives in Harlem, in West 132nd street.

GETS N. Y. CITY OFFICE

NEW YORK, Feb. 17 — Herbert Simmons is the first colored American to hold a foremanship office in the New York City Street Department. He was among 500 persons, who took a competitive examination for the position. The position pays a salary of $2,160 yearly. Simmons began work in the street department sixteen years ago.

Harlem Now Has Its Own Mayo

And now Harlem has a Mayor, same as Grand street, Second avenue and Chinatown. A little less than one one-thousandth of Harlem's Negro population met Sunday afternoon in the Elks' Imperial Auditorium, 160 West 129th street, and elected Professor S. R. Williams "Mayor of Harlem." The meeting was held under the auspices of the National Negro Center party, of which Mr. Williams is the active head.

Much of the program Sunday was taken up with anniversary celebrations of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln. George W. Abbott spoke on the significance of the former and U. S. Poston on the latter. Other speakers included Mrs. Irene M. Blackstone and Bishop Selfridge.

Gov. Smith Appoints a Negro

NO LONGER may it be said that Governor Smith has not appointed a single Negro to office during his four terms at Albany, for he has just appointed Alderman Henri W. Shields of the Twenty-first District, and who is of the same political and religious faith as the Governor, a member of the Temporary Commission created to investigate defects in the law of estates. The place carries no salary, is of a temporary nature, has little or no bearing on Mr. Shields' constituents, and little or no importance for the race from which he comes, but it is an appointment, nevertheless.

MEANWHILE, the Democratic Governor is overlooking any number of executive actions which would endear him to Negro voters in the state, and breathe life into his oft-repeated assertion that he stands for a square deal for all citizens of the state, regardless of their race or color, politics or religion. We mention, at random, a few of them:

PREVENT DISCRIMINATION in the State Civil Service on the grounds of color.

COMMISSION a Negro colonel of the 369th Infantry, as originally intended by the law which created the regiment.

RELIEVE congestion in the Seventh District Municipal Court by signing a bill, mapping out another district, even if in doing it he made it possible for a Negro to be elected to the bench.

APPOINT several deserving Negro Democrats to some of the real positions at his disposal

Political-1927

Office Holding.

Pennsylvania.

SUN
PITTSBURGH, PA.
JUN 13 1927

NEGROES MEET TONIGHT.

A special meeting will be held this evening in the Monumental Baptist Church for all the workers in the United Colored Societies of Allegheny county to perfect arrangements for the Liberty rally, at which Senator Adelbert H. Roberts of Chicago is scheduled to appear. The Liberty rally will be held in the People's Tabernacle, June 27. It is planned that every Negro organization in the city and county turn out to welcome Senator Roberts, who is the only Negro in the country serving as senator.

Political—1927

Washington

Office Holding.

Appoint Seattle Man Deputy U. S. Marshall

Seattle, Wash., Oct. 19.—Race politicians of the state are elated over the recent appointment of Johnnie Green as the first colored deputy United States Marshall to hold this office in the history of the state of Washington.

Through the efforts of Mr. J. A. G. Washington, of Tacoma, the president of the Washington State Colored Republican Clubs, Johnnie Green, well known colored politician, has been sworn in as deputy in the office of United States Marshall, Edward Benn.

Mr. Green, a former stock clerk for 10 years at the County-City building, is a pioneer citizen of Seattle; a member of the Puget Sound Lodge of Elks, and a member of the King County organization.

Party Affiliation

WHY POLITICS AND PARTIES?

Even those not enamored of Senator BORAH'S course in Congress, nor concerned to defend his political motives or personal consistency, must admit that he sounded an honest and manly note in his speech on Saturday night in Carnegie Hall. What he demanded was, in effect, that parties should deal squarely with voters. He pleaded for clear thinking and straight speaking in politics. Particularly did he arraign for insincerity, timidity and even cowardice those political leaders who are preparing to say nothing about what the people are saying everything.

As Mr. BORAH grimly remarked, all but the deaf and dumb will be talking about prohibition in the Presidential campaign next year, but it is planned to keep both party platforms silent about it and to nominate candidates who will not admit that they have opinions or convictions concerning an issue which is piercing to the very heart of our public life. It is hard not to agree with Senator BORAH that this is a disgraceful state of affairs, and reflects terribly upon our political parties. They profess to be anxious to discover what the great majority of the people are thinking, yet when they find it in this matter of prohibition, they run away in fright and gag themselves.

The reason for such ignoble conduct is well known. Neither party is united on this burning issue. Prominent Democrats, like Senator WALSH of Montana, who are themselves stiff prohibitionists, declare that their party must not touch the matter on pain of being split asunder. Leading Republicans take the same position as regards their own party. Even the Anti-Saloon League has acquiesced in the decision not to mention enforcement of the Volstead act, in specific terms, in the platform of either party. Thus we are headed toward the extraordinary and humiliating spectacle of both the great parties refusing to take any action, though millions of their constituents are eager that they should positively announce a stand one way or the other. Prohibition was put into the Constitution and into the statute book by means of political activity. Yet when political activity is demanded by great multitudes, either to enforce the law or to repeal or modify it, the leaders of political parties fall into acute alarm and say that such a thing is impossible. This is the attitude which Senator BORAH vigorously denounces. There will be many to agree with him that it invites contempt, and that politicians and parties that thus stand up before the people neither cold nor hot on a subject of vital and increasing interest to millions of our citizens ought to suffer the fate of all such Laodiceans.

In championing the Constitution, the whole Constitution and nothing but the Constitution, Senator BORAH did not give a complete account of two amendments which have lapsed into non-enforcement, as the Eighteenth Amendment seems to be lapsing. He said that the difficulty with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was that responsibility for their enforcement had been "laid upon the individual States." He implied that the Federal Government had no duty or power in the premises. But he must be aware that the second section of the Fifteenth Amendment, aimed at the denial of the suffrage to negroes, recites that "the Congress shall "have power to enforce this article "by appropriate legislation." Moreover, it is specifically stated in Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment, that when the right to vote is denied in any State, "the basis "of representation therein shall be "reduced." This means in the House of Representatives. Congress has power to reduce it, but has never done so. Senator BORAH could, if he chose, make out a stronger argument for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment than he can for that of the Eighteenth, and it would be a better Republican argument also, being in line with the historic position of the party, and also apparently with its present partisan advantage. But the two earlier amendments stand there disregarded, just as the Eighteenth Amendment is coming to be.

In his call for courageous political leadership Senator BORAH said that the United States to "enforce any law "which they are unwilling to repeal," as also to "repeal any law "which they are unwilling to enforce." There's the rub. What does the majority now will about prohibition? This is what politics and parties are supposed to exist in order to find out. But they are now shutting their eyes to the facts and stopping their ears to the evidence. We think that Senator BORAH is right when he asserts that such a course is to "play this game below "the intelligence and the courage "and the character of the voters."

DIXIE ELECTION LAWS UNDER G.O.P. SCRUTINY

Agents Of Vare And Smith Collecting Data In Southern States

SENATORS WILL FIGHT TO SECURE SEATS

Battle Will Show Dixie Is More Corrupt Than Pa. And Ill.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—An exhaustive investigation of disfranchisement practices in southern states is being made preparatory to the fight over the seating of Senators-elect Wm. S. Vare of Pennsylvania and Frank L. Smith, of Illinois, it was learned Monday.

Republicans, who are supporting Senators-elect Vare and Smith, already have their collecting evidence to show that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are flagrantly violated in southern states.

Evidence To Be Used

While this evidence is to be used to coerce southern Democratic senators into withdrawing their opposition to the seating of Senators-elect Vare and Smith, incidentally, it is believed, it may aid in the enfranchisement of the Negro in the states where he is denied the right to vote.

Opposition to the seating of Senators-elect Vare and Smith is based principally upon the expenditures of large sums of money in Pennsylvania and Illinois primaries. Senators, who are opposed to the seating of Senators-elect Vare and Smith claim that the primary is an integral part of the election and the Congress has the right to regulate it.

Primary

Senators, who favor the seating of Senators-elect Vare and Smith take the position that if the primary is a part of the lecetion and the Congress has the right to regulate it, it must be regulated in accordance with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Such regulation on the part of Congress, they believe, will nullify the rule of Democratic state committe in each of the southern states that only white persons may participate in their primary eleotions.

A mass of evidence showing the supression of votes in southern states has already been collected.

2 Per Cent Vote In Dixie

An analysis of the election returns from southern states made by Senator David A. Reed, Republican, of Pennsylvania, shows that Democratic senators from these states are elected by a total vote of less than two per cent of the entire population.

In South Carolina in 1926 Senator Ellison D. Smith, Democrat, was elected by a vote of less than one per cent of the population of that state, onlp 14,560 votes being cast for him. The estimated population of South Carolina in 1926, based upon the Federal census of 1920, was 1,826,021.

Caraway

The election certificate of Senator Thomas H. Caraway, Democrat, of Arkansas, shows that he was elected in 1926 by a vote of less than two per cent of the population of that state, only 14,560 votes being cast for him. The estimated population of Arkansas in 1926 was 1,903,048.

The suppression of votes in these two states is cited as typical of other states.

Alabama Typical

In the Presidential election of 1924, Montgomery, Alabama, is taken as a typical southern city. Tabulation of the election returns shows that only 14 votes were cast for President Coolidge. Montgomery had a population of 43,000 persons in 1924. Among them were 19,800 Negroes.

Charging corruption through the suppression of votes, Senator David A. Reed says that the fact that only 14 votes were cast in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1924, for President Coolidge gives rise "in my mind, at least, to a suspicion that some of those colored people might, by some methods which could be but have not yet been inquired into, have been prevented from casting the votes for the Republican candidate for the presidency which their general disposition toward our party would lead one to suspect they would cast."

Poll Taxes

Qualifications for voting in southern states include the payment of poll taxes and the ability to read the Constitution and explain any section in it to the satisfaction of registration officers. It is these provisions, it is belived that prevent the Negro from qualifying and voting in general elections in the South.

When Congress convenes an inquiry may be proposed and the whole question is likely to be debated when the question of seating Senators-elect Vare and Smith comes up for consideration in the Senate.

RECOGNIZING OUR POLITICAL POWER

The recent elections in various parts of the nation show that the Negro communities in the cities are increasingly recognizing their political power and voting with greater intelligence. Once upon a time Aframericans were given to voting blindly out of sentiment. Now they are beginning to vote out of self interest. They are seeing the necessity of ignoring political parties and their empty appeals and voting for the organization that definitely offers something more than kind words. Also they are learning how to punish local political organizations that ignore the Negro when they get into power.

In the city of New York, the Tammany organization had the Harlem district "sewed up" for some years. They gave patronage liberally and consequently had the Republicans at their wits end. Then the Democrats began to slacken up. An appeal for a new judicial district with a Negro judge was ignored. Patronage began to get scarce. There were ominous rumblings of revolt to which the Tammany organization paid little attention, feeling, doubtless, that having won the Negroes over to the Democratic Party, they could now be ignored. On top of all the unrest came the report from Italy that "Jimmy" Walker, the dapper Mayor of the metropolis, had drawn the color line in a Roman cabaret. That was the last straw. The Republicans took on new life. Election came and after the smoke of contest had drifted away, behold! two Negroes were elected to the Board of Aldermen of the world's largest city, with substantial pluralities, both of them Republicans. That their election was a rebuke to the Tammany machine was shown by the fact that only one other Republican alderman was elected in the Democratic landslide. This is something for the sages of Tammany Hall to ponder over.

In Arlington County, Va., Negro voters were infuriated by the injection of the Ku Klux Klan issue into the local campaign. Crandall Mackey, a Washington attorney and a Republican, raised the issue in order to scare Negroes into supporting his candidate. At the same time the Republicans had ignored the Negroes in the selection of party candidates. It was time to administer a rebuke and the Negroes of the county rose to the occasion. Under the leadership of Dr. S. G. Holmes and other prominent Negro citizens, the Negroes were marshalled under the Democratic banner, and because of their votes the Democratic candidates for Comonwealth's Attorney, Sheriff, State Senator, County Treasurer and County Commissioner were elected. Here was another instance of Negroes ignoring party lines in order to defeat their enemies.

Turning to the thriving city of Cleveland, Ohio, we find as a result of the recent election, three Negroes now sitting in the City Council. One is a Democrat, another a Republican and the third an Independent. All three were elected by Negroes, showing again that the Negroes no longer are to be considered the pawns of any particular party, but are voting independently in accordance with what they consider their best interests in their respective communities.

Negroes are also beginning to realize that despite the party to which a man belongs, in view of the present status of the Aframerican in this country, it is better to elect A Negro, generally speaking, than ANY white man; that despite individual faults, it is in most cases better to have a Negro speaking in their behalf than a white man. And this is right in line with the growth of group pride and assurance. Once upon a time, there was some reluctance in supporting a Negro to speak for Negroes because he was a Negro, but such reluctance is far less apparent nowadays. The election in Detroit, Mich., is a case in point. There, although the Negro population has for some time been of considerable size, a Negro never sat in the Common Council. When the interests of the Negro community demanded that certain things be done, it was a white man who had to speak for them. Detroit was another example of that national anomaly of whites speaking for Negroes, while Jews speak for Jews, Irish for Irish, Germans for Germans and Italians for Italians. In the last election the Detroit Negroes at last showed their political intelligence by electing to the Common Council a Negro business man, successful, dependable and racially patriotic.

In Louisville, Ky., the Republicans rolled in on a tidal wave of votes, but the most striking incident of the campaign was the mobilization of a large number of Negro voters under the Democratic banner. Led by William Warley, the militant editor of the Louisville News, many prominent Negro business and professional men came out for that party which is supposed to be traditionally anathema to gentlemen of sable hue. But party lines mean less, and should mean less, to Negroes than they did years ago. There is little discernable difference between the two major parties: both have been found in various sections to be wearing the hood of the Klan, and so far as the dark brother is concerned there is no difference between their administration of the communities in which they gain power. Louisville furnishes another instance of the growing independence and intelligence of the Negro voter, and the only thing that marred the recent election there was the deplorable activities of Negro hoodlums who wrecked the office of Editor Warley because of his unusual political affiliation. Negroes have suffered too much from hoodlumism to start the same thing among themselves.

It was in Memphis, Tenn., however, that Negroes registered the greatest victory recorded in the recent elections. There, under the able leadership of "Bob" Church and his capable lieutenant, George W. Lee, the West Tennessee Political League, was organizd to get Negroes registered and to put out of office Rowlett Paine, the cracker Mayor who despite his promises upon election to "treat the Negroes right," had the nerve to state this last summer that he would employ no Negro policemen and firemen, and would not permit Negroes to visit the parks of the city, on the ground that they were "white" parks. Here, surely, was a man and an administration that needed to be relegated to political oblivion. In the early days of the campaign the Paine organization, in order to stave off defeat raised the bogey of "Negro menace" and carried a page advertisement in the COMMERCIAL APPEAL in which they prominently displayed a recent editorial from THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, surrounding it with vicious anti-Negro propaganda, in an effort to show that the election of Overton, the candidate of the Crump organization, would mean political dominance of Memphis by Negroes. Printing THE PITTSBURGH COURIER'S editorial had just the opposite effect to that anticipated. Reading it, the Memphis Negroes realized—some of them for the first time—their duties as citizens, and marching to the polls en masse they administered a crushing defeat to the Paine administration. In 22 election districts largely populated by Negroes, the candidates endorsed by "Bob" Church and his organization, were elected by huge pluralities, thus showing beyond doubt the value of good organization and sound leadership. Remembering the fate of his predecessor, Mayor Overton will, undoubtedly, watch his step for fear of meeting a similar fate.

All along the line—in art, literature, business, education and politics—the Negro is marching onward and upward to greater heights of achievements. With increased assurance born of accomplishment and knowledge of his powers and abilities, the New Negro is successfully orienting himself to his changing environment. His next goal should be a Negro Congressman, active participation in the Democratic primaries in every Southern state, and greater development and organization of his economic power. In this, and only in this way, can he emancipate himself and encourage and influence the Negroes of the world.

RECOGNIZING OUR POLITICAL POWER

The recent elections in various parts of the nation show that the Negro communities in the cities are increasingly recognizing their political power and voting with greater intelligence. Once upon a time Aframericans were given to voting blindly out of sentiment. Now they are beginning to vote put of self interest. They are seeing the necessity of ignoring political parties and their empty appeals and voting for the organization that definitely offers something more than kind words. Also they are learning how to punish local political organizations that ignore the Negro when they get into power.

In the city of New York, the Tammany organization had the Harlem district "sewed up" for some years. They gave patronage liberally and consequently had the Republicans at their wits end. Then the Democrats began to slacken up. An appeal for a new judicial district with a Negro judge was ignored. Patronage began to get scarce. There were ominous rumblings of revolt to which the Tammany organization paid little attention, feeling, doubtless, that having won the Negroes over to the Democratic Party, they could now be ignored. On top of all the unrest came the report from Italy that "Jimmy" Walker, the dapper Mayor of the metropolis, had drawn the color line in a Roman cabaret. That was the last straw. The Republicans took on new life. Election came and after the smoke of contest had drifted away, behold! two Negroes were elected to the Board of Aldermen of the world's largest city, with substantial pluralities, both of them Republicans. That their election was a rebuke to the Tammany machine was shown by the fact that only one other Republican alderman was elected in the Democratic landslide. This is something for the sages of Tammany Hall to ponder over.

In Arlington County, Va., Negro voters were infuriated by the injection of the Ku Klux Klan issue into the local campaign. Crandall Mackey, a Washington attorney and a Republican, raised the issue in order to scare Negroes into supporting his candidate. At the same time the Republicans had ignored the Negroes in the selection of party candidates. It was time to administer a rebuke and the Negroes of the county rose to the occasion. Under the leadership of Dr. S. G. Holmes and other prominent Negro citizens, the Negroes were marshalled under the Democratic banner, and because of their votes the Democratic candidates for Comonwealth's Attorney, Sheriff, State Senator, County Treasurer and County Commissioner were elected. Here was another instance of Negroes ignoring party lines in order to defeat their enemies.

Turning to the thriving city of Cleveland, Ohio, we find as a result of the recent election, three Negroes now sitting in the City Council. One is a Democrat, another a Republican and the third an Independent. All three were elected by Negroes, showing again that the Negroes no longer are to be considered the pawns of any particular party, but are voting independently in accordance with what they consider their best interests in their respective communities.

Negroes are also beginning to realize that despite the party to which a man belongs, in view of the present status of the Aframerican in this country, it is better to elect A Negro, generally speaking, than ANY white man; that despite individual faults, it is in most cases better to have a Negro speaking in their behalf than a white man. And this is right in line with the growth of group pride and assurance. Once upon a time, there was some reluctance in supporting a Negro to speak for Negroes because he was a Negro, but such reluctance is far less apparent nowadays. The election in Detroit, Mich., is a case in point. There, although the Negro population has for some time been of considerable size, a Negro never sat in the Common Council. When the interests of the Negro community demanded that certain things be done, it was a white man who had to speak for them. Detroit was another example of that national anomaly of whites speaking for Negroes, while Jews speak for Jews, Irish for Irish, Germans for Germans and Italians for Italians. In the last election the Detroit Negroes at last showed their political intelligence by electing to the Common Council a Negro business man, successful, dependable and racially patriotic.

In Louisville, Ky., the Republicans rolled in on a tidal wave of votes, but the most striking incident of the campaign was the mobilization of a large number of Negro voters under the Democratic banner. Led by William Warley, the militant editor of the Louisville News, many prominent Negro business and professional men came out for that party which is supposed to be traditionally anathema to gentlemen of sable hue. But party lines mean less, and should mean less, to Negroes than they did years ago. There is little discernable difference between the two major parties: both have been found in various sections to be wearing the hood of the Klan, and so far as the dark brother is concerned there is no difference between their administration of the communities in which they gain power. Louisville furnishes another instance of the growing independence and intelligence of the Negro voter, and the only thing that marred the recent election there was the deplorable activities of Negro hoodlums who wrecked the office of Editor Warley because of his unusual political affiliation. Negroes have suffered too much from hoodlumism to start the same thing among themselves.

It was in Memphis, Tenn., however, that Negroes registered the greatest victory recorded in the recent elections. There, under the able leadership of "Bob" Church and his capable lieutenant, George W. Lee, the West Tennessee Political League, was organizd to get Negroes registered and to put out of office Rowlett Paine, the cracker Mayor who despite his promises upon election to "treat the Negroes right," had the nerve to state this last summer that he would employ no Negro policemen and firemen, and would not permit Negroes to visit the parks of the city, on the ground that they were "white" parks. Here, surely, was a man and an administration that needed to be relegated to political oblivion. In the early days of the campaign the Paine organization, in order to stave off defeat raised the bogey of "Negro menace" and carried a page advertisement in the COMMERCIAL APPEAL in which they prominently displayed a recent editorial from THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, surrounding it with vicious anti-Negro propaganda, in an effort to show that the election of Overton, the candidate of the Crump organization, would mean political dominance of Memphis by Negroes. Printing THE PITTSBURGH COURIER'S editorial had just the opposite effect to that anticipated. Reading it, the Memphis Negroes realized—some of them for the first time—their duties as citizens, and marching to the polls en masse they administered a crushing defeat to the Paine administration. In 22 election districts largely populated by Negroes, the candidates endorsed by "Bob" Church and his organization, were elected by huge pluralities, thus showing beyond doubt the value of good organization and sound leadership. Remembering the fate of his predecessor, Mayor Overton will, undoubtedly, watch his step for fear of meeting a similar fate.

All along the line—in art, literature, business, education and politics—the Negro is marching onward and upward to greater heights of achievements. With increased assurance born of accomplishment and knowledge of his powers and abilities, the New Negro is successfully orienting himself to his changing environment. His next goal should be a Negro Congressman, active participation in the Democratic primaries in every Southern state, and greater development and organization of his economic power. In this, and only in this way, can he emancipate himself and encourage and influence the Negroes of the world.

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

HERALD
Manchester
JUN 27 1927

WHEELER'S PLAN

We have extremely little use for Wayne B. Wheeler but must admit that the plan he proposes, to organize a dry Democratic party in the South and put a third Presidential ticket in the field in case that Al Smith wins the regular Democratic nomination, is logical and in keeping with the eternal fitness of things. Of course it is rather startling to see the Anti-Saloon League openly undertaking to take over the management of a large section of one of the major political parties, inasmuch as it has claimed exemption from the law requiring political organizations to make reports of their political expenditures, but then everybody knows that it is a political body—so what's the difference? The idea is that the scheme proposed by Wheeler would bring about a much desired condition—an opportunity for consistent drys to support a national dry ticket.

The eighteenth amendment to the United States constitution was made possible by the Democratic South. The white man in the South who was ateetotaler, who did not on occasion take one or several drinks of hard liquor, was an exception. He is still an exception. But the South was determined to keep liquor away from the Negro so that he would be more regular on the job. Prohibition, down there, was a matter of business. It is still a matter of business, because very little federal enforcement work is done and the local authorities regard the law as applying solely to the colored people.

The Southerners are Democrats because the Republican party, in theory at least, stands for equal rights for the Negro. They are dry because they desire, for economic reasons, to keep liquor away from the blacks. They hate the very thought of voting a Republican ticket. They do not want to vote for a wet Democrat, even though they go to the polls drunk. They like the workings of the present prohibition law which does not interfere with their own habits but makes the Negro toe the mark.

In all probability they would be well pleased to support a Democrat of their own kidney. Also, the nomination of a dry Democrat would give extreme drys all over the country a chance to demonstrate according to their principles. There would be nothing to fear, from this, as to its effect on the Republican ticket next year, because there are very few Republicans in the North who would turn from President Coolidge to a dry of the Southern school—not enough to change the result in the closest of the states.

Negro Tammanites Plan To Bolt Party

(Columbia Press Bureau)

New York City.—The Golden Democratic Club, of this city, a race association, headed by William Banks, president and organizer, is said to be planning open revolt against Tammany Hall and the administration of Mayor Walker, because of persecutions which are said to have been heaped upon the club by the present municipal machine of Mayor Walker.

President Banks is quoted as saying that unless the club is at once given a clean bill of health every democratic picture in the club house will come down and stay down for good, and that widespread desertions of Negroes from the colored Tammany Hall wing will ensue. After such direful activities the club might well adopt as its national air, the disconsolate melody: "The Song of the Wanderer," or "Where Shall I Go When I Go Where I Go?"

BRONX HOME NEWS
JUL 12 1927

Golden Democratic Club, Harlem Colored Society, Is Angered at Tammany Leaders

Harlem's colored Democrats are on the verge of revolt against the Walker Administration and the present regime at Tammany Hall, William Banks, president and organizer of the Golden Democratic Club, 107 W. 137th St., near Lenox Ave., said yesterday.

Police "persecution" in the form of a raid in which an employe was locked up on a charge of maintaining a gambling house, and the stationing of a policeman at the club ever since the raid, are given as the reasons for the disaffection.

Most of the colored Democrats, gathered into the fold by former Mayor John F. Hylan, came from the ranks of Republicans when Hylan distributed patronage among them, and are thinking of returning to their former party, Banks said.

Were Held by Hylan

Hylan, during his two campaigns, made an especial plea to the colored voters of Harlem, and after his victories in 1917 and 1921, recognized their support by giving them what patronage was available.

The members of his club, Banks said, still cling to Hylan and the memory of Charles F. Murphy, late leader of Tammany Hall, but are cold to Walker and George W. Olvany, Murphy's successor.

The raid which stirred up all the trouble took place about three weeks ago, and the colored Democrats say it was merely one way of telling them that they are not desired within the party. The uniformed policeman left behind at the time of the raid has remained at the club ever since, and the members, Banks said, are exceedingly annoyed about this surveillance.

The raid, Banks added, was entirely without reason, and unless the policeman on guard is removed, and the club given a complete vindication, every Democratic picture in the clubhouse in W. 137th St. will come down off the walls and stay down for good.

The case growing out of the gambling raid will come up before Magistrate McQuade on July 22, it is expected.

BAYING THE MOON

"Like a dog baying at the moon" would b the Shakespeare description of the efforts of colored New York to get real political recognition. This is true of colored Democrats as well as colored Republicans. This is true of them in their election as well as in their post election policies. This has been amptly illustrated in their feeble, half hearted efforts to get a colored candidate for the Seventh District Municipal Court Bench. This was shown in their childish, pitiful, timid performances in the Assembly and Aldermanic designating conventions in both the Nineteenth and Twenty-first Districts. To say that the race in New York has made no political progress here in the last decade is to say in fact that it has gone woefully backward. The tremendous Harlem population is becoming more and more the football of its politicians. Like the boulevard that runs into an avenue, that runs into a street, into a lane, into a cowpath, into a dog track, into a squirrel run up a tree. Civic welfare of colored New York has been run up a tree by its politicians.

Negroes Organizing Democratic Medium To Support New Yorker

Organization Being Promoted To Boost Empire State Governor for Presidency—Former Race Republican Active In Smith Pre-Convention Campaign—Meeting Planned for Either New York, Chicago or Washington.

(By HENRY F. ARNOLD for The Associated Negro Press)

Washington, D. C.—Rumors which have been afloat on the Atlantic seaboard for the past month, that a "Smith for president" organization was being secretly formed in this section and the middle west by a group of prominent colored men, were substantiated and verified by one of the prime movers of the organization in Washington, Saturday.

The gentleman who has been one of the wheel horses among colored Republicans in Ohio for more than a score of years refused to give out anything for publication and asked that his name be withheld from public print until the organization was perfected. My informer let it be known during our conversation that prominent colored men and women in all of the middle western and eastern states were to be called together and a gigantic campaign in the interest of Governor Smith of New York was to be launched. He declared "that the organization would be for Governor Smith and would not give support to Governor Ritchie of Maryland; Donahey of Ohio; Reed of Missouri, nor any other Democrat thus far mentioned for the Democratic nomination in 1928."

He said that "Governor Smith would wrest from the Republican nominee the largest colored vote of any man that the Democratic convention could name, and that in the event that Smith received the nomination Negroes would bolt the Republican party by the thousands."

When asked where the first meeting of the organization would be held, he declared that New York, Chicago or Washington was likely to be selected by reason of their geographical locations.

CHICAGO CANDIDATES BRING KING GEORGE AND 'AMERICA' INTO RACE

William Hale Thompson Takes Fling at Democratic Opponent's Alleged Leaning Toward British Monarch; Mayoralty Campagn Becomes Heated; Negroes Hold Three Wards

CHICAGO, March 26.—(AP)—King George of England is an involuntary participant in Chicago's mayoralty campaign.

Verbal onslaughts on the unwitting monarch, bands playing the national airs of "America first," "fight for Chicago," pamphlets passing from hand to hand, and whispering campaigns, mark a paradoxical parade, probably never equalled in Chicago.

Besides the international tinge and talk of municipal home rule, discussion of racial and religious questions have been carried on in whispering and some times out loud.

Mayor William E. Dever, democratic incumbent, occasionally asks what King George has to do with the campaign?

William Hale Thompson, republican nominee, former mayor, Dever's predecessor who served two terms, with a battle cry of "America First" is leading the fight for King George. The king's position is anamalous, except that Thompson charges school histories under the Dever school board, contain British propaganda.

The voters, some bewildered, many unmoved, about 1,100,000 of them, will go to the polls April 5, to choose between Dever, Thompson and Dr. John Dill Robertson, independent and former health commissioner under Thompson.

The presidential election of 1928, leaders say, has led the forces of United States Senator Charles S. Deneen and Roy O. West, republican national committeeman, to go to the support of Thompson in the interest of party harmony. Thompson triumphed in the February primaries over E. R. Litsinger, the Deneen candidate.

Besides the cries of "America First" in the Thompson band wagon and the singing by the Deverites of "Save Chicago" and similar slogans, crime, emphasized under the Dever administration by a long list of gangster killings, involving the use of machine guns, has been mentioned, but has been thundered about chiefly by Robertson, who calls his forces the "people's ownership smash the crime rings." With both Dever and Thompson against prohibition, liquor is not a major issue.

The negro vote, which controls three wards and is conceded to be largely for Thompson, has aroused some of the bitterest charges in the campaign. The Thompson forces charge the police with "Cossack-like" raids in the negro district. The Dever campaigners call attention to race riots in 1919 when Thompson was mayor.

Thompson replies that if Dever and George E. Brennan, democratic national committeeman, "start a race riot, I'll dedicate two years to putting them in the penitentiary."

Dever answers: "I don't know what ails the man."

Livingston to Appoint Colored Member To Kings County Executive Committee

THE Negro voter in Kings County will have a chance to participate directly in the affairs of the Republican party by having representation on the executive committee, if the demand of County Leader Jacob A. Livingston is met by the other district leaders who make up the executive committee, which is composed of twenty-three district leaders and twenty-three co-leaders. The demand for a Negro on this committee was made by Commissioner Livingston at an executive meeting at the county committee headquarters, 157 Remsen street, on Tuesday evening, Nov. 22.

He staed that there were sufficient numbers of Negroes in the county and that they had been unquestionably loyal to the G. O. P., hence they were entitled to elect one of their number to represent them on the executive committee.

Mr. Livingston has been known for his friendship for the colored people, but few supposed that he would dare to present this proposition to his associates on the executive committee.

It is reported that his proposal caused much talk and it was voted that the matter be taken up at the next meeting of the county committee.

Reports have it that more Negroes voted the Democratic ticket in Brooklyn this year than ever before. They did not change their party enrollment but voted for Democrats as a matter of protest.

The party leaders know this, and County Leader Livingston also knows it, and as county leader he is determined to do all in his power to placate the colored voter. It was through his efforts that Mrs. Louise M. Fayerweather was sent as an alternate delegate to the Republican national convention in 1924. This was the first time that Brooklyn was so honored.

In case a place is made for a colored man on the executive committee it will start a fight among the various district leaders of the Colored Republican Organization for the place. Among some already mentioned are: Frank Gilbert, president of the Colored Republican Organization; Arthur Q. Martin, leader of the Tenth Assembly District, and State Income Tax Auditor Stephen B. Mayo.

Missouri Race Politicians Join Hands With Democrats

SEDALIA, Mo., Oct. 20.—Forty thousand enthusiastic workers are gathered here today from all over the state in an effort to smoke up a victory in 1928. The Missouri Democratic party, torn asunder since the Wilson administration, sounded the trumpet call for a united Democracy in the impending campaign.

The thousands of former friends and foes who came by train, motor, bus and airplane were here Tuesday to attend the state-wide rally and barbecue, to do homage to the unquestioned party leader who was denounced a few years ago as a party traitor, but today is beseeched to become a candidate for re-election to bolster up the Democratic state ticket next year.

Prominent Negro politicians were among the huge throng that was swayed by the Reed speech that had all the sound of a presidential campaign platform. But the senator made no mention of his reputed presidential aspirations.

Heading the St. Louis delegation which arrived early were Mr. Calvin Branch, 3522 Lawton avenue, and the well-known Sam Davis, 3423 Laclede avenue; Kansas City was well represented by a large contingent force among whom were Mr. Lish Bennett, Captain Todd and Lieutenant Sespedee of No. 11 fire d partment; Dr. William J. Thompkins, Felix Payne, Dr. D. M. Miller and Mrs. Charles O'Neal.

WOMAN DEMOCRAT REVEALS SECRET AIM OF WHITES

Says White Leaders Told Her The Party Would Eliminate Negroes

Fred R. Moore, editor of The New York Age, and Republican candidate for election as a member of the Board of Aldermen from the 19th A. D., New York County, is in receipt of a letter from one of the best known and most active colored women Democrats in Harlem, pledging her most faithful assistance to his election, and incidentally disclosing some interesting facts concerning the attitude of white Democratic leaders towards colored Tammany Democracy.

Since the letter is a personal message, and for other reasons that are of substantial weight, the name and address of the writer of this letter is withheld, but in this communication she tells of utterances made to her by Democratic leaders in the 19th A. D. which she quotes as being genuinely characteristic of their real attitude toward their Negro co-leaders.

Already Started Work.

In the communication, she says: "I offer you my sincere congratulations and will do all I can to secure the winning vote; have already commenced with those who come to see me in my sick room. Being honest with you, I am a Democrat, but know good material when I see it, and being one, was more than aware when you struck the keynote in your speech that day. I also knew that Healy and other white Democrats were wise, but you were not on the inside of their secret; but let it out just the same .

"Those same men, white Democrats, had a long conversation, asking me why I hadn't been given a position. They felt I should have one. This happened in the Cayuga Club. I gave them my explanation, not bearing too hard on my co-workers. One gentleman spoke up, stating that he thought it a shame that respectable men and women were left out of these jobs. But he explained to me that it was out of their power to give the people jobs.

Whites To Get All Power.

"First, for not knowing them; second, F. Q. Morton, being the leader, had to O. K. each man or woman, which tied their hands.

But they assured me it would not be more than two or three years and there would be no more colored Democracy, but one big Democratic Party, thus giving themselves a chance to know the colored people so they could select the proper man or woman, and not have to accept those sent to them by Morton and his machine.

"So, when you said to Morton that day, 'You have no job,' and then I read in The Age and other papers about the police being stationed in Banks' club. I realized there was something coming off.

Tried To Oust Morton.

"After having this conversation with these men, I told some of the Negro leaders. If you call to mind the time they started in to oust Morton and put in someone else, but failed—well, it was on the news I gave them concerning that talk.

"Now, I don't know about politics, but I do know right from wrong, and being from Georgia, I have no rabbit temper; will speak what I think without fear. Yes, I am going, God being my helper, to vote for you and corrall all others I can, be he or she Democrat, Republican, Socialist, or what not. You know very often the strongest opponent is in our own ranks.

"Give us a few more Fred Moores and we will move on."

Needless Advice

THE ATLANTA Independent calls on the Democrats of the South to assert themselves more in the councils of the national Democratic party. The Independent says that because of the Democratic custom of choosing presidential candidates from the North and West the South is as much disfranchised in finality as the Negro Republicans of the ballot.

WITH ALL respect to the Independent, one is reminded of King Lear, who went out one stormy night and commanded the wind to blow when it was already blowing a hurricane. Anyone who has followed the history of the Democratic party will wonder how the South could possibly have asserted itself more. In the last sixty years Tilden, Cleveland and Bryan have been the only real national Democratic leaders who did not come out of the South. From Jefferson on down, through Jackson, Hayne, Calhoun, Polk, Douglas, Wilson, the South has dominated the candidates and the policy of the national Democratic party.

UNDER JACKSON the South did as it pleased with the banking system of the country. Under Hayne and Calhoun it defied the Government to the point of secession. Under Polk it dragged the whole nation into a war of aggression against Mexico to extend the slave power. Under Douglas it prepared to fight for slavery. Under Wilson it outdid the Republican high tariff; during the sugar shortage it arbitrarily shut out the cheaper Cuban sugar to protect the sugar planters of Louisiana. Under all its leaders, northern and southern, it has held the whip over the Democratic party; in Congress it has always had more representation than its voting population justified.

TELLING THE South to assert itself is like telling the ocean to get wet.

No Color Line

THE STURGES Multiple Battery Corporation of Jamaica, Long Island, stands out in refreshing contrast to those business firms which draw the color line against competent workers. In the production of its famous batteries, a highly skilled task, it employs quite a few Negroes. This will be encouraging news to our young people who are working hard to fit themselves for positions demanding skill. If there were more men like Norman D. Sturges it would be better for both races.

COST OF DISFRANCHISEMENT.

The South as a political section of the country is now paying the cost of disfranchising the Negroes as voters and to a large extent as political factors. Both Republicans and Democrats are responsible for this situation, which was ushered in by the seating of Rutherford B. Hayes as President and the surrender of the state governments of the South to the Democrats. It took a Lilywhite Republican in the person of Henry W. Anderson to expound this situation last month at a meeting of the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville.

Six years ago Mr. Anderson ran for Governor of Virginia on a Lilywhite platform, which drove the Negro voters to support John Mitchell, Jr., heading an independent Republican State ticket. In the conventions which preceded the election, it was sought to bar all Negro delegates and this caused them to nominate a ticket of their own. Mr. Anderson failed to receive any Democratic support and lost the Negro vote as well which made his defeat all the more decisive. But he still holds to the idea that the Negro vote can be eliminated without violating the Fifteenth Amendment and wants the franchise so widened as to permit the restoration of a two-party system. To accomplish this, the Lilywhites would guarantee that white supremacy would nowhere be permitted to be endangered. This, of course, means the permanent barring of the Negro as a factor in politics.

But the point which Mr. Anderson stressed most strongly was that as a result of discriminatory election laws, not only had the Negro vote been eliminated, but a large part of the white population opposed to the dominant political organization had likewise suffered disqualification. As a result of these measures, the vote for President in the South had declined from one in seven in 1888 to one in fifteen in 1912. The Solid South is maintained at the price of political freedom and popular government. Mr. Anderson thought that the Negroes were recognizing that their future was not in politics, and he asserted that the time had come to liberalize election laws.

This estimate of the cost of disfranchisement to the South found a responsive echo in the Columbia Record, which hailed Mr. Anderson's speech as a mere restatement of opinions expressed by thoughtful Southern Democrats. It was held that the political supremacy of the whites must be and shall be sustained, but it was questioned if every other policy must be subordinated to the apprehension that the Negro may acquire political power. The Record agreed with Mr. Anderson's conclusion that here are no real political parties in the South today and that the development of a minority party is prevented by repressive and discriminatory laws. It also held that the most depressing feature of the situation is that the "office-holding oligarchies," as a general rule, "are composed of politicians who do not embody the best political thought of the South, and many of whom are the sorriest demagogues."

The Solid South is paying a high price for the disfranchisement of the Negro vote and the creation of a Lilywhite Republican party to hold the Federal offices. Is it worth the cost?

AN ENCOURAGING THREAT

Following the recent elections of Frank L. Smith and William S. Vare to the United States Senate, charges were sent broadcast that the methods chosen by these gentlemen and their supporters to coerce the electorate were not entirely within the law. There was much talk of large sums of money having been freely used in both instances in the primaries in a manner that, while not peculiar in America was claimed to be unparalleled in prodigality. These unusually large sums of money are said to have been contributed by gentlemen of great wealth who presumably expect something in the way of favors from the new senators when they enter upon their strenuous duties at Washington, D. C. Righteous senators, already safe within the Senate and thus supposedly immune from investigation as to how they got there, raised their hands in horror and loathing, and were loud in their denunciation. A cry went up for an investigation. Democratic Senators from the South added their voices to the tumult. The debonair Senator Reed from Missouri, as a committee of one travelled back and forth between Illinois and Pennsylvania, gathering evidence of political iniquity. It was wide predicted that on the basis of the evidence ferreted out by the doughty Missourian, Messrs. Vare and Smith would be denied their seats when Congress again opened for legislation and patronage. Democrats, North and South—and particularly in the South—rubbed their hands in glee, while the G. O. P. was considerably perturbed.

But not for long. The Republicans have never been accused of lacking resourcefulness. They immediately sought a vulnerable spot in the Democratic armor in order to launch a counter-attack. Needless to say, they found one. Thus to the threat of the Democrats to fight the seating of Smith and Vare because of alleged illegal methods employed in the primaries, the Republicans have replied with a threat to force investigation of primary irregularities in the South, stronghold of lynching, bigotry, hookworms and the Democratic Party. Republican investigators scurried through the South nosing out damaging data to halt the opposition to Smith and Vare. They found plenty of data. Indeed, it was data well-known by everyone; data neglected, more or less, by the Republicans for the last fifty years, during which time they have controlled most of the administrations; but excellent data, nevertheless, for the purpose in hand.

It was "discovered" that Democratic Senators from Dixie at present gracing the Senate Chamber were elected by less than 2 per cent of the population of that delightfully quaint section. The investigators "learned," what could not have been unknown or unexpected by the veriest political simpleon; that both the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments have been and are being flagrantly violated in the land of cotton. It was disclosed, for instance, that in Chivalrous South Carolina, which boasts of a population of almost 2 million, the last senator elected received but a total of 14,560 votes. Cultured Arkansas with about the same population, sent Senator Caraway to Washington with 28,000. In Christian Texas it was revealed that many of the polling places were not open at all on general election day. Where Negroes are not kept from the polls altogether by threats or fear of violence, they are very neatly disfranchised by means of wierd interpretations of the qualifications for voting.

As we say, this is all old stuff. The Republicans knew all about it before and they have only grown suddenly solicitous about salvaging the Constitutional rights of the Southern Negroes for political reasons. If there is any more talk of fighting Vare and Smith, the G. O. P. doubtless intends to launch a counter-attack with the facts "discovered." Senator Reed of Pennsylvania has been particularly active in gathering the Republican ammunition and will doubtless lead the attack on the Southern Democrats if they persist in their hostility to the two Senators-elect.

It takes the Devil to catch a witch. When thieves fall out, honest men get their due. This threat of the Republicans is encouraging. If the Southern Democrats should show their usual astuteness and ignore it, there will be a hot fight that will probably result in a new emancipation for the Negro in the South. Little as it is thought, there are many enlightened white people in the South who would welcome Federal investigation and suppression of the rotten political system in Dixie. They see the South hampered by the grip of peanut politicians who maintain their offices through a patronage-fed minority which is often no more than a little clique in each town. The reception by the South generally of the recent decision of the Federal Supreme Court in the El Paso (Texas) case shows which way the wind is blowing.

Party Affiliation

5000 Colored Voters Going Democratic

Estimate Placed By Observers And Listeners

Thousands Disgusted With G. O. P.

White Republicans Give Colored Leaders Slap On The Wrist

Colored Republican leaders of the State and city met here last Saturday and called at Republican State Headquarters. The News is informed by men who were there that things waxed hot—the white brother got the Colored brother "told" and the Colored brother got the white brother "told."

So hot did they get that one Louisville man declared he left the meeting, he was going to vote the straight Democratic ticket. Aha! the plot begins to thicken, or perhaps it is "sicken"—at any rate it is not chicken to the Colored brother.

It seems Dr. E. E. Underwood, chairman of the "Colored Campaign;" Rev. J. W. Gibson, secretary; Mr. J. R. Ray, and others, hied to Republican headquarters and they actually carried a set of resolutions stating what the Negro wanted and would expect if the Republicans won. Added to that, they presented an expense account of what was necessary for the "Colored Committee" to function in getting the Negro voters in line.

The News is informed, and the informant is a Republican which The News is not, that the white leaders had a fit. One is said to have declared Negroes ought to be giving to the campaign fund instead of asking for expenses. He is also said to have refused to read the Colored Republicans' demands, but said they would read them later.

Dr. Underwood, it is said, reminded the irritated speaker the Negro was 40 per cent of the Republican party. The angry leader is said to have replied: "Yes, and we will get ninety-nine and a half per cent of them." He went on to say the Negro owed it to the Republican party to vote for that party under any and all circumstances.

The Colored brethren left sore and hurt. As has been said, one of the main leaders declared the only way to bring the Republican party to its senses is to defeat it at the polls and that he woud vote the straight Democratic ticket.

Well, that's not The News' fight. It has tried to show the Negro it is best for the race and best for the community for the Negro to divide his vote. Now, if Colored Republicans get insulted and humiliated by white Republicans, The News has nothing to say. It reports this matter as given to it, by more than one of the men present, and readers can think for themselves.

The only thing that stung The News was the declaration of a white man, that ninety-nine and a half per cent of the Negroes would vote the Republican ticket, regardless as to whether it is Ku-Klux-Klan, lily-white, anti-Negro or not. So it investigated. It talked to leaders, thinkers and even the underworld. And it found that Negroes all up and down the line are sore and disgusted with this lily-white, Ku-Klux-Klan Republican party.

It found sensible, studious men, who declared that from 5,000 to 7,000 Colored voters would vote the Democratic ticket while from 7,500 to 10,000 would stay home, out of disgust, and not vote at all. One well known man, who does not proclaim to be a Democrat but who says he is going to vote for O'Neal and the Democratic ticket, said to a News man: ' 'You only hear the blatant, noisy, thoughtless Negro yelling for the Republicans. And if any intelligent, self-respecting Negroes are for them it is for their own selfish aims and gain. I get around a great deal in my work and I tell you that more than 5,000 Negroes are going to resent this lily-whiteism and Ku-Kluxism at the polls in November."

This was not the only man who said words of similar effect and meaning. Negroes are not all dumb —hundreds are thinking for themselves.

The future of the race politically or otherwise depends on its thinkers.

The writer of this column has never been able to understand why the republican party of this nation permits the democrats to defeat them in matters vital to the interest of the country. It appears that republicans handle matters daintily, with kid gloves, as it were, while the democrats battle with bare knuckles and clinched fists. William Hale Thompson and a few more stalwart sons of the Grand Old Party seem to be the only ones who are not afraid of the democrats. Southern democrats who hold office by virtue of disfranchised black folks, some of whom have even openly endorsed murder of our people, who are American citizens, now come into the senate and prevent Frank L. Smith from taking his seat because of his character. Many of the southern democrats sitting in the senate are unfit to tie the shoe strings of Mr. Smith and one of them is Tom Heflin of Alabama. He it was who shot a black man in Washington a few years ago. If the Republicans, controling the wealth of the nation and most of its brains are going to be throttled by cheap democrats, who are mostly unlearned and uncouth, then it is time for the party to get new blood and new life. Illinois has felt the venom of the southern democrats and should admonish its native sons to fight them tooth and nail and if need be, expose the corruption and duplicity of the whole southern set-up.

* * *

While our people all over the nation are suffering from lack of work and while poverty is striking us down on all sides here comes the wild dreamer and empty-headed theorist telling us that we should unionize. This newspaper is not cut of sympathy with organized labor but it knows that now is no time for us to antagonize our employers and affiliate ourselves with the unions. The unions have never done us any good. They have prevented us from working in most of the skilled trades and in short they have been our avowed and declared enemies. We have no wealth, no factories, no railroads and big industries. We are not strong enough as a race to challenge those few employers of our people. The Pullman Porters cannot solve their difficulties by battling the company and if they feel that they maintain a monopoly on their jobs they are sadly mistaken.

News
Chattanooga
Sentinel
Oct 1 1927

Tennessee and the G. O. P

Will Tennessee go Republican in 1928?

This is a question that is troubling more than one astute mind at the present moment, but it involves such a complication of personalities, principles, prejudices, factional differences, local and national politics, that it can safely be assumed that even the most astute are yet far from the solution.

Dismissing the Democratic side of the matter, the question of the Democratic presidential nominee and the conduct of the Democratic campaign, what the Republicans themselves will do is a very baffling puzzle.

The Tennessee Republican party for several years has been split into two very bitterly opposed factions. The stubbornness of the struggle, the absolute refusal to compromise, has clearly shown that its causes go deeper than a mere desire to control the state's patronage. The split is exactly the same as will be found in any southern state where the Republicans have any strength at all; it goes back to fundamental principles of Republican conduct in the South.

In the saddle sits J. Will Taylor, congressman from the Second district and national committeeman. Time and again attempts have been made to displant him, but he has consistently kept firm control of the state organization and has had the unwavering support of the national administration.

The absolute control of patronage naturally has enabled Mr. Taylor to build up an organization that his opponents could not shake without aid from the national powers of the party. His influence at Washington, however, which enables him to hold his sway over Tennessee Republicanism, is construed by his adversaries as originating from a number of causes.

It is generally considered that Mr. Taylor's influence with President Coolidge comes through Senator William M. Butler, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Republican national committee. Taylor opponents claim that the policy of Senator Butler, Mr. Taylor and their followers is purely a defeatist one in Tennessee. As long as Tennessee remains Democratic, with very few Republicans elected to important offices, Taylor will have ltle rvalry for hs personal leadership and will be able to continue his "pie" dispensation unmolested. This enables him to build up his personal organization and control the vote of the Tennessee delegation at the Republican national convention.

This is where the chairman of the national committee comes in. With Taylor in control, he can count on the solid vote of the Tennessee delegation for any presidential candidate he may favor.

Anti-Taylorites in West Tennessee, however, insist that the matter goes even deeper. They claim that the real control of the Tennessee Republican machine is not with Taylor, but is in the hands of Bob Church, negro political boss of Memphis. Church's influence is said to come, not from his power in Memphis, but from his activity in negro centers of the middle west. In return for this work, some assert he is granted patronage control for Tennessee, although that power is nominally in Taylor's hands.

Regardless of the exact nature of Church's power, it is well known that he is a fgure of great importance in the Taylor machine and the "lily white" section of the party is consequently aligned against that faction.

The faction opposed to Taylor is headed by B. Carroll Reece, the state's only other Republican congressman; by C. H. Huston, formerly of Chattanooga, who served as assistant secretary of commerce after acting as chairman of the finance committee of the Republican national committee in the Harding campaign; and by Fred Arn of Chattanooga. Under this banner are the "lily whites" and others of the "new Republicans."

The objective of this faction is ostensibly to put Tennessee in the Republican column, but this cannot be done, the leaders say, with J. Will Taylor at the helm of the organization. They assert that he is knifing the party to keep himself in control and that there can be no harmony within the ranks as long as he remains dictator.

One compromise has been offered, however, by some of Mr. Taylor's opponents. This is for him to remain as the chief dispenser of federal patronage, but to follow the advice of Republican leaders outside his own district regarding appointments in their own localities.

This arrangement, they believe, would result in the building of a really strong Republican organization, but to date Mr. Taylor has shown little inclination to yield to these suggestions. In view of this and of the pronounced feeling among anti-Taylorites tnat Taylor domination only means a deliberate strangling of Republican chances in Tennessee, it seems hardly probable that there will be any burying of the hatchet unless external pressure is brought to bear.

This brings up the question of candidates for the Republican presidential nomination. Taylor, naturally, is a Coolidge "die-hard." Regardless of what the president "chooses" to do, Mr. Taylor will be for him as long as there is any possibility of his nomination.

Following the announcement of the president's withdrawal, however, the leaders of the anti-Taylor group took it at its face value and became outspoken in championing the cause of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. Mr. Huston served under Mr. Hoover in the department of commerce and the two men are close personal friends. He naturally espouses the cause of his former chief and the other leaders of the faction fall in line with him.

Among the rank and file of the party, too, among those who know little and care less about the factional differences of the leaders, there is a very strong Hoover sentiment. In the Republican strongholds of East Tennessee, Mr. Hoover has been popular since wartime days. In the commercial centers his activity as secretary of commerce has won him further support from the business men. And finally his flood relief work during the Mississippi disaster has almost deified him in the minds of the residents of the flooded sections and the contiguous districts.

Another element enters into Hoover's prospects in Tennessee. Although the Taylor leaders have made no statement of their second choice in case Mr. Coolidge is really not available, there is a distinct sentiment throughout the organization, among the lower ranks, that Mr. Hoover is the president's personal choice for a successor. This would probably swing most of the Coolidge men into his following if the president refuses to be drafted.

If Mr. Hoover secures the nomination it would probably mean the ousting of J. Will Taylor from control of the organization. The more bitterly Mr. Taylor fought the candidacy of the secretary of commerce, the more remote would probably be his banishment. Now Mr. Taylor is not one to sit in a corner and sulk when defeated. The band wagon is not a wholly unfamiliar vehicle to him.

It consequently seems very improbable that the national committeemen would fight the Hoover candidacy very strongly. On the other hand, it seems quite possible that, if Hoover's nomination appears a certainty, Mr. Taylor would be one of the first to swing aboard. Under these circumstances, harmony might come to the Republican party in Tennessee, but it is difficult to see how it could otherwise be brought about.

There are other candidates with considerable followings in Tennessee, but none seems to play much part in the factional dissensions of the party. Former Gov. Lowden of Illinois is very popular in West Tennessee. The planters consider him a practical farmer who understands and is sympathetic toward the problems of the farmers. There has, however, been bitterness between Mr. Lowden and the Tennessee regulars since 1920 when the Tennessee delegation, instructed for Lowden, split during the convention with the Taylorites voting for Gen. Wood.

Mr. Dawes also has a following in Tennessee and there are reports that he has the support of the Taylor organizations second choice to Mr. Coolidge. The vice-president has made a very favorable impression on trips to Tennessee, but there has as yet been very little vocal support for him.

Thus the situation now stands with a great multitude of "ifs" trailing off over the future horizon. If the Democrats choose a candidate who for personal or other reasons is unpopular in Tennessee, and if the Republican candidate is one of the outstanding leaders with a Tennessee following, and if the rival factions

Political

Democratic

Party Affiliation

WHITE MAN URGES COLORED VOTERS TO BOYCOTT NEGRO DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICAN "ORATOR" THROWS FIT BEFORE COLORED AUDIENCE

APPLAUDED BY THOUGHTLESS BUT HISSED BY NEGROES WHO THINK

NERVIEST STUNT EVER PULLED BY A WHITE MAN PROVING G. O. P. REGARDS NEGROES AS THEIR SLAVES AND INCAPABLE OF THINKING FOR THEMSELVES

Perhaps the most outrageous, unbecoming and insulting statement ever made by a white man to a Negro, or group of Negroes, in the city of Louisville, was made by Brent G. Nunnelly, Republican "orator" to a group of Colored voters at Centennial Baptist Church, Friday night.

This man in his fervor of partisanship and hatred for all things not Republican, yelled to his black listeners: "Mothers don't let your daughters associate with a Negro who calls himself a Democrat! and men and women don't patronize any Negro in business or the professions who says he is for the Democrats!"

The thoughtless, ignorant part of his audience applauded this wild, insulting statement, but the intelligent, thinking Negroes "hissed inside of themselves" as a woman listener informed The News. But why "hiss inside themselves?" Why not have hissed out loud? Why not have driven this white man who had the nerve to try to turn Negroes against Negroes out of their pulpit and out of their church?

Is this slave time? Is Brent Nunnelly a second Simon Legree? Are the members of Centennial Baptist Church a bunch of Uncle Toms that this Simon Legree can lash them across their black backs and make them oppose and hate other Negroes so that he and his lily-white bunch can get in office, draw fat salaries and graft off bootleggers and other lawbreakers?

What do the intelligent Negroes think of that? What do you intelligent, self-respecting Colored voters think of a white man (or a party that sends such a man to speak to Negro voters) who has the unmitigated nerve to stand before an audience of Negroes and tell them to hate one another, to boycott one another, to destroy Negro business and progress so he and his ilk can get in office?

What do you think of that, Rev. G. F. Watson? What do you thin kof that, Rev. Shamborguer? What do you think o fthat, Mr. Harvey Burns? What do you think of that, Mr. Eli Forbes? What do you think of that ,Rev. C. H. Parrish? You all claim to be lovers of your race, you claim to want to see your race progress rise—now what do you think of a party that can produce a speaker who cries to Negroes to hate each other, to boycott each other so that they can get in office? We leave it to any self-respecting, race loving Negro, if this lily-white, Negro hating, Ku Klux Klan, four-flushing bunch does not deserve defeat, even if they call themselves "Republican," every Negro who has a grain of race pride or self-respect ought to vote against them.

That is why The Louisville News is against them. They are not right in spirit, in vision or in morale. Propaganda is out The News is bought. One does not have to be bought to resent with all one's strength this insult hurled at the intelligence and the self-respect and the pride of the race. One could not be bought to say Republicans shut Colored people out of the Public Parks—IF THEY DID NOT DO IT.

One could not be bought to say Republican Police killed 27 Negroes in their ten years of office—IF THEY DID NOT DO IT.

Now comes Nunnelly, a typical mudgutter politician politician, a typical lily-white Republican, a typical Negro hating Republican WHO LOVES the Negro at election time but despises him all the rest of the time and tells Negroes to boycott Negroes, "don't let your daughters associate with a aNegro who is not Republican."

The Nerve, The Insult, The Desperation of it all. Because of this Nunnelly and his ilk—and the Republican party is filled and controlled—is one of the reasons—and good enough if it was the only reason—why The Louisville News urges the Negro to vote for J. T. O'Neal and the Democratic ticket.

NEW YORK
HERALD

OCT 8 1927

Ex-Aid of Tammany To Organize Negroes On Republican Side

Oscar H. Waters Opens Drive To-night to Get State 'Balance of Power'; Criticizes Smith for Attitude

Oscar H. Waters, chairman of the Hylan Campaign Committee which swung the Negroes of Harlem to the former Mayor, but who broke away from Tammany more than a year ago announced yesterday that he would hold a Republican organization meeting at 2145 Seventh Avenue to-night. Associated with him are Louis Williams Dr. Bud Shaw, Cornelius H. Robinson and William Smith.

"The Negroes of Harlem are through with the Democratic party," Waters said. "There are between 75,000 and 100,000 colored men and women of voting age in this city, but only about 40,000 are now qualified voters. The new organization intends to get them all to become voters.

"There are enough Negroes, if organized, to become the balance of political power in the state, and that is what we are out to become, and we expect to attain that end through the agency of the Republican party. The Negro voters of Harlem have been very badly treated by Al Smith, Mayor Walker and Judge Olvany. In fact, since the Governor has had the Presidential bee in his bonnet he has not been able to 'see' a Negro, although we have given him plenty of help every time he has run."

A resolution indorsing Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's recent address at Rochester will be offered at the meeting to-night. "Colonel Roosevelt," said Mr. Smith, "made a telling point when he challenged Al Smith to show his sympathy with the Negro by demanding equality before the law for him in the Southern states."

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA

OCT 7 1927

Argue State's Rights

Republican leaders in Kentucky have asked for Federal supervision of the election which is to be held next month. They claim that the Negro vote in that State represents the balance of power and that the Democrats win through its repression.

Southern Senators are angry at the move. Senator Glass of Virginia calls it "idiotic," and Senator Fletcher of Florida says that if such a request were granted it would be an outrage reminiscent of Reconstruction days.

One would have more sympathy for these southern Senators had they not been enthusiastic in support of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act.

If the Federal Government has a right to stand between the white man and his glass of beer, why has it not a right to guarantee the black man his vote?

Seven western Governors, powwowing at Denver for more than a month in an effort to settle the Colorado River problem, offer a vivid example of how the doctrine of State rights works.

They are stronger than ever in favor of this doctrine, but admit that the Federal Government must step in before the Colorado River can be developed.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

Colored Leaders Are Getting Their Eyes Open to Republican Hypocrisy

Washington, November 2.—(Special.)—One of the significant recent developments in this center of Uncle Samdom is a strong tendency of leading colored men to abandon their past servile devotion to the republican party.



It has finally gotten deeply under their hair that the republican bosses are scarcely any more honestly friendly to them than are those democrats who frankly stand up for a white man's government of this country, both state and national. These colored leaders have concluded that they are politically unwelcome in the party, save in very exceptional local cases in the east and north where the solid negro vote happens to be a real balance of power between almost equal republican and democratic line ups.

There are, perhaps, a dozen congressional districts in eastern and mid-western states where such a condition exists, and in them the republican bosses profess profound interest in the political status of "the man and brother."

But when the particular battle is won by his aid for the republicans the aforesaid "man and brother" finds out that the bosses only took him snipe-hunting. He is not invited into the banquet hall to have his stomach and plate filled with the spoils of victory. And that perennial treatment has become very tiresome to the spokesmen for the negroes.

* * * *

Calling for Independent Action.

Recently a general conference of prominent colored leaders was held here at the capital and was featured by unusually strong counsels to the colored people of the country to become political independents.

It was boldly said that they ought no longer to suffer themselves to be tagged as "chattel voters" of the republican party. No longer, they said, is that party led by men with the liberal, non-racial and constitutional principles of Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Henry Ward Beecher and, especially, Abraham Lincoln. If the democratic party is 100 per cent for white supremacy, they declare that the republican party is actually 95 per cent of the same complexion.

These colored insurgents have stacks of evidence to establish that conclusion; but they seem to lack the grit to fight with it.

It is a big advance toward racial self-respect, however, when such able colored spokesmen tell their people that their best interests will be served by independent action in political affairs. They say, in so many words:

"If you want to be a republican on his continued attendance at all meetings and luncheons during the campaign. His encouragement of the workers by his counsel, his generosity, his accessibility and graciousness was most fruitful, and his example in treading the streets of Atlanta the same as a humble private in the ranks, securing subscriptions to this fund, spurred the workers to still further efforts.

"Personally, I shall always have a place of affection in my heart for these workers, as well as for all others who gave of their time, their energy and their money, without stint.

"I trust if I should ever have the honor to lead another campaign for appropriations for the benefit of colored students.

Heretofore Miller has been one of the very vocal leaders of the colored cult of equal righters and has believed that the only survival of the race in America lay in the supremacy of the republican party. But now he has evidently lost faith in the party that was once "the party of Lincoln," or, if he retains any faith in its championship of "negro rights," it is that sort of faith which has been described as "the faculty of believing what one knows is not so!"

In a recent letter to the Washington "Post," Miller says:

"The negro has been used as a political football between the parties for 40 years. . . Every intelligent American citizen over 14 years of age knows that neither the republican nor the democratic party has any firm intention to enforce the 14th, 15th or the 18th amendments."

Not content with that wallop upon both parties, Miller proceeds:

"Since the days of Roosevelt, the elder, it has made little or no difference to the negro which party triumphed in the national election. The race, as a whole, fared about as well under eight years of Woodrow Wilson as under the corresponding terms under Harding and Coolidge."

* * * *

No Negro Hopes in the West.

This past summer Kelly Miller made a long tour of observation in the west, as far as to the Pacific coast, and has published a detailed account of what he found to be "the status and future prospects of the race in the middle west."

"By actual count," he says, "I saw more waiters and porters on the train which carried me westward than came under my eye on the route by the way. There was not a single other colored passenger beside myself during the 27-hour ride from Chicago to Denver."

He found that negroes who went west to farm or engage in other industries "are rapidly thinning out." Even in the greater cities out there conditions for the colored people "seem to be growing more and more stringent."

After giving a wonderfully illuminating and interesting account of the white ostracisms practiced upon the negroes in the west, Miller concludes that "the northern Mississippi region is the white man's land, where the negro finds only the scantiest opportunity."

But, are things much better for the aspiring colored person in the east?

The other Sunday the New York World gave spread space to an article by Madeline G. Allison, who has been for 12 years a social secretary in an association for the advancement of the colored people.

She detailed graphically how consistently she was repulsed by the great mercantile and industrial firms of New York city when she asked them to employ colored saleswomen!"

She gives quotations from the proprietors of department stores that have "close to 2,000,000 colored customers," but not one of them would agree to employ colored clerks, or saleswomen, to wait upon those customers.

"Yes, we have no colored employees!" was the practically unanimous response to her applications.

So, what is the answer

I leave it to some of our colored philosophers in Atlanta and Georgia to interpret all these facts and then say to their people whether or not they should migrate to the east, north and west in search of racial bet-

STATUS OF NEGRO IS UPHELD IN POLL OF G. O. P. HEADS

Republican Leaders Express Their Disapproval of Speech Made by Committeeman Craeger.

Crystallization of sentiment among those who control the destinies of the Republican Party, with reference to the attitude of the party organization toward participation of the Negro in forthcoming national elections, effected recently by a poll of the entire membership of the Republican National Committee, was revealed yesterday by Roscoe Conkling Simmons, of Chicago, nephew of the late Booker T. Washington and president of the Lincoln League, whose principal bailiwick is the Second Ward of the Windy City.

Simmons is remembered here principally for his single-handed fight before the Republican National Committee four years ago to defeat a proposition to reduce Southern representation in national conventions of the party, when he succeeded in keeping the South fully represented there as in the past. A speech of R. B. Craeger, National Committeeman from Texas, made in October in New Orleans, in which he was reported as saying the Negro occupied only the place of "camp follower" in the Republican Party, was the cause of the poll, to discover what part of the committee was in accord with the Texan.

Disagreement With Texan

The overwhelming disagreement with the Southern committeeman on the subject has indicated the probability of a contesting delegation from that state, in the Republican National Convention in June, opposed to Craeger's lily-whiteism. Simmons who expressed yesterday vigorous opposition to sectionalizing of the Republican party, indicate the intention of the Lincoln League to organize to bring men of all races into the party in all parts of the country, rather than to drive the Negro out of the party in the South. Such organization, it was pointed out, pre-suppoosed other similar contests before the Republican National Committee.

Republican National Committeemen from all sections of the country have indicated to the head of the Lincoln League their lack of sympathy with the views of Craeger, as published in the New Orleans press, " to make the Republican Party Southern in principal and ideals." Numerous committeemen from the South have indicated that they are in no way affiliated with the new Southern Republican League which met in the Louisiana city, and have maintained that the Republican Party must not be held responsible for the views of an individual national committeeman.

Ithaca N.Y.
SEP 10 1927

Negro Voters In New Club; Non-Partisan

Hold Meeting, Elect Officers And Announce That Membership Will be Open to Colored Population of County—No Indorsements

A non-partisan political group came upon the scene with the organization last evening of the Negro Political Club of Ithaca and Tompkins County, embracing the majority of voters in the colored population of the city and county.

No indications of platforms or support of candidates in the primaries September 20 were made at the meeting which was held in the Blood Block on North Tioga Street. according to officers chosen last night.

Thomas M. Redmond of 122 Cleveland Avenue was chosen leader of the group. The officers of the club elected were Lloyd Hammond of 106 Cleveland Avenue, president; Mrs. Jessie Cooper, 109 Cleveland Avenue, vice-president; Mrs. Anna Corbin, secretary; Mrs. Florence Totten, assistant secretary; David Stinnett, treasurer, and S. W. Payne, chaplain.

Messenger
Owensboro, Ky
OCT 13 1927

Floyd county, Ky, led in Sunday killings. Four men were killed and four others seriously wounded in a battle there. Surrounding counties are not envious of the Floyd record.

The names of 6,000 negro Republicans were stricken from the Louisville registration books. The Republican majority in the next election has already gone glimmering.

Judge Schoonmaker, of Pittsburgh, did not enjoin the union

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation

Democratic.

NEW YORK
SUN and GLOBE

SHOTS FIRED AND BOMBS THROWN IN BITTEREST CHICAGO ELECTION

Pistol Volley Riddles One Polling Place --Headquarters Buildings Damaged by Explosions.

CHICAGO, April 5 (A. P.).—A burst of election violence and a flood of ballots marked Chicago's bitterest Mayoralty contest to-day with prospects for a record vote of upward of 1,000,000.

Bombing of two Democratic political clubs on the North Side early in the morning, long before the polls opened, and the killing of Vincent "Schemer" Drucci, beer gang leader of the North Side, late yesterday, apparently marked the peak of turbulence in preelection hours, but not the end.

Four hours after the polls had opened a polling place in the Twenty-eighth Ward, a negro district on West Lake street, was fired upon.

Three men speeding past the Twenty-second Precinct voting place in a roadster emptied their revolvers, shattering windows but injuring no one. An election worker ran out and fired at the fleeing car and reported he believed he had wounded one of the occupants.

Drucci was killed by a detective after he had been taken into custody. He quarreled with Detective Daniel Healy, who shot and killed him on the way to the Criminal Courts Building. Drucci was armed when apprehended.

Religious Issue Figures.

When hours passed after the opening of the polls with little or no violence expeected as a result of the bitter campaign, in which racial and religious issues were used in addition to patriotic appeals, flag waving and uproarious campaign noisemaking, the police did not relax their watchfulness.

Officials declared the killing of Drucci had had a wholesome effect on hoodlums.

Joseph Bauer was wounded mysteriously on the North Side early to-day, but he refused to disclose whether he was a victim of election trouble.

Complaints of zealous election workers, usual in the election in several river wards, where competition for votes is always bitter, were received by the Election Commissioners, but at noon they reported no serious interference.

Adjt.-Gen. Carlos Black of the Illinois National Guard remained in the city, although yesterday it was decided not to call out local units of the guard, as Sheriff Charles Graydon had asked several days ago.

Position of Candidates.

William Hale Thompson, Republican nominee and former Mayor, in whose behalf Sheriff Graydon is interested, in campaign speeches had complained that the racial issue was being used by the Democrats.

Mayor William E. Dever, Democrat, had appealed for "decency" and sought the support of businessmen particularly. His supporters charged Thompson had caused the racial issue by his appearances before meetings of negroes and making many promises to the negroes.

Thompson, Dever and Dr. John Dill Robertson, Independent Republican candidate who was Health Commissioner under Thompson but now a bitter political enemy of the latter, all claimed victory.

ORANGE, TX., Reporter

MAR 9 - 1927

SMITH AND VARE OPPONENTS WOULD USE NEGRO RULING

Decision on Texas Negro Primary Law Proves Primary Part of Election, Borah Asserts.

WASHINGTON, March. 8. A movement to use the United States supreme court's decision invalidating the Texas negro primary law in the battle to keep Frank Smith of Illinois, and William S. Vare of Pennsylvania from senate seats, was under way today.

Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, said the decision upheld his contention that the primary was direct part of the election machinery, and therefore under congressional control. This would justify the senate attempt to oust Vare and Smith. The large expenditures of their primary campaigns are held by Smith and Vare partisans and others to be entirely state matters, as the primary is not a constitutional activity.

Meanwhile, southen observers here today said the decision will have no immediate important effect in their states. Word from Texas was that an attempt might be made to redraft the invalidated law, passed in 1923, which specifically forbade negroes from voting in the Democratic primary. The Democratic nomination is tantamount to election in Texas.

No other southern state carries any such phohibition on its books. Negroes are not named in any of their laws. Some have qualifications which prevent the negro from voting, and any redraft of the Texas law is expected to follow this line. There is also the "grandfather clause" even that, which has been upheld by the supreme court, is no a phohibition, but says that anyone whose grandfather voted may vote.

Some negroes now vote in general elections in the south. The majority do not vote because they hel are made to understand they are not expected to vote. This acknowledged situation is defended by southerners on the ground that voting by negroes now would create an undesirable situation in some cases because of their numerical preponderance in some sections.

The principle involved in the Vare-Smith controversy which touches on the Texas decision, is that stated in the famous Newberry decision of the supreme court holding unconstitutional corrupt practices law which attempted to limit primary expenditures. The court divided four to four, however, on whether the primary was a part of the election. The decision against the law on other grounds.

Borah contends that the supreme court in that case, therefore, did no decide the issue of the senate's power over primaries. The court in the Texas case yesterday made one significant references to this point as follows:

"If the defendants' "Texas election officials" conduct in refusing to allow a negro to vote" was a wrong to the plaintif, the same reasons that allowed a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election that may determine the final result."

NEW YORK
Mail & Eve. Telegram

MAR 8 1927

Anti-Lily-White.

A. NIXON, an El Paso negro, was not allowed to vote in a Democratic primary.

Thousands more might have been denied the same privilege except that they knew better than to ask it.

Ever since primaries were held in Texas, the Democratic party has proceeded on the assumption that it could exclude whom it pleased, and has written that assumption into the law of the State.

Nixon was not satisfied with his treatment or the ground on which it was based, so he hired a lawyer, or other people hired one for him, and went to court.

The Supreme Court has just handed down a decision which says in effect that primaries are subject to the Federal Constitution, and that no State can give a political party the right to bar citizens in violation of the Constitution.

If this decision proves effective, it will upset the political structure of the South, which is based on the idea that the Democratic party can keep itself lily-white.

A DEMOCRAT IS A DEMOCRAT

A Democrat is a Democrat and it matters not what section of ou
common country he lives in. Climate, section nor condition change
the policy and principles of the Democratic party. When confronte
by the same condition there is no difference in the attitude of the Demo
cratic party of New York and Illinois and the Democratic party i
Georgia and South Carolina. Wherever the party senses defeat, i
will resort to any method to maintain its hold upon the Governmen
of our country. It will retain it by fair means if possible, and if nec
essary to retain it, by foul means. The Democratic party North an
South is a party of bigotry and intolerance, of race-hatred and in
humanity. There is no difference between Senators Blease and Steph
ens of the South, and George Brennan and Al Smith of the North
when the Negro question is up for consideration. So, the party i
the North stands for the same outlawry and intolerance that the party
in the South stands for. The only difference in the Democrats of the
two sections is, that the Southern element is honest in its contentions
and does not seek to prove its friendship for the Negro, by not accept
ing him as a political factor, under any circumstances. The Northern
element led by Al Smith and George Brennan caters socially to and
hobnobs with the Negro, when they can use him and raise the red
flag of race-hatred and intolerance when they cannot induce him to
follow its destructive policy.

No clearer demonstration of this truth is more apparent than the
tactics resorted to by the Democratic party in Chicago, April 5th, in
the municipal election in which the Negro deserted the Democratic
party in solid phalanx for William Hale Thompson. First, the Negro
was with Mr. Thompson because of the man, and secondly because
he was a Republican. Many Negroes in Chicago and New York vote
the Democratic ticket in local elections because of the patronage the
Democratic party gives them—not for principle, but simply as a com-
mercial transaction.

The Democratic party in Chicago under the leadership of George
Brennan, Democratic leader and strong Al Smith supporter, in order
to defeat William Hale Thompson for Mayor, resorted to methods not
Southern Democratic city has ever resorted to. The methods to which
the Chicago Democrats resorted to, are so revolting and intolerant
in character that it is unbelievable that a city like Chicago could pos-
sess people so inhuman and barbarous in instinct. In order to disgust
all while people in Chicago, and to divide the people of this great city
into racial groups of haters and despisers of each other, they raised
the red flag of heathenism, and tried to impress the white public to
believe that the election of William Hale Thompson to the mayoralty
of the second American city, meant the break down of all social lines,
and open the doors for the Negro to marry white women and to invade
every exclusive residential section in town; and to force themselves
into white homes and the most fashionable hotels to their detriment and
the disgust of all social and cultured pride of every white family. In
order to impress the public along these lines, they hired taxi cabs,
filled them with Negro boobs and white women of the under-world,
paraded them through the most exclusive residential section of the
city and the loop where the wealthy and fashionable women shop, with
red banners with the name of Thompson on them, advertising the con-
dition that would obtain in case the white people of Chicago didn't
solidify themselves into one great phalanx for white supremacy and
social protection by re-electing Dever over "Bill" Thompson the Re-
publican. They pictured to the working man in the shop and at the
trade that Thompson would crowd them out and fill their places with
cheap Negro labor, if he was elected Mayor, and they had better rise
in their might and defeat him in order to retain their positions and
to keep poverty and want from overtaking their families. They ap-
pealed to the office-holders, and they are many, that Thompson was
going to Africanize the City Hall, and was going to make it as black
under him as it was white under Dever, and they had better rise in
self-defense and strike the leper down, for Dever was for white su-
premacy, and Thompson was for Negro domination. Southern Democ-
racy has never condescended to such low and despicable depths to main-
tain white supremacy.

The Democrats under the leadership of George Brennan made the
Negro the chief issue. Blease, Tillman, Smith and no other Southern
Democrat has ever resorted to such political expediency, as did the
Chicago Democrats. The South has never resorted to methods so
loathsome, cheap and foul as did George Brennan's organization in
Chicago April 5th. In order to further disgust white folks, the Demo-
cratic machine sent 10,000 letters to 10,000 Negroes to meet "Bill"
Thompson at a big downtown hotel, and then some white hoodlum or
gangster would holler "rape" and cause a riot and the Chicago police
men would kill thousands of Negroes and so disconcert them that they
would stay away from the polls and Dever would be re-elected. Another
method was they placarded vicious cartoons and hired renegade Ne-
groes and Italians to march through the streets with brass bands dis-
playing Thompson banners. This was to show the equality that would
encompass Chicago if Thompson was elected.

All these devilish and un-American methods failed and instead of
disgusting the white people and arraying them against Thompson, they
recoiled and Thompson was elected by approximately one hundred
thousand majority, in spite of Brennan's campaign of race-hatred, in-
tolerance and communism. After the election, the Democratic boss,
George Brennan, gave out this statement: "William Thompson has been
elected Mayor by a plurality of approximately 85,000; there were more
than 100,000 Negro voters in all parts of the city, and at the lowest
estimate there were 60,000. A change of 45,000 votes would have
elected Mayor Dever again. Thompson got a plurality of more than
50,000 votes in the three large Negro wards, the Second, Third and
Fourth. There are no less than five other wards with large Negro
population." The most sensible Democrats have confessed the truth
that they lost, and that they lost heavily because they injected the
race issue, an issue that should never have been injected. The Demo-
crats told the white folks that if Thompson was elected, thousands and
hundreds of thousands of Negroes from the South would rush into
Chicago for the purpose of social, economic and political advantages—
that the Negro would interpret his election as their right of social
equality with the whites, economic equality with labor and political
equality in Government.

The Independent submits that the election in Chicago will have no
bearing perse upon the Negro in this country. Socially, they have no de-
sire to mix with white people, marry in their families or live among
them. That socially they desire to remain separate and distinct and build
for themselves such an economic independence as the white man has
built for himself. But economically and politically he demanded before
the election, and will continue to demand both economic and political
equality, and a voice in the making of the laws and the selection of
those who are to execute and enforce them. He yields to no man, or
set of men in loyalty to the flag, love of country and the right to be
heard in all matters of local and national interest as the question may
affect the public weal.

Mr. Thompson's election was an expression of American manhood
unfettered by intellectual slavery and moral cowardice, and unafraid of
intimidation, race-hatred and intolerance. The Negro can never support
the Democratic party locally or nationally, so long as the Bleases
Smiths and other Negro haters control and manipulate party affairs to
the detriment of a part of the citizens, in favor of the other part of
the people.

"Democrats Not Negroes' Friends"

Col. Roosevelt Scores Disfranchisement in the South

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Oct. 3.—In his speech as temporary chairman of the Republican State Convention Friday, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, speaking of the Negro had the following to say:

"This country fought the war that gave it its national existence with the slogan, 'No taxation without representation.' It established this principle as a concept of our Government. If such an ideal was so vital as to justify war when applied to the money tax, what must it be when applied to the blood tax? If men who pay the taxes in time of peace to support the Government are entitled to vote, the men who give their blood in war to defend the nation are doubly entitled to a vote.

"At this time in the nation there are thousands of ex-service men of the last war who are forbidden to vote by the States of which they are citizens. These men live south of the Mason-Dixon line in the Democratic-controlled Solid South. They are denied the vote by the Democrats because they are Negroes.

"It is hypocrisy for the Democratic Party here or anywhere else to pretend that it is the friend of the Negro. At this moment the leader of the Democratic Party in the State aspires to be the nominee of that party for the Presidency. He has professed that he is the friend of the Negroes in this State. If there is sincerity in this profession he should at once publicly demand of his national party justice for the Negroes in the South. He will not do this, because he does not wish to offend the Southern delegates whose votes at the Convention he wants."

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation
PITTSBURGH, PA
Press
APR 19 1927

I

With Regard To Democrats

By N. D. COCHRAN.

THE weakness of the Democratic party is its strength.

The solidity of the solid south is a liability instead of an asset. It isn't solid on any principle of government, unless you want to call white supremacy in a section of the country where the Negro population is densest a principle of government.

In most southern states nomination at a Democratic primary is equivalent to election. So in both houses of congress the representatives are Democrats. Occasionally, when the people want to punish the Republican party, they elect a Democratic congress, adding enough members from the north to make a majority with the southern members.

WORKING OF SENIORITY RULE.

As the seniority rule governs in the make-up of committees in both the senate and the house, a Democratic majority in either house means that the south gets the chairmanships; for, naturally enough, the members of long service come from the south.

If nothing but political principles were involved, some of the southern states would be Republican on the tariff issue—notably Alabama and Louisiana. Other states are affected by the movement of the steel and textile industries to the south and the growth of manufacturing.

Such an old-fashioned theory as a tariff for revenue only is merely a memory. The free trade philosophy of Frank Hurd, who was a Democratic leader in congress when McKinley was the champion of a high protective tariff, has even faded from memory.

AWAY FROM JEFFERSON.

Naturally enough, when the Democratic party of the solid south went over to fundamentalism and prohibition, its opposition to sumptuary legislation evaporated. It got so far away from Jeffersonian democracy that the shade of Thomas Jefferson wouldn't have known his party in its federal disguise.

There are, however, many Jeffersonian Democrats all over the north, east and west who believe in the bill of rights, but they are all dressed up in their Jeffersonian democracy with nowhere to go. They have been lost sheep ever since Bryan led them into strange pastures in 1896 and thereafter. Many of them came back home when Wilson led them back to Jefferson and democratic idealism, but the poor old party, under the leadership of the Anti-Saloon league, began floundering again when McAdoo snatched the shroud of Bryan and tried to lead them back into the wilderness. Mac was no more of a Joshua than Bryan was a Moses. Anyhow, the sun wouldn't stand still over Gideon, and it looks like 32 more years in the wilderness unless the party picks up the Jeffersonian chart and begins sailing the true course.

1928 CHANCES SLIM.

The chances of electing a Democratic president in 1928 are almighty slim. And it isn't because a majority of the people all over this country do not believe in the democracy of Jefferson or the Republicanism of Lincoln. It is because the Democrats have wandered far away from Jefferson and the bill of rights and have become a sectional party and slave to the traditional enemies of liberty. If there were any chance of a come-back for Jefferson's ideas of liberty the people would punish the Republican party for getting so far away from the Republican principles of Lincoln.

In being compelled to make a choice of two evils, most of the states take a chance with the one they have rather than fly to another that seems to have no sense of direction.

In other words, the game of some Democratic leaders to win by ducking and dodging won't work.

TIMES
ST. LOUIS, MO.

JUN 5 1927

Negroes and the Democrats.

Certain of the leaders of the colored voters who in New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and even in New England are laying plans to lead their forces into the Democratic party fold will do well before they go any further to request of Attorney General Pollard of Texas, Democrat, a copy of the brief which he has filed in the United States Supreme Court asserting and defending the right of the Democratic party of Texas to exclude negroes from the Democratic primaries in that State. Mr. Pollard argues that a primary is not an election within the meaning of the constitution and therefore that they have a legal right so to act.

Inasmuch as in Texas the primary is the one real event in the political life of the State, for in a great number of places they do not even

Democratic.

trouble to hold elections, this is about as open a move for the disfranchisement of the negroes as has been undertaken for some years. Thus while in the northern States by means of patronage the Democrats are making a determined drive to win the colored people to their standard, it must be agreed that a move like Pollard's must make plain there can never be any real sympathy between the Democratic party and the negro people. The ending of attempted association inevitably will be that of the lady who attempted to ride on the tiger. In that case it will be remembered that on the return trip the lady was inside and the smile was on the face of the tiger.

SAVE THE BALLOTS

SENATOR JAMES A. REED of Missouri, Don Quixote of bourbon democracy, has tightened his flapping senatorial toga, laced on his Sodomanic sandals, adjusted his battered helmet, unsheathed his sharp, short, sacred sword, and belicose of mien, dashed with celerity toward the political windmills which dot Pennsylvania's landscapes, but that have escaped neither this adventurer's vision, his ire or his desire to treasure them among the spoils of his swash-buckling campaigns.

Reed

9-17-27

Arkansas, Mississippi, and Georgia furnished Three Musketeers or the Mosquito Trio, in the persons respectively, of Senators Thaddeus H. Caraway, Herbert D. Stephens and Walter F. George, all of whom have been purified by baptism in the fiery brimstone of the South's honest democratic immunity pool, and are armed and panoplied to help efface the windmills, purify the ballot box and keep Congress free of all rascals—except those from the south. "Senor" Caraway, the "Athos" of the trio—count 'em, three—might be utilized also by Don Quixote Reed to double as "Ali Raba" inasmuch as he might have at some time overheard the "sesame" of the South's "forty thieves" and thus might be enabled to either retain or even open the ballot boxes in question without the destruction of the windmills or the exposition of the quartet of valiant, excited generalissimos to the hazzards of combat and the loss of patriotic impulses or gore.

Reed, Pa.

The senatorial slush fund committee, of which Senator Reed is the proud pater, wet nurse, angel patron saint and sponsor, and which was saved from asphyxiation at the adjournment of the last session of Congress only by this artful Houdini's own oxygen, when the pulmotor squad had failed to resuscitate his all but expired "infant;" his royal son by creation and adoption, and by reason of which proud parenthood he hopes, not unlike Jack of the beanstalk myth, to shin his way into the White House—this slush fund committee was called upon by the election officials of Pennsylvania to either return the ballot boxes impounded by it in the Vare-Wilson controversey, or else they would exact of Congress the sum of $6,500 at which they value them.

"To arms!" cried DonQuixote Reed, "Save the ballots!" the other slushers, martyrs to the cause of clean elections, silhouetted their martial profiles forward, lifted their voices in unison, and in emulation of the emblematic donkey of Democracy re-echoed the bray, "Save the ballots!"

At this writing the windmills are still intact. The windjammers are still afield with the quivering field marshall marshalling his coporal's guard, the while muttering imprecations interspersed with the shibboleth, "Save the ballots!"

This slogan should not be allowed to die, "Save the ballots!" From every hamlet and village, every house and hilltop, it should emanate, "Save the ballots!" From forge and factory, press and pulpit, on countryside and in country house, it should ring out, "save the ballots!" The nation, conscience stricken, on being awakened from its dullard instincts and callousness to the cause of justice in all of its elections should, in stentatorian tones, take up the cry "Save the ballots."

For years the ballot, sacred emblem of protection and safe guard of the rights, lives and property of every American citizen, has been withheld from millions of honest men. Their voices join in the medley, "Save the ballots!" —to every American citizen!

Save the ballot for the disfranchised; save it for the preservation of the best in our social order; save it because it is the law; save it because it is just and right; save it in Georgia as well as Pennsylvania; but in God's name save it everywhere in the cause of liberty, justice, equality and the honest preservation of American ideals and institutions!

Perhaps some day after the Pennsylvania ballots have been saved and sorted, and red-blooded statesmen, unafraid, demand, insist and exact the impounding of the South's ballots of its rotten burroughs; when an honest effort is made to clean out the Augean stables of the political autocracy of that section, again will the cry be heard, "Save the ballots!"—but they will doubtless add—"From the hands of honest men." By all means and whatever costs, "Save the ballots!"

For this principle real statesmen have been mobbed and publicists martyred.

Let the slushers beware lest they continue to be tin horn heroes by their partisanship. Let them all save the ballots for all of the people for all time!

Noted Son of Late Brooklyn Minister Named to Run for Judge by Socialists

Rufus L. Perry, Supported by Negro Democrats, Who Sought to Have Him Appointed Magistrate Years Ago, Expected to Poll Big Vote

While both of the major political parties have seen fit to make up their county ticket and saw to it that the tickets had political balance by catering to the Jewish, Italian, German and other racial votes in nominating one of their group for office, both parties forgot the "colored brother," whom they love so much just before voting time. But it was not so with the Socialists. They have nominated Attorney Rufus L. Perry, the noted criminal lawyer, for county judge.

There are three county judges to be elected and from all reports the Socialists will make every effort to bring out a record vote for Perry.

When seen at his office, 375 Fulton street, by a representative of this paper, Counsellor Perry told how the judicial honor came to him unsought. He also told how for years he had been a member of the Democratic party and had also watched the workings of the Republican party and had come to the conclusion that both parties in the final analysis do not "mean us much good, and what they give us, little though it is, is given grudgingly." Hence he has affiliated with the Socialist party.

Mr. Perry is a native of Brooklyn and is the son of the late Rev. Perry, one of the outstanding clergymen in Brooklyn during his day and generation. It is recalled that Rev. Perry attempted, like others, to give Brooklyn a weekly paper, but the effort did not succeed.

Counsellor Perry has won many laurels at the bar during his practice, which extends over a period of thirty-five years.

Perry's nomination by the Socialists recalls the efforts of Negro Democrats to have him appointed a magistrate by the late Mayor Gaynor. Gaynor did not appoint him, but the writer has information from reliable sources that the late Mayor admitted Perry's qualifications and stated that if it was not for Perry's color he would already have been a member of the Supreme Court.

Since the announcement of the candidacy of Perry our reporter has interviewed many prominent colored men and women, and the consensus of opinion seems to be in favor of the brilliant barrister, who will most likely receive the vote of the majority of the Negro voters, be they Republican or Democrat.

TOLEDO
OHIO

ISSUE OF

JUL 25 1927

Negro Association to Back Northrup

Support for Grant Northrup, vice mayor and candidate for mayor, in the primary Aug. 9, was being fostered among colored voters Monday by the Universal Negro Improvement association, following a meeting Sunday at which Mr. Northrup's candidacy was indorsed.

Mrs. M. B. Robinson, Cleveland and New York, widely known colored lecturer, will address the meeting next Sunday, sounding the opening note of a local campaign for 1,000 new members.

Colored Democratic Chief at Peace with Tammany

William Banks, president of the Golden Democratic Club, 107 W. 132d St., regular Tammany colored organization of Harlem, indicated yesterday that he will not revolt from the organization as he threatened because of police interference with the social activities of his club.

Sherman Taylor, member of the club who was arrested for gambling in a police raid several months ago, was acquitted recently in Special Sessions, and Banks then denied he was "at outs with the organization."

A policeman on duty nearby to watch the social activities of the Harlem colored club "will soon be removed," Banks said.

Tammany Disregard of Civil Service Laws Emphasizes Party's Unfairness Towards Negro Supporters of Party

Republican City Affairs Bureau Exposes Seven Recent Cases of Flagrant Violations Within Civil Service Commission Itself

Tammany Hall Democracy's unfairness to its Negro supporters, as told in last week's issue of The Age, is further emphasized as a report of the City Affairs Bureau of the Republican County Committee is made public by its chairman, William Bullock, showing that the 14th street organization has consistently violated the civil service requirements whenever it wanted to take care of its adherents.

But the naming of employees in this manner has been confined to "good Democrats" who are white—in no case has the colored brother benefitted. The report shows that just within the last month there were seven illegal appointments made, with an utter ignoring of an eligible list containing the names of over a hundred citizens who had qualified for the positions, and it is more than significant that these positions were all in the Civil Service Commission itself.

Seven Are Appointed.

The report shows that these positions were provided by the Board of Estimate on April 21, to give the Comission an adequate force, and funds were provided to pay salaries of $2,400 each per annum. An eligible list of 100 persons was created, but of the seven appointees, only one, a woman, Mrs. Mary E. Clark of 165 East 90th street, was taken from the list. And she is an enrolled Democrat.

The others, six "good Democrats," were transferred from other departments with substantial increases in salary in each case. Four of these men were from the Department of Public Welfare, the other two were parole officers from the Parole Department.

In the naming of these seven Commission investigators, as was the case in the naming of ten "assistants to Justices" told of last last week, the faithful colored brother was left out in the cold.

A Negro Commissioner.

And notwithstanding that one of the members of the Municipal Civil Service Commission is Hon. Ferdinand Q. Morton, leader of Tammany Negro Democracy of New York City, with his headquarters in Harlem.

In this connection, inquiry as to Mr. Morton's seeming lack of interest in securing recognition for his own race reveals that he is possibly disgusted at not receiving from the present Tammany chief, George W. Olvany, the consideration and respect he feels entitled to when it comes to the doling out of even the scanty plums which have come to the Negro wing of Tammany Hall.

It is whispered around, in fact, that when a successor to the late James McClendon, as assistant to District Attorney Banton, was named, Dr. Morton was practically given a slap in the face by the naming of a man endorsed by Mr. Houlihan, the leader of the 21st A. D. Democrats, instead of the man named and endorsed by Commissioner Morton, who, according to reports, had been promised the appointment.

But this promise was made to Mr. Morton by District Attorney Banton, while Houlihan took his way direct to 14th street and put in his request to Chief Olvany himself. And Commissioner Morton's attempts to have Houlihan's man put out and his own choice named have been futile.

In fact, Morton's friends finally suggested to him that a preferable alternative would be to try and get another race man on Banton's staff.

Few Sizable Jobs.

Whether Mr. Morton's failure to secure measurable recognition for the Negro supporters of Tammany is due to pique or is just pure indifference, the fact remains that no Negro has been given a job carrying a sizable salary during these recent days, and that save for the position held by Mr. Morton as Civil Service Commissioner; an Assistant District Attorneyship by Counselor Thomas B. Dyett; an Assistant Corporation Counsel place by Counselor James S. Watson, and an honorary place in connection with the Surrogates' Court, which pays no salary, held by Counselor Cornelius McDougald, there have been no pickings with nutriment for the Negro Tammanyite.

It was discovered last April that 2,274 persons, drawing $3,500,000 in salaries, had been appointed illegally, and the Civil Service Commission made the plea that it was shorthanded and unable to hold examinations and prepare lists. It was to meet this plea that the Board of Estimate authorized the seven investigators. But it has been discovered that an examina-

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation

I

Democratic

tion was held in October, 1926, for the position of investigator in the civil service, that 600 took the examination, with 100 passing. The eligible list was given out on February 18, showing that the first twelve on the list made percentages above eighty.

The civil service statutes, Section 16 of Chapter 15 of the laws of 1909, cover this particular case of the transfers made by Tammany's Civil Service Commission, and establishes the illegality of the transaction.

What The Law Says:

The section provides that no person shall "be promoted or transferred to a position for original entrance to which these is required by this chapter or the rules an examination involving essential tests or qualifications different from or higher than required for original entrance to the position held by such person, unless he shall have passed the examination or attained a place upon the eligible list for such higher position."

Bank's Attack on Tammany

The angry attack of colored leader William Banks, on the idols of Tammany Hall, goes to the very heart of the political problems of colored New York. It goes further. It answers the question of the future of the colored citizen as a political factor in this country. On the one hand it exposes the persistent and universal attempt to destroy colored leadership. On the other hand it is the logical conclusion of the policy of political segregation which has been advocated by many thoughful and honest colored men in many places. The sad experience of the Golden Democratic Club, proves to our mind only once again the folly of their philosopy. The United Colored Democracy for the last generation since the days of Boss Croker and throughout the long regime of Boss Murphy, has been the referee in the dispensation of Tammany's patronage for the colored faithful. Its leaders up until the administration of Mayor Walker, including Messrs. Lee, Carr and Bell and Langston, Robert N. Wood and Ferdinand Q. Morton, have not only refereed the appointments but have named those to be appointed. With the growth of colored Harlem, with the growth in the number and strategic position of the colored Democrats, district leaders envious of the power of the United Colored Democracy have combined to take away its privileges, p erogatives and prestige. Recant appointments by the district leaders without the advice of United Colored Democracy and its district organizations, like the Golden Democratic Club which William Banks heads, have brought this issue to a climax. Boss Olvany unmindful of the tradition, without the far-sighted sympathy of the lamented Murphy and Croker, has given a willing ear to the demands of the district leaders. Banks complains that Tammany under Smith and Walker and Olvany, have not only proscribed his club from patronage, but has persecuted it through the police department in the matter of its running of its own games. What the Tammany leaders are, speaks so loudly that we cannot hear what they say. Governor Smith is chasing the Democratic nomination which he must get if at all from Southern Democrats. Mayor Walker is aiding and abetting him in this course. Boss Olivany is managing this Smith campaign. Progressive colored leadership must be sacrificed to that end. Their plea of a divided leadership and self segregation on the part of the colored Democratic organizations is insincere and selfish. The policy of self-segregation in itself is much to be condemned as the policy of jim-crowism practiced by the other race. Nevertheless in so far as Banks threatens to bolt Tammany and Al Smith and Jimmy Walker because of their specious colored race policy, we say "Amen." The colored Democrats in the future must fight out their problems without let or hindrance as Democrats and not as colored individuals. The United Colored Democracy has rendered large political service under the benevolent despotisms of Croker and Murphy, but when such an organization encounters an indifferent leader such as Olvany and ambitious officials such as the wily and cagey Al Smith and the silver-tongued Jimmy Walker, it meets its sure and suicidal fate. The colored voters of the country like the Jewish voters must fight their battles individually and collectively. They must fight them from within the political organizations of both parties as well as from without. They can render not only their party, but themselves enduring service only by so doing. The popular "Billy" Banks has rendered his race a striking service by his manly and bitter exposure of Tammany Hall. More power to him!

N. Y. Democrats Resume Relations

(By The Associated Negro Press)

New York City.—The alleged differences between William Banks, president of the Golden Democratic Club, regular Tammany organization of Harlem, and the Fourteenth Street headquarters, have been adjusted, according to a statement issued by Banks.

The trouble grew out of the arrest of one of Banks' employees, Sherman Taylor, who was taken in a police raid on the club some months ago. Taylor was charged with gambling.

Following Taylor's arrest, a uniformed policeman had been stationed in the club, over Banks' protest. However, Taylor was acquitted in special sessions court, and the case against the club dismissed.

Banks further stated that the policeman would be removed shortly. Had Banks made good his threats to desert the Democratic party, it would have seriously hurt their standing in Harlem, for during the last campaign, Oscar Waters, a former Tammany adherent, deserted to the Republican side.

HALL COMES OUT FOR DEMOCRATIC TICKET

Well Known Criminal Attorney Says They Are Best For The Negro



ATTY. CHAS. S. HALL

To The Colored Voters of Louisville and Kentucky:

I feel it my duty as a public man to say to my friends and the public that the interests of the Race and the Community will be best served by the election of the Democratic ticket. That being true I am going to vote the straight Democratic ticket and I urge all readers of this article to do the same.

Times have changed. Conditions have changed. It is no longer an extraordinary thing for a Negro to be a Democrat or to support the Democratic ticket. In fact, locally, the Democrats have become the party of honesty and reform and the Republicans have become the party of terroism and intense partisanship.

I came from Pittsburg, and in that city, Chicago and all other places where the Negro is recognized politically the Colored voters divide their votes. A solid Negro vote going year in and year out for the Republican party—right or wrong—makes the Republican party have nothing but contempt for the race and makes the Democrats bitter at the Negro for being such an unreasonable partisan.

As an attorney at the local bar I have opportunity to study both parties and I must say I have received more courtesies and consideration from the Democrats than I did from the Republicans. Especially do I wangt to speak of Judge Poston of the Police Court, and Mr. Laurence Grauman, prosecuting attorney. These men are fair and just to a fault. They deserve the vote of every Negro who wants fairness and justice in the Courts.

Don't be fooled by a party label. The words "Republican" and "Democrat" in themselves mean nothing to the Negro. Vote for men. Listen to white men—alleged Republicans—trying to sow discord and disunion among Negroes—that is enough to disqualify them.

You do not have to be a Democrat to vote the Democratic ticket. You can be as good a Republican, and better, if you vote the Democratic ticket and defeat this type of Republican before you today. If they are beaten, and beaten by Negro votes, the Republican party, two years from now, will be glad to treat with the Negro, be glad to talk over men and measures with him, be glad to recognize the Negro and deal with him as a man and not a monkey.

For the self-respect of the race I urge my people to resent at the polls on November 8, the insults and indignities heaped upon them by a lily-white Republican party by voting the straight Democratic ticket. Yours for political freedom.

CHARLES SUMNER HALL

MOB RULE AND RACE TREASON

We are opposed to mob law and treason inside or outside of the race. We have no more patience with Negro outlaws or traitors than we have with white outlaws or traitors. We have the same contempt and condemnation for both and denounce both in the same vehement terms and temper.

Those who take the law in their own hands and undertake to adjudicate matters outside of the legally constituted courts are criminals and public enemies who should be apprehended, convicted and severely punished.

The mob that descended upon the Louisville News, Editor William Warley's paper, destroying his plant and property and broke his heart because he had the temerity to vote for and support the Democratic Party in the city and state elections in Kentucky, November 8, 1927, should be apprehended, convicted and punished to the full extent of the law. These outlaws should be taught in a way they would not soon forget, that the law is supreme and it is not the prerogative of the individuals to take the law in their hands, it matters not what the provocation is.

Our government is one of law and order and not one of men and mobs. This is a free country and man has the right to think and vote as he pleases, right or wrong; and no man has the right to molest him before or after he exercises his right of suffrage, according to his own choice and conviction.

Editor Warley was in his rights when he elected to cast his lot with the party of disfranchisement, segregation and jim-crowism, if he honestly thought its policies were best for him and his. Whether he was right or wrong in practice or belief, the mob was not justifiable in punishing him by destroying his business and property. Mob law is always wrong, because the mob sets itself up above the law. It makes no difference how violently wrong or revolting the act of the victim may be, the mob has no right to substitute itself for the constituted authority (the courts), and to proceed to determine guilt or innocence.

We are just as much opposed to the high crime of treason whether against the state or race, as we are against mob rule. One is about as abominable as the other, and both deserve the most condign punishment under the law, or that righteous indignation can inflict upon guilty culprits.

The Negro man who votes for or supports the Democratic Party, so long as that party stands for and advocates his civic and political undoing, is a traitor to his race and is guilty of treason against the integrity and usefulness of his group; such a character ought to receive the severest punishment that right and justice could inflict.

The highest crime man can commit against himself and posterity is to vote for his own enslavement, morally, economically and politically.

When a Negro votes the Democratic ticket, when the lines of discrimination, race hatred and intolerance are drawn as severely and brazenly as they were in Memphis and Louisville, November 8, 1927, the public knows that such a Negro is not moved by a question of principle, but by the power of a tainted dollar, or other corruptible influences. Dollars and cents are the incentive and motive and not principles.

COLORED DEMOCRATS GIVE $100.00 TO CAMPAIGN FUND

Something absolutely new under the sun, Soloman to the contrary notwithstanding, happened Thursday morn., when the Louisville and Jefferson Copnty Democratic Club, Colored, sent a check for $100 to the Democratic Campaign fund.

Heretofore Colored workers and voters for a party always looked to the Campaign Committee for money to fight, speak, etc.

Only last week, it is said, the Republicans told a Colored Committee who took up a list of what they wanted and a list of expenses that they ought to be bringing up contributions. But Colored Republicans never thought of that. They evidently thought they ought to be paid for listening to the old Abraham Lincoln stuff and putting up with the "bull" Republicans put out. But Colored Democrats seem to be made of sterner stuff. They seem to think if ther party is right and is best they ought to help put it over financially. So they sent $100 to the Campaign fund. They at least mean business.

Mr. Laurence Grauman made a remarkable speech to this club Wednesday night. He talked to them as men and citizens and not as children. He assured them the Democratic party meant the Negro well in Louisville and they would be recognized and treated as citizens if the Democrats remained in power. He shot no "bull,' made no extravagant promises but talked to the large crowd as if they were men and citizens of intelligence and character. He declared his party had no use for the underworld Negro or white man and had nothing to offer them. But he said, the Democrats did welcome to their ranks the self-respecting, intelligent church-going element of the ace and if elected would deal with them as with all other groups of citizens He declared if his party was elected white men would not be allowed to run poolrooms, soft drink stands, etc. Mr. Grauman's speech was lon and loundly applauded.

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

Democrats Fear Investigation

Southern Solons in Congress Make Frantic Efforts to Forestall Congressional Inquiry

Washington, Jan. 19.—Fearfully anticipating a Congressional inquiry into the questionable and unconstitutional election methods of the Democrats of the South, frantic efforts are being made by members of Congress from that section of the country to forestall an investigation that will bring to the attention of the world the ruthless manner by which the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is flagrantly violated. Fort Worth Light

Greatly provoked and undeniably alarmed because Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, (Republican) in addressing the United Colored Societies of Allegheny County, said: "If Southern Democratic senators attack, Republicans will have a lot to tell them," each Southern member of the Senate and House is vehemently trying to throw a smoke screen for the purpose of concealing the true conditions in his State or his Congressional district.

1-22-27

Concerning conditions in Texas, where only sixteen per cent of the persons of voting age are colored and where the Democratic legislature in 1923 enacted a law prohibiting colored citizens from voting even in Democratic primaries, Senator Mayfield from that State recently amazed the members of the Senate when he said: "Our election laws are not written along racial lines. eW have no statutes regulating the qualifications of a voter at the GENERAL ELECTION that do not apply with equal force to all alike." As a Democratic primary nomination is equivalent to an election in Texas the subterfuge of the senator was pathetically apparent; and although colored citizens had been voting the Democratic ticket in large numbers in Texas, the organization KICKED THEM OUT. The National Association for the Advanceemnt of Colored People is now testing the law in the Supreem Court. Fort Worth, Texas.

Addressing the Senate on thes ame day and on the same subject, Senator Caraway of Arkansas declared that in his State, "there is not a scratch of the pen on the statute book—not a word—that limits the franchise. Every Negro has the right to vote if he wants to vote." The Senator, however, did not refer to the terrifying moral "suasion" as practiced on colored voters by the Democrats in his State. The alibi from South Carolina as presented by Congressman Stevenson was masked behind the poll tax law and the requirement to read the Constitution. "There is not a colored man in the State of South Carolina," said the Palmetto statesman, "who cannot register and vote if he comes within that limitation; and WHEN HE DOES, that vote is counted."

But the member of Congress neglected to acquaint his fellow members with the fact that Negro voters are also required to interpret TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE ELECTION OFFICIALS any part of the Constitution that is selected for the purpose of dismaying the colored voters. In Arkansas, the successful Democratic candidate for the U. S. Senate received only 100,408 votes from nearly 875,000 persons of voting age; and in Texas the sucecsful candidate received only 591,913 votes from the 2,500,000 persons 21 years of age and over. Election methods in the South should be investigated.

CONVICTED OF FRAUD IN VARE ELECTION

Three Negro Officials Failed to Count Democratic Votes in Philadelphia.

Special to The New York Times.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 14.—Three election officials of a division of the Thirty-sixth Ward, in which Senator-elect William S. Vare and Governor John S. Fisher each received 295 votes last November, while their Democratic opponents were credited with none, were convicted of fraud by a jury here this afternoon. Two others were acquitted. Bail for the three was raised to $1,500 each pending a new trial.

A recount of the ballots, which gave to Judge Eugene C. Bonniwell, Democratic Gubernatorial candidate, three and William B. Wilson, Senator-elect Vare's opponent, five votes, led the defense attorney to remark that the "few votes actually polled by the Democratic candidates showed these errors were not vicious in character."

The guilty defendants, Edward Johnson, Lindsay Wright and Newton T. Smith, all negroes, were warned by Judge Frank Smith that American citizens must protect their elections or suffer the consequences.

The Democratic Primary Has Been Opened to Negroes

IT IS impossible for the average person to completely sene the disorganization in the Democratic party in Texas which came with the announcement that The U. S. Supreme Court had, without a dissenting vote, decided that Negroes be allowed to participate in the primary elections. The case arose out of the refusal in El Paso of the ballot to Dr. Nixon, a life long Democrat. He lost all of the cases in lower courts as was to be expected and won only when he went to the highest tribunal in the land. Express

This decision will benefit Negroes everywhere. But particularly will it serve to make more livable the conditions in Texas. It may be true that Democratic party leaders will begin at once to seek other means of limiting the ballot to white men. They may even secure some enactments which will serve to further prejudicial ends and another fight for the ordinary rights of Negroes, may be again necessary. But one thing is certain, the success of this fight has served to show that there is efficacy in the conviction on the part of Negroes themselves that they are entitled to a share in the government of the country of which they are a part. Dr. Nixon and all of those members of the race in every part of the country who contributed to the fund which made the success of this case possible should be remembered as benefactors in a very large way to the freedom which the race will in future time enjoy. To have done as they did in the face of the odds which they faced constitutes heroism of the larges and worthy sort.

1-15-27 Houston Post

And Negroes generally should take heart from the success of this case and other similar cases in which their rights are curtailed and denied them. They should see in the success of this case, argument for their more ready assistance of every legal cause which seeks to remove bars to their freedom and progress. The Express remembers that there were some organizations for Negroes in Texas which actually refused to agree to aid in the prosetion of this case. The leaders ridiculed those who made appeals for funds for fighting it. They declared that it could not succeed. But they are now proven "calamity howlers" and fearful persons whose leadership is to be discounted. And as time goes on, they will be seen for the enemies to progress which they are. It is a notable achievement which has come to Texas. The decision is a victory for justice comparable with the Segregation decision in the Louisville cases or that of the Elaine Riot cases. It marks an era in the political history of Texas which the coming years will only serve to make more distinctly seen and realized.

TIMES
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

JAN 25 1927

Negroes Pray to Cast Votes as Democrats

EL PASO, Jan. 24. (Exclusive)—Praying themselves into the Democratic party in Texas is a new slant on local political history which was originated by the negro colony here

During the El Paso Democratic primaries of 1924 Dr. Nixon, a negro physician, was refused permission to vote in the primaries, although he declared he was a Democrat. He took the case to the local courts where the local Democratic officials were upheld. The negro appealed the case and it is now before the United States Supreme Court for final decision.

The negroes of the city gathered at the Second Baptist Church and held a prayer service for the favorable decision in the case by the Supreme Court. The fact that the Democratic ticket almost always wins in Texas makes the negro claims more interesting as they hold that they are disfranchised unless allowed to vote the Democratic ticket

ENTERPRISE
Burlington-NJ
FEB 17 1927

NEGROES WARNED

Certain of the leaders of the colored voters, who in New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and even in New England have been attempting to lead their forces into the Democratic party fold, will do well before they go any further to request of Attorney General Pollard, of Texas, Democrat, a copy of the brief which he has filed in the United States Supreme Court, asserting and defending the right of the dear old Democratic party of Texas to exclude Negroes from the Democratic primaries in that State. Mr. Pollard argues that a primary is not an election within the meaning of the constitution, and therefore that they have a legal right to so act. Inasmuch as in Texas the primary is the one real event in the political life of the State, for in a great number of places they do not even bother to hold elections, this is about as open a move for the disfranchisement of the Negroes as has been undertaken for some years. Thus while in the northern States it can plainly be seen that the Democrats are making a determined drive to win the colored people to their standard, and it must be agreed the flesh pots have won white as well as colored people to certain movements, a move like Pollard's must make plain there can never be any real sympathy between the Democratic party and the Negro people. The ending of attempted association inevitably will be that of the lady who attempted to ride on the back of a tiger. In that case it will be remembered, that on the return trip the lady was inside and the smile on the face of the tiger.

ACCUSES TAMMANY OF IGNORING NEGROES

Former District Leader Says "High-Hat" Policy Has Alienated Harlem.

Tammany Hall under its new leadership phas been "high-hatting" negro Democrats in Harlem to the point of estrangement, according to Oscar H. Waters, "King of the Red Caps" and one-time negro leader in the Nineteenth Assembly District. Waters came to Republican State headquarters in East Forty-first Street yesterday with the avowed intention of forming a new political affiliation. He supported the Republican nominee, Frank D. Waterman, in the Mayoralty election in 1925.

Waters, who was one of Mayor Hylan's strong stand-bys in the 1925 municipal primaries, said that, through Mr. Hylan, Tammany Hall had been able to count on 70 per cent. of the negro vote in Harlem, but that under George W. Olvany's leadership of Tammany only about 30 per cent. of the negro vote was cast for Democratic candidates last year.

"Since the death of Charles F. Murphy the interests of the negro Democrats have been absolutely ignored by Tammany Hall," Waters said. "We might as well be back down South for all the consideration we are receiving from the Tammany organization."

The negroes are bitter against Governor Smith, too, he asserted, because the Governor has not appointed a single negro to an important office and because he vetoed the bill for a new municipal court district in Harlem which undoubtedly would have insured the election of a negro to the Municipal Court bench.

Former Police Commissioner McLaughlin came in for criticism, too. Waters said every negro club in Harlem had been raided by the police even where card playing was confined to heh members.

N. Y. WORLD

MAR 31 1927

DEVER BACKERS WIN GRAND JURY QUIZ

Chief Justice of Criminal Court to Pick Special Prosecutor on Gangster Charges

From The World's Bureau
Special Despatch to The World

CHICAGO, March 30.—The appeal of the Democratic leaders to Chief Justice Lindsay of the Criminal Court for a special Grand Jury and Special Prosecutor to investigate their charges that State's Attorney Crowe is lining up gangsters and gunmen behind William Hale Thompson's candidacy for Mayor was received favorably to-day. Justice Lindsay said he would confine the investigation to the campaign for Mayor and would announce the name of the Special Prosecutor to-morrow.

Orders were issued for a special panel of fifty Grand Jurymen to convene next Monday. Previous to announcing his ruling the Judge listened to State's Attorney Crowe make a general denial of the charges. He denied control of the Sheriff's Office, the Sanitary Board and the Board of Cook County Commissioners. Former State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne and Colin C. H. Fyffe are representing the Dever Campaign Committee.

Former United States Senator James Hamilton Lewis hurried from Washington to help Mayor Dever, though heretofore he has been aligned with the Harrison-Dunne faction, led by W. L. O'Connell. He was given a big reception to-day when he said he was "on the firing line for Chicago's greatest Mayor."

Ex-Mayor Thompson, in the hope of taking Irish votes away from Mayor Dever, keeps landing on King George and the English. "If King George had his way," he thundered, "there'd be a million American boys in China to-day to fight the battle for the dirty Englishmen and help the King make a billion dollars in the opium trade."

In the belief that Thompson will be elected Mayor, large migrations of Negroes from the South are stirring four States. Already faced with a shortage of labor, the Southern States are seeking means to stop the Northward tide of Negro movement.

Chicago has been notified that a deluge of Negroes is coming. There is no labor shortage here. On the contrary there is a surplus of labor, due to lessening activities in the building trades, packing plants and factories. Officials, newspapers and commercial bodies in Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana and Alabama have taken steps to prevent a shortage of labor on the farms and in the factories of those States.

Mayor Hartwell of Mobile has issued a proclamation to the Negroes in which he quotes statistics to show 25,000 Negroes out of work in Chicago.

Louisiana and Tennessee have sent agents among the Negroes to counteract the movement northward.

NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION

The utter failure of the Democratic party to obtain an issue for the 192[illegible] campaign leaves a rather distressing situation with which to cope in settling on a winner for the nomination.

Reporter

The apparent certainty that Mr. Coolidge will run makes everything else as apparently uncertain. Perhaps the President's party will concede him a second term in his own right. In case it does, there will be need for a man to oppose him whose record for errors and blunders has, at least, some chance of a favorable comparison.

4-23-27

Governor Smith of New York mistook the sentiment of the City of New York on prohibition for the sentiment of the country. He was stimulated by the immediate local clamor for modification or repeal of laws restricting the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Birmingham Ala.

Having been a strong contender in 1924, his effort to hold his own failed because of the waning popularity of the issues for which he stood.

The danger of an attempt to modify prohibition by making it a national issue in a presidential campaign could at once be seen as attended with the most probable disastrous results. The certainty that Governor Smith will under any circumstances, be a strong factor in the races for the nomination makes necessary the withdrawal of his strongest and most popular opponent in the interest of a party harmony that will inspire the selection of a man equally as strong but less objectionable. Senator Reed, of Missouri, whom the events may favor, would furnish on the stump all the pep a political campaign might need, and, with his position as central figure in digging up Republican scandals during the present administration, he might be able to crystalize an issue after all.

But without a national issue the mind of the country must turn to men their records for service and their statesmanship, their experience in national affairs, their conservatism, their hold on the public confidence and their courage and ability, as revealed by long years of able, unfailing and unfaltering devotion to duty and high American ideals. The party could settle on no better man than the Hon. Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama who suits its needs without any repairs. Underwood and Coolidge, without a national issue, would make a home-coming contest for Democrats and Republicans in 1928 such as has not been witnessed since the Era of Good Feeling

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation

Democratic.

JOURNAL
DALLAS, TEX.

MAR 30 1927

Seeking Negro Vote Attacked

Goerner Takes Opponents to Task for Recent Campaigning.

"I shall never hold public office if I have to stoop to appealing for negro votes in order to be elected," declared H. L. Goerner, candidate for Mayor on the All-Dallas Association ticket, who spoke Tuesday night to a large audience at Knox and Travis streets, North Dallas. Mr. Goerner also spoke at another rally at Oak Lawn and Avondale avenues. The four candidates for City Commissioners were also speakers at both rallies, part speaking at one place while the others were speaking at the other location.

Mr. Goerner charged two of his opponents with seeking negro votes.

Dishing Out Ice Cream.

"If any man on this ticket with me should stoop so low as to campaign for negro voters, I hope he will get an invitation to get out of the city before morning," Mr. Goerner continued. "Several days ago our opponents who call themselves Democrats got scared and decided that they would have to get a few negro votes or lose the election. So they got a worker on the job to bring around the negro vote, and he is now dishing out ice cream and cake to the negro voters.

"Here is a newspaper clipping saying that R. E. Burt, candidate on the Nonpartisan ticket for Mayor, spoke to an audience of negroes at a negro Baptist Church."

Mr. Goerner offered some of his qualifications for the office of Mayor. He majored in political science and government in college he said and has made a careful study of the science of government and of taxation.

Basis of Government.

"The basis of all government should be honesty, uprightness and economy, and these are the principles upon which I am basing my candidacy for the office of chief executive of our city," Mr. Goerner said.

He closed by announcing that the All-Dallas Association would have a big rally at the City Hall auditorium Friday night.

"Dozens of known criminals are roaming the streets of Dallas every day," said Dan Harston, candidate for Fire and Police Commissioner. "If you elect me I will see that these men sleep in jail or remain outside of the city."

Other speakers at both meetings were J. D. Van Winkle, for Finance Commissioner; Will Baggett for Street Commissioner, and Sam A Weeks, for Water Commissioner.

POLITICAL SKIRMISHES AND FLANK MOVEMENTS

Following the Hays' idea that politics is a legitimate business that never adjourns, party leaders nationally have begun their preliminary skirmishes for party advantage which means local activity all down the line.

Just a few days ago National Committeeman Charles D. Hilles of New York, made a quick trip to the Pacific Coast and reported enduring prosperity. It is now announced that Chairman William M. Butler will make a survey of the country with a view of obtaining first-hand information of the political outlook for 1928, as economic conditions may affect the fortunes of the party.

The Democrats have made several surveys with a view of finding out the temper of the people as regard to Democratic principles and policies, as their success may be threatened by a repetition of the McAdoo - Smith - Ku-Klux-religious fight in 1924.

The lines are being drawn and local activity is in order so far as informing the people and qualifying them to be ready for the fray in 1928. So let the Georgia Organization get busy educating the people to prepare themselves to vote to continue Republican prosperity. Let each county and district organization heave to the front and qualify to vote, or know the reason why, as an American citizen you are not permitted to exercise the ballot unmolested. Many say they can not qualify and have not tried. Try again and if you do not succeed try again, and then find out the reason why.

You are a man—stand up and contend for your rights and they'll come to you. Be a man, that's all, and the world will recognize you as such. Let's get busy.

Shifting Their Position

From Newport News Star

Our Democratic friends in certain quarters seem to be very much disturbed because of the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that Negro Democrats in good standing are not to be debarred from Democratic primaries solely on account of their color. This is quite a shifting from the position the Democrats used to occupy in the South when they accused the Negro of voting enmasse against their best friends in the South casting their vote almost unanimously for the Republican party. The argument was then that if the Negro would have his political interest protected he should make his vote so uncertain that each party would bid for it. For, it was said, the Republican party was so well assured of the Negro's vote that it has to make no concessions whatever to obtain it. A few Negroes took the same position and have voted the Democratic ticket regularly. Now that the bar is pulled down and he may vote freely in the Democratic primary cold shivers seem to run down the spine of certain leaders in the Democratic ranks lest the Negro should do exactly what he was condemned for not doing a few years ago. The upshot of the whole matter is perfectly clear: That branch of the Democratic party which holds forth South of the Mason and Dixon Line stands today where it stood since the enfranchisement of the Negro solidly opposed to his right to exercise the voting franchise on equality with white men. The Democrat has made no effort to conceal this attitude. They are frank about it to the point of bluntness. While we do not agree with the position they take, we, nevertheless respect a bold enemy fighting in the open to a pretended friend covert and underhanded, who proclaims one thing in principle, while following the exact opposite course in practice. So, as between a simon pure Democrat and a pretender calling himself Lily White Republican this paper prefers the former a thousand times.

But as time goes on and men come to realize that only those things can make for the greatness of a nation that are born of justice, equity, and equality, both parties will recognize and welcome all men to them who believe as they do in matters purely political. We cannot hasten this day by petty strife, thoughtless action, or by local disturbances, but we must quietly, yet determinedly present our claim for justice at the bar of public opinion, and the result will be certain when that opinion has become so enlightened as to recognize that righteousness comes not by color nor by the texture of the hair, but rather by thinking nobly, acting wisely, and walking uprightly in the fear of God.

Seeing Visionary Goblins.

It seems that some persons are permitting their imaginations to become superheated over the decision of the United States supreme court which guarantees to negroes the vote in state primaries. This decision was rendered in a case from Texas and from that great state comes a cry of warning which was evidently superinduced by overheated imaginative faculties. But no one will be terrified by the menace conjured up in the Lone Star state of a return to negro domination in the south, such as the passionate radical war set up during the dark days of the early seventies of a century that has passed. With that century there also passed the danger of carpet bagging and negro dominance.

One might get the idea that the supreme court ruling contained a radical departure from policies already in existence and presaged a reversal of conditions that have obtained for more than 50 years now. But the nation's highest judicial tribunal sets up no new principle of government and altered in nowise the basis of the relationships existing between the races in the southern states. The court simply held that the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal constitution is still valid. Under its ruling negroes are to have the same rights as whites in voting, and nothing more.

The colored brother cannot be and will not be given any rights superior to the white citizens or even superior to what he already enjoys under southern election laws that have been pronounced constitutional. In all of the states of Dixie a Democratic nomination is the equivalent of election under normal conditions for the simple reason that a majority of the voters are Democratic. And Democratic nominations are made in primaries where only Democratic voters are entitled to vote. No white Republican is lawfully privileged to vote in a Democratic primary and no colored one can claim any extra legal privileges.

Now it is generally known throughout the southland that 90 odd per cent, yea, almost 100 per cent, of the negroes are Republicans. And being so, they are not entitled to vote in Democratic primaries. There is no law which prevents Republicans from holding their own primaries at which Republican votes can be cast. And assuredly there can be no law to debar Democratic candidates of the offices to which they are selected by majorities over Republican candidates.

Texas should have no fear. According to the 1920 federal census there was then something like 4,900,000 white people in that state as against only about 750,000 negroes. Taking the same census for a guide, we find that Mississippi was the only state in which the negro population exceeded the white seven years ago and that by only some thousands. Since then the war time exodus of negroes has continued to a greater or less extent, while the white population has been increasing. In all probability Mississippi right today is safely white.

It ought to be plain, therefore, that those who are fearful of the downfall of white supremacy are raising up imaginary goblins to worry themselves. The supreme court has proclaimed nothing new and the effect of its ruling will be in no way revolutionary. The day of carpetbag supremacy in the south has gone. Conditions of political rottenness, through the buying and selling of federal offices, may be even worse now than they were during the carpetbag regime, but those conditions are internal evils within a party that has no hope of getting elective offices. Today the south is proof against any other invasion of the carpetbaggers and scalawags.

"MARYLAND DEMOCRATS AND THE NEGRO VOTE"

Mr. Frank R. Kent in one of his recent articles in The Baltimore Sun, under the caption, "Maryland Democrats and The Negro Vote," interestingly and illuminatingly shows the reaction of the Negro in Maryland to decent and fair treatment in politics in Maryland. His analysis shows that so long as he was made an issue in Democratic politics the Negro clung tenaciously to the Republican label, was eager and hot footed to qualify and vote regardless of whether the Republicans for whom he voted were friendly or hostile to the Negro group or gave to it any degree of consideration to which the votes which it regularly cast for the party entitled it. The cry by Democrats of "Negro domination" was answered by solid Negro Republican votes.

Democratic suspension of hostilities added to an attitude tending towards friendliness to the group by Democratic leaders and increasing Republican indifference, supercilousness and contempt for Negro Republicans have finally alienated thousands from the party who refuse to register because they do not intend to vote the Republican ticket and are not yet ready to embrace the Democratic party.

For sixty years the strongest appeal of the Republican party to Negroes has been loyalty, gratitude, etc., etc., for good services of the party by men long since dead. Not a single Republican leader of today is entitled to a scintilla of gratitude, appreciation or consideration for what his father or grandfather did for the Negro sixty years ago.

And from now henceforth Republicans who want Negro support will have to base their appeals for that support not upon what the party did for the Negro in the distant past but what it is doing now and what it will do in the immediate and near future. Mr. Kent's observation that 'Democrats believe the Negro here is in a stage of political transition" is eminently correct. The Negro is in a state of political unrest throughout the country, and a majority of the group is ready to align themselves with any party or any men who will give them a square deal.

Does Anybody Know What a Democrat Stands For?

One of the conundrums supposed to be comic that is asked often these days is "What do you mean by a 'democrat'?" The implication is that the word has lost its primary political content and is only used to designate one who does not train with the republican party. Indeed, there are many persons who bluntly say that, in the present state of political confusion, there is no actual difference between a democrat and a republican, except upon incidental and non-essential issues. And many are asking "can that be the truth?"

The existing division of the major political parties in this country began with the election of Lincoln by the newly crystallized republican party in 1860. The War Between the States that immediately followed and lasted four years caused many shiftings of party allegencies in the northern states and practically solidified the southern people in the democratic party.

In order to maintain political control in the north the republican leaders anathematized the democrats of that section as "copperheads" who sympathized with the "rebels and traitors" of the south. They stigmatized the democrats for demanding that the constitution should be the supreme law and measure of governmental powers, even in the work of suppressing a formidable insurrection to divide the old union into two confederates.

The Lie Made To Stick

The lying charge that the northern democrats were "rebel allies" became believable by those who were enraged by the war and by their hatred of human slavery. It stuck in the majority mind of the north in spite of the salient fact that the most conspicuous supporters of the war in the north were democrats.

In the public councils were such eminent democrats as Seymour, Hendricks, Thurman, Montgomery Blair, Jere Black, Bigler, of Pennsylvania; Salmon P. Chase, Parker, of New Jersey; English, of Connecticut, and Doolittle, of Wisconsin—all "war democrats."

In the most important commands of the Union armies where Grant, Hancock, Thomas, McClellan, McClenand, Frank Blair, Rousseau, Rosencrans, Schofield John A. McClellan, McClernand, Schofield, John A. Logan, Slocum, Stedman, Stoneman and even Ben Butler, who had cast his solitary vote 57 times in the Charleston democratic convention in 1860 for Jefferson Davis to be the party's presidential nominee!

And yet so broadspread and persistent was the odium imposed upon democrats as "rebel sympathizers" that many of the men above named, in order to have part in public affairs, felt compelled to change their political allegiance over to the republican party.

Grant himself did not do that until the republicans offered him the presidency. Ben Butler did it to get into congress from Massachusetts, and "Black Joe" Logan did it to break into the same corral from Illinois.

"What-in Mean—a Democrat?"

A democrat is presumed to get his political religion from the creed of Thomas Jefferson. Henry Winter Davis, the eloquent Maryander, best defined him when he said: "A democrat goes to the Declaration of Independence to learn what are his rights and to the Constitution to know which of them he has surrendered for the general welfare!"

That comprehensive definition ought to hold good to this day. It might aptly and illuminatingly be made the preamble to every democratic national platform. It ought to be the red line in the campaign speech of every democratic spellbinder sent out to rally patriots under the democratic banner.

Jefferson's idea of a political party to operate a democratic republic was that which since has been compressed into the vernacular slogan—"government of the people, by the people and for the people." In that sentence Lincoln exposed his idea that the new republican party should supplant in principles and popular favor the overturned democratic

Since Lincoln's day the federalist, centralist republicans, have controlled their party, so that instead of there being "no difference" between true democracy and modern republicanism there is a difference of fundamental principles as wide as the distance between the poles of the earth. Jefferson could state the difference clearly, but few of the jazz-mad of today can do it.

The Party's Bed-Rock

The democratic party was founded on bed-rock, taken from the Declaration of Independence, namely:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Jefferson always emphasized "the rights of man" and held that when he said they are unalienable" he meant exactly what that word means—that they cannot be justly alienated from the man by government without the man's consent freely given. All the earlier American democrats held firmly to that doctrine as the cardinal characteristic of the party.

The first national declaration put forth by the party was in 1836 and contained the following:

"The idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up any natural right; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us; that no man has the nautral right to commit aggressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him; that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this they have fulfilled their functions."

Those were sound democratic principles 90 years ago, but they could hardly run the gauntlet of the democratic convention next year!

Our Chamelion Democracy

The Jacksonian democrats declared that "the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements;" but the democratic party of today joins in having the general government do that very thing.

The elder democrats said "that justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country," but leaders of the democratic party of today act upon the exactly contrary principle.

The democratic party used to declare again and again that "congress has no power to charter a United States bank;" but the democratic congressmen of today vote for unlimited charters to federal banks.

The democratic party formerly held to the position that "every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book;" but democrats now are among the foremost to restrict immigration, citizenship privileges and land ownership by resident alien friends.

And so on down the years can be traced the evolution of the democratic party from Jeffersonian and Jacksonian principles to those that once were federalist and now are the sustained policies of the republican party. Today scarcely any democrat knows what the party will champion next year, seeing that the party apostles are much in the plight of the chamelion that went crazy when he hopped into a square of Scottish plaid!

What the Wise Men Want

The wise men of the party know what they want, if they can get it.

They are agreed that the party should make a short platform of fundamental democratic principles. The platform of 1924 contained 45 different subjects and was longer by some 750 words than the Constitution of the United States with all of its 19 amendments. This writer has not found a democratic member of congress who can state off-hand five of the subjects treated in that platform. It was the greatest pot of political hash ever set before the voters since the foundation of the republic.

The wise men also want a full-front attack upon the misgovernment and corruption that have come from republican legislation and administration.

And for candidates they want men who are not leaders of factions promoting any issue that essentially divides the voters of the party itself, such as prohibition, religious affiliations, racial oppositions and class differences.

Whether or not the politic and safe view of those wise men can be made to prevail in the making up of the convention of 1928 will be decided by the voting members of the party in the states in the meantime.—Sam W. Small, in the Atlanta Constitution.

Negro Democrats can well afford to be deciding what they will do in case some new form of hindrance is placed in the way of their voting freely in the primaries. All indications point to a concerted attempt on the part of leaders of that party to make party conventions the place of choice of candidates. Certainly they will not rest with the recent decision of The Supreme Court. Negroes then should be as little at ease as are they. Forces should be joined. The next step should now be discussed. And by no means should any sort of proceedure deter them from trying trying with all of their strength to use this wonderful opportunity for participating in the only elections which count in Texas.

Asheville, N. C.

APR 10 1927

NEGRO DEMOCRATS TO FORM ORGANIZATION

A negro democratic association will be formed in Asheville at a special mass meeting to be held at the negro Y. M. C. A. building at 8 o'clock Friday night, it was announced Saturday by E. W. Pearson, who has called the mass meeting.

"MARYLAND DEMOCRATS AND THE NEGRO VOTE"

Mr. Frank R. Kent in one of his recent articles in The Baltimore Sun, under the caption, "Maryland Democrats and The Negro Vote," interestingly and illuminatingly shows the reaction of the Negro in Maryland to decent and fair treatment in politics in Maryland. His analysis shows that so long as he was made an issue in Democratic politics the Negro clung tenaciously to the Republican label, was eager and hot footed to qualify and vote regardless of whether the Republicans for whom he voted were friendly or hostile to the Negro group or gave to it any degree of consideration to which the votes which it regularly cast for the party entitled it. The cry by Democrats of "Negro domination" was answered by solid Negro Republican votes.

Democratic suspension of hostilities added to an attitude tending towards friendliness to the group by Democratic leaders and increasing Republican indifference, supercilousness and contempt for Negro Republicans have finally alienated thousands from the party who refuse to register because they do not intend to vote the Republican ticket and are not yet ready to embrace the Democratic party.

For sixty years the strongest appeal of the Republican party to Negroes has been loyalty, gratitude, etc., etc., for good services of the party by men long since dead. Not a single Republican leader of today is entitled to a scintilla of gratitude, appreciation or consideration for what his father or grandfather did for the Negro sixty years ago.

And from now henceforth Republicans who want Negro support will have to base their appeals for that support not upon what the party did for the Negro in the distant past but what it is doing now and what it will do in the immediate and near future. Mr. Kent's observation that "Democrats believe the Negro here is in a stage of political transition" is eminently correct. The Negro is in a state of political unrest throughout the country, and a majority of the group is ready to align themselves with any party or any men who will give them a square deal.

allegencies in the northern states and practically solidified the southern people in the democratic party.

In order to maintain political control in the north the republican leaders anathematized the democrats of that section as "copperheads" who sympathized with the "rebels and traitors" of the south. They stigmatized the democrats for demanding that the constitution should be the supreme law and measure of governmental powers, even in the work of suppressing a formidable insurrection to divide the old union into two confederates.

The Lie Made To Stick

The lying charge that the northern democrats were "rebel allies" became believable by those who were enraged by the war and by their hatred of human slavery. It stuck in the majority mind of the north in spite of the salient fact that the most conspicuous supporters of the war in the north were democrats.

In the public councils were such eminent democrats as Seymour, Hendricks, Thurman, Montgomery Blair, Jere Black, Bigler, of Pennsylvania; Salmon P. Chase, Parker, of New Jersey; English, of Connecticut, and Doolittle, of Wisconsin—all "war democrats."

In the most important commands of the Union armies where Grant, Hancock, Thomas, McClellan, McClenand, Frank Blair, Rousseau, Rosencrans, Schofield John A. McClellan, McClernand, Schofield, John A. Logan, Slocum, Stedman, Stoneman and even Ben Butler, who had cast his solitary vote 57 times in the Charleston democratic convention in 1860 for Jefferson Davis to be the party's presidential nominee!

And yet so broadspread and persistent was the odium imposed upon democrats as "rebel sympathizers" that many of the men above named, in order to have part in public affairs, felt compelled to change their political allegiance over to the republican party.

Grant himself did not do that until the republicans offered him the presidency. Ben Butler did it to get into congress from Massachusetts, and "Black Joe" Logan did it to break into the same corral from Illinois.

"What-ja Mean—a Democrat?"

A democrat is presumed to get his political religion from the creed of Thomas Jefferson. Henry Winter Davis, the eloquent Marylander, best defined him when he said: "A democrat goes to the Declaration of Independence to learn what are his rights and to the Constitution to know which of them he has surrendered for the general welfare!"

That comprehensive definition ought to hold good to this day. It might aptly and illuminatingly be made the preamble to every democratic national platform. It ought to be the red line in the campaign speech of every democratic spellbinder sent out to rally patriots under the democratic banner.

Jefferson's idea of a political party to operate a democratic republic was that which since has been compressed into the vernacular slogan—"government of the people, by the people and for the people." In that sentence Lincoln exposed his idea that the new republican party should supplant in principles and popular favor the overturned democratic

Since Lincoln's day the federalist, centralist republicans, have controlled their party, so that instead of there being "no difference" between true democracy and modern republicanism there is a difference of fundamental principles as wide as the distance between the poles of the earth. Jefferson could state the difference clearly, but few of the jazz-mad of today can do it.

The Party's Bed-Rock

The Jeffersonian democratic party was built on a bed-rock, taken from the Declaration of Independence, namely:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Jefferson always emphasized "the rights of man" and held that when he said they are "unalienable" he meant exactly what that word means—that they cannot be justly alienated from the man by government without the man's consent freely given. All the earlier American democrats held firmly to that doctrine as the cardinal characteristic of the party.

The first national declaration put forth by the party was in 1836 and contained the following:

"The idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up any natural right; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us; that no man has the nautral right to commit aggressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him; that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this they have fulfilled their functions."

Those were sound democratic principles 90 years ago, but they could hardly run the gauntlet of the democratic convention next year!

Our Chamelion Democracy

The Jacksonian democrats declared that "the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements;" but the democratic party of today joins in having the general government do that very thing.

The elder democrats said "that justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country," but leaders of the democratic party of today act upon the exactly contrary principle.

The democratic party used to declare again and again that "congress has no power to charter a United States bank;" but the democratic congressmen of today vote for unlimited charters to federal banks.

The democratic party formerly held to the position that "every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book;" but democrats now are among the foremost to restrict immigration, citizenship privileges and land ownership by resident alien friends.

And so on down the years can be traced the evolution of the democratic party from Jeffersonian and Jacksonian principles to those that once were federalist and now are the sustained policies of the republican party. Today scarcely any democrat knows what the party will champion next year, seeing that the party apostles are much in the plight of the chamelion that went crazy when he hopped into a square of Scottish plaid!

What the Wise Men Want

The wise men of the party know what they want, if they can get it.

They are agreed that the party should make a short platform of fundamental democratic principles. The platform of 1924 contained 45 different subjects and was longer by some 750 words than the Constitution of the United States with all of its 19 amendments. This writer has not found a democratic member of congress who can state off-hand five of the subjects treated in that platform. It was the greatest pot of political hash ever set before the voters since the foundation of the republic.

The wise men also want a full-front attack upon the misgovernment and corruption that have come from republican legislation and administration.

And for candidates they want men who are not leaders of factions promoting any issue that essentially divides the voters of the party itself, such as prohibition, religious affiliations, racial oppositions and class differences.

Whether or not the politic and safe view of those wise men can be made to prevail in the making up of the convention of 1928 will be decided by the voting members of the party in the states in the meantime.—Sam W. Small, In the Atlanta Constitution.

Does Anybody Know What a Democrat Stands For?

One of the conundrums supposed to be comic that is asked often these days is "What do you mean by a 'democrat'?" The implication is that the word has lost its primary political content and is only used to designate one who does not train with the republican party. Indeed, there are many persons who bluntly say that, in the present state of political confusion, there is no actual difference between a democrat and a republican, except upon incidental and non-essential issues. And many are asking "can that be the truth?"

The existing division of the major political parties in this country began with the election of Lincoln in the newly crystallized republican party in 1860. The War Between the States that immediately followed and lasted four years caused many shiftings of party

Negro Democrats can well afford to be deciding what they will do in case some new form of hindrance is placed in the way of their voting freely in the primaries. All indications point to a concerted attempt on the part of leaders of that party to make party conventions the place of choice of candidates. Certainly they will not rest with the recent decision of The Supreme Court. Negroes there should be as little at ease as are they. Forces should be joined,. The next step should now be discussed. And by no means should any sort of proceedure deter them from trying with all of their strength to use this wonderful opportunity for participating in the only elections which count in Texas.

Asheville, N. C. [illegible]

APR 10 1927

NEGRO DEMOCRATS TO FORM ORGANIZATION

A negro democratic association will be formed in Asheville at a special mass meeting to be held at the negro Y. M. C. A. building at 8 o'clock Friday night, it was announced Saturday by E. W. Pearson, who has called the mass meeting.

Political - 1927

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

EVEN IN MEMPHIS

(By William Pickens, for the A. N. P.)

The appeal of a white candidate for office of Mayor, on the ground that he was opposed to Negroes, failed in Memphis just as it had failed in Chicago. In Chicago, Mayor Dever's machine made an anti-Negro issue and lost; in Memphis, Mayor Rowlett Paine's outfit made the same issue and lost.

This victory against Negro-haters is to be credited to Bob Church in Memphis, if the word of the haters themselves is to be credited. On the day before the election Paine declared that if Overton, whom the Negroes supported for Mayor, were elected, it would be a Negro victory, pure and simple, and would make Bob Church "dictator" of city jobs as Paine claims is already true as to Federal jobs.

Allowing for the exaggerations of a politician scrambling for an office, as was Paine, it is nevertheless true that his defeat was a victory for the Negroes, especially since he insisted all along that the Negro was the issue—and based his campaign on his "sassy" reply to a Negro delegation which went to him to ask (he said "demand") that Memphis employ colored people on the police force and in the fire department, and that the parks of the city (he said "white" parks) be opened to Negroes as to all other citizens who pay to support those parks. On the day before the election Paine in a passionate appeal to white Memphians exclaimed: "Stop Bob Church and his Negro Club with ballots now,"—implying that they would otherwise have to "stop" them with something else later.

Negro voters had registered as Democrats in order to get a better shot at Paine and his Negro-hating gang and drive them out of office. This shows how important for Negroes was the decision against "white primaries," secured through the Supreme Court last March, forbidding Southern Democrats from excluding Negro voters from Democratic primaries.

A few more victories like this one gained in Memphis by Bob Church and Negroes and decent whites will do more than anything else to "eliminate the Negro question from politics." For certainly no Negro-hater will want to drag the "Negro question" into politics if that issue is going to cause his defeat.

NOV 1 1927

Mt. Sterling, Ky., Advocate

COLORED PEOPLE AROUSED

The Louisville News is the title of a negro paper published by its editor, William Warley, a man of influence with his race. As the negroes are aroused in the city of Louisville, so they are over the entire state and as in Louisville will there be many of their votes cast for the Democartic ticket, because they are beginning to realize that their friends are the white Democrats. It is said that many of the colored voters will as never before cast their votes for Mr. Beckham and the rest of the ticket headed by him. The Jefferson Democrat, R. R. Maxwell, Editor, says:

"The Republicans in Louisville are 'resorting to the things the rankest demagogues of twenty-seven years ago would tremble to pull,' in an effort to get back to the pie counter, to the grapes and graft, according to William Warley, editor of the Louisville News, Negro newspaper here. Warley has predicted in his paper that between 5,000 and 7,500 Negroes will vote the Democratic ticket in November and has said he would 'like to see 10,000 colored citizens stand up and oppose' the Republicans 'for the wrongs they have done the Negro if for no other reason.'"

JOURNAL
KANSAS, CITY, MO.

DEC 14 1927

LEAGUE ASKS RECOGNITION AS NEGRO REPRESENTATIVE

The Kansas City-Jackson County Citizens' league has sent questionnairs to all civic, religious and fraternal organizations, asking indorsement of the league as the official representative body of Jackson county Negroes.

The league was organized in November, and is nonpartisan and nonsectarian.

Three committees have been appointed, a fact finding, advisory and executive committees, made up of an equal number of Democrats and Republicans.

WHY, THEN, DON'T THEY VOTE?

Sam W. Small, veteran newspaper man defender of the old South, usually kn whereof he speaks when he discusses ditions affecting the political status of beloved Atlanta. He has, at various ti proved that he is well versed in affairs of day, and has, to some degree, earned reputation for unprejudiced fairness as tains to the races. But when he discusses voting situation down there, he either l all sense of veracity, or loses track of fac

In his column in the Atlanta Constitu last week, he ventures into a discussion of Kentucky situation where the United S has been asked to investigate high-handed franchisement proceedings. And Mr. S declares that he is for the investigation—that the entire South would welcome such a probe so that it could be published to the world that the South does not violate the 15th Amendment in its disfranchisement of citizens.

"Of course," says the spokesman for Dixie, "any charge that the southern people are violating either of the Negro amendments, put into the federal Constitution half a century ago by the radical party, and by force and arms, is a plain lie out of the whole cloth."

And that should settle it, Mr. Small seems to think, but it does not. We know that these amendments are being violated. We know that not only are citizens intimidated and driven from the polls by whites, who have the sanction of their local and state governments, but that these state governments (every one in the South) have upon their books laws intended solely to violate these amendments.

The so-called educational tests required in most southern states are merely smoke screens designed to take the place of the "Grandfather clause," which the United States Supreme court has called unconstitutional. We know that these educational tests are not applied to whites as rigorously as they are to dark citizens. We know that Democratic primary laws, in effect throughout the South, despite the recent Supreme court ruling, are effective only in so far as they disfranchise citizens who are not white.

The South, unless it feels that it can influence the department of justice in its investigation, would not, could not welcome a probe into these voting conditions. Mr. Small cannot be sincere in his latest broadside, or he is woefully uninformed as to the true state of affairs. And again, if there are no restrictions against voting, based upon color, why, we repeat, is it that only bona fide white Democrats can march up to the polls unmolested and cast their ballots in Georgia and Florida and Mississippi and a half dozen other states? Mr. Small would throw some real light on this subject if he would answer this question for us.

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation

Independents.

TIMES HERALD
DALLAS, TEX.

MAR 20 1927

NEGROES HEAR INDEPENDENTS

CANDIDATES WILLING TO GIVE BLACKS EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS

A dark-faced, earnest crowd, mostly negroes, gathered before an improvised platform at Elm street and Central avenue and heard D. C. McCord, candidate for mayor on the Citizens' Independent ticket, urge them not to "sell their votes to some white man at the polls," but to exercise their rights and use their own heads in choosing their representatives.

In spite of the cold, the reception was a warm one. "Correct." 'Sho' is!" and "That's right," rose up from the intense faces gathered beneath the dim arc lights.

Several of the candidates stressed their willingness to treat the white and black man on an equal political basis, and some mention was made of preference for negro labor over Mexican. Nearly all of the candidates mentioned the history of the negro's emancipation.

"A campaign manager of another party told me that his party had bought every negro vote in the city," declared Mr. McCord, "but I don't believe it." Several voices rose in agreement.

Mr. McCord stressed the fact that, in several years' service as building inspector, he had treated the races with equal fairness in everything, including segregation matters. He promised that if, under "a law passed by the last legislature," a special district might be established for negroes, he favored "keeping it for negroes only."

F. G. Moffitt, candidate for fire and police commissioner, declared himself in favor of raising the pay of the firemen and policemen $20 a month.

"I favor a through street car for Lakewood Heights," he said.

P. L. A. Jeffers, candidate for finance commissioner, told of having been in business for years in Dallas, and emphasized that he was the sole South Dallas man on any of the tickets, holding that all of the districts of the city should be represented on the commission.

A. L. Morriss, on the ticket for street commissioner, declared that he considered Texas had been built up by the white people and the negroes, and that he had employed negroes in his building work.

"Some people imported hundreds of Mexicans to replace negro laborers," he said. "I haven't done that.

"I want to fix your streets so you can get to your schools and churches without wading through mud when it's rainy.

T. M. Thompson, running for water commissioner, said that if he was in the city hall, the negroes could come down and get all that is coming to you." He also warned the crowd against ten-cent carfare "here, as in Fort Worth."

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Courier

SEP 12 1927

TO COLORED VOTERS.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

Permit me to express through the Point of View my hearty endorsement on the position taken by a "Colored Independent" in a recent issue of The Courier-Journal. Fundamentally the position taken by the "Colored Independent" is logical and unanswerable.

That the color of a man's skin should always be indicative of his political affiliations is humiliating in the extreme. It indicates that the individual himself has surrendered his high privilege of individual and independent thinking along political lines and turned this duty and responsibility over to some other man of set of men. It is unreasonable to expect that in this day of public intelligence and universal education some twelve or fourteen millions of American citizens should continue to think and act politically in block at the dictates and behest of outsiders and members of other groups. Dead issues and dead men should have small place in influencing Negroes as well as other citizens in deciding today what men and measures they will support in Louisville and in the State of Kentucky. No such solidarity can be found among the white voters, for many of the leaders in the Republican party of Louisville and the State of Kentucky today have come from the ranks of the Democratic party and vice versa.

Sixty years have brought the Negro as well as other citizens into a new world with new problems and new issues. The problems and issues that confront the city of Louisville today are entirely different from those that confronted the city fifty years ago, nor is the attitude of our white people toward the Negro of today to be determined by the political party with which they are identified. Personally many of the best friends that the Negro has today in the city of Louisville call themselves Democrats, and many of the white people in the city who claim to be Republicans manifest the bitterest kind of opposition to the Negro when he aspires to be more than a political tool or a ward henchman.

The question for the intelligent Negro voter to decide in the coming election is not what consideration the winning side may give to the Negro underworld nor yet what handouts in the way of minor offices to a few so-called leaders may be grudgingly dispensed. The following, on the contrary, are the questions which the Negro voter ought to persistently ask and conscientiously study between now and the election: What political party now seeking the Negro vote will give the city of Louisville the cleanest, most economical, most statesmanlike administration? What political party if elected will be most likely to dispense even-handed justice to all the citizens of the city, white and black alike, dispensing absolute justice through the Police Department, through the Police Court, through the Park Commission and other departments of the city Government?

The Negro voter must give more attention to all the problems of the city Government, realizing that his surest source of protection and success will come through the selection of earnest, high-toned city officials and in the strict and conscientious administration of even-handed justice. The Negro should vote for statesmen and not politicians, public-spirited men and not demagogues. He should neither seek to sell his vote nor to purchase with it immunity from punishment or from the violation of law. He should realize that his highest success as a citizen will be determined by his absolute loyalty to the party, whatever its name, that stands for a clean, just, economic, forward-looking, prosperous, law-abiding administration. At some elections this may be the Republican party and in other elections it may be the Democratic party. The Negroes of Louisville should vote for men and measures and not for or at the behest of curbstone politicians, whether white or black. In the coming election the Democrats would appear to have the better of the argument.

ANOTHER COLORED
Louisville. INDEPENDENT.

BLADE
TOLEDO, O.

NOV 18 1927

Colored Voters Name Representative

Silas M. Harris will act as representative of the Independent Colored Voters league, it was announced Friday. The league holds regular meetings in Parish hall and at a meeting Monday many Jackson-for-mayor workers joined.

SOCIALIST PARTY IS WOOF AND WEB OF THE COMMUNITY

Rufus Perry, Candidate For Judge, Addresses Big Open Air Crowd

Headqquarters
RUFUS L. PERRY

Socialist Candidate for County Judge

RUFUS L. PERRY, Socialist Candidate for County Judge, spoke to a large and appreciative audience for the Black Belt at an open air meeting at Herkimer street and Howard avenue last night. 9-15-27

Mr. Perry said: All of Kings County is divided into three parts the Socialist, the Democrats and the Republicans. The Socialists represent the labor party, the toilers of the community, and the woof and web of the community.

The Democrats represent the office holders, the collectors of the money produced by labor; this sect toil not, neither do they spin; They are all healthy and fat.

The Republicans are a sect that evist by reason of a law called prohibition law, which sustains the life of this sect through the ability of their leader to secure a few positions at expense of the toilers, to discover violaters of the law; but their labor is principally confivfined to the lower element of the two sects. Both sects speak he same language and are known by heir batle cry of the one, "Keep out," and of the other, "Let me in"

Lost Party, Identity

Mr. Perry said, the Republican Party had endorsed so mnay democrats that it had practically lost its law was on ttate book it should as far as possible be enforced, but that its enforcement was impossible because the people are against prohibition, and that the law should be repealed because it could not be enforced.

In order to enforce it, it would be necessary to indict nearly the whole community, and such would not be done; that the greatest offenders were those whose very duty it was to enforce the law; that any law is bad and works injustice which infringe on the natural liberty of man and that one need not go back to the authority of Plato, to assert that the most complete injustice is that erected into the form of law. The speaker said: That though he did not drink the prohibited liquor, in principle, he was wet as the Atlantic Ocean and as moist as the Pacific. He is against capital punishment, because it is the lingering relic of a barbarous civiliaztion, and finds no support in the morals which govern our conduct or the religion which is the base of our future hope and aspirations.

Warning To Judges

Mr. Perry further said that the criminal courts should observe that the criminal is surrendered to the law, rather than the law be abandoned to the criminal. and that disgraceful sympathy should not be squandered upon guilt That a judge, when he ascends the bench, should not seem ambitious, lest he be tempted by the wily politician to forget the amenities of his robe and the dignity of his office; nor should he employ his office to reward those responsible for his elevation, lest he draw from those not favored, expressions offensive to the dignity of his office. He should be as broad in intellect as to accept the dictum of Kant, the philosopher, to be a true principle when he observes, that man should never be used as a means to an end, and that this is the ethical base of Socialism.

Political-1927

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

ANOTHER BOND ISSUE THAT DISREGARDS THE NEGRO

Will "our good white folks" ever learn anything? Can't they get it in their heads that any bond issue calling for the support of ALL the people and taxing ALL the people and yet makes no provision for the Negro will not only not get the Negro vote but will have the active opposition of all THINKING NEGROES?

Past history will prove that there is always a certain class of WHITES who will oppose ANY BOND ISSUE—no matter how beneficial to the greatest number, or to themselves. They are just against bond issues—not as a matter of principle, perhaps, but as a matter of fact.

Then if Negro opposition is added to that class of whites any bond issue will be killed. So, as we have often pointed out, our good white folks, when figuring up-town in their seclusive and exclusive meetings, ought to consider the rights and interests of the Negro—since he has a wallop of 35,000 votes.

NO BOND ISSUE CAN PASS WITHOUT THE NEGRO VOTE!

Now here comes a $1,500,000 bond issue to improve our wonderful and beautiful parks and incidentally to help the Bowman Field for aviation. What about the Negro in this? Our good Republican friends, after years and years of amity between the races—with Democrats in power, with General Castleman, Democrat and Confederate officer, as head of the Board of Park Commissioners, and still no segregation and discrimination in the CITY PARKS—here comes the Republicans, whom WE, NEGROES, put in power—and the first thing they do is to tell Negroes to stay out of the wonderful, beautiful parks and build for them a little jim crow park, that looks like a sand lot or dump!

Republicans did that! And it was the worst blow the Negro ever received in the history of Louisville! That's what started such jackasses as those on the 18th street road who defy Negroes to move out there; that's what started the Shawnee Improvement Club's activities, saying to Negroes—American citizens, as good as they and oftimes better—they could not move down Chestnut street!

The evils of the Chickasaw Park idea, the moral and psychological effect of saying to the world Negroes must go to Chickasaw Park and can go to no other of the city's wonderful, beautiful parks, cannot be calculated. It set us back a hundred years. It stirred prejudices long asleep if not dead. It gave birth to a new thought to ignorant, vicious, prejudiced whites.

All along before that iniquitous peice of work whites and blacks went to ALL THE PARKS and neither thought of the other. But after the Republican party—put in power by Negroes—originated the idea of a jim crow park and exclusion of Negroes from all other public parks—then prejudice ran amuck and we have had hell ever since.

Now the Democrats are in power. The Republican rule—it is not law—is still in effect.

The Democrats are sponsoring this $1,500,000 park bond issue. It cannot pass if Negroes as a unit oppose it, together with the natural white opposition.

The News asks in the name of all the respectable Negroes of Louisville if you, the Democratic Party, intend or desire to keep in force this outrageous rule made by Republicans that Colored people cannot go into other parks and must confine themselves to Chickasaw, a dump, a jim crow gesture? Unless this rule is changed we believe this bond issue will have the undivided opposition of the Negro.

We believe, and we would hate to learn otherwise, that every Negro preacher, business man, working man, every Negro with any self respect or race pride will go the polls and vote against it.

The News, for one, will fight, until the stars fall against the park bond issue unless the world is told "THE PARKS OF LOUISVILLE BELONG TO ALL THE CITIZENS OF LOUISVILLE."

That is the dictum laid down by General John B. Castleman, Confederate and Democrat. If he could say it and enforce it, surely Mr. O'Neal and his associates can do no less.

It is true our Republican friends originated the hideous thought and put it into action. But Negroes, who think—and they are not in the minority—will not forgive the originators and will remember their successors who kept it in force.

Louisville News

9-10-27

A NEW DEAL TO END THE "SOLID SOUTH"

WHILE WORLD AFFAIRS were being discust at Williamstown, the first session of the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia was putting on what the Baltimore *Sun* characterizes as "a much better and more lively show." The Williamstown conference, we are told, "was hampered somewhat by the international character of the subjects discust, while the Charlottesville gathering devoted itself almost entirely to domestic questions." One of the most profitable discussions, in the opinion of a near-by observer, the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, was the argument for the ending of the "Solid South" by "taking the negro out of politics." This was advanced by Henry Watkins Anderson, a prominent Republican lawyer of Richmond and a former candidate for Governor of Virginia.

Literary Digest

Mr. Anderson, we gather from newspaper dispatches, holds that the election laws of the Southern States, based on the apprehension of an Afro-American menace, hamper white voters also and make the normal existence of two political parties in the South practically impossible. According to this Southern lawyer, "the eleven States constituting the solid South are the only communities . . . either in Europe or America in which there has been no change in party control for more than forty years."

Is such a political condition good for the South? Is it necessary because of racial complications? Is it good for the country as a whole? These questions are answered in the negative by Mr. Anderson, who is quoted in Charlottesville dispatches to the Baltimore *Sun* as saying:

9-17-27

"The politically Solid South is to-day the outstanding anomaly of American politics.

"There are no real political parties in the South to-day. The dominant party consists of office-holding oligarchies in the several States which dictate its policies and select its candidates, while the development of a minority party is prevented by repressive and discriminatory laws."

"Mr. Anderson pointed out, as *The Sun's* correspondent further quotes him, that by the disfranchisement of the negro and the practical disqualification of a large part of the white population opposed to the dominant party organization, the vote qualified or cast in the Southern States has been so reduced that it includes only a small minority of the population; that Governors and other State officers are sometimes elected by less than 10 per cent. of the population of voting age. Mr. Anderson quoted election figures to show that in the Presidential election of 1920 in eleven Northern States, with a population aggregating the population of the eleven Southern States, the percentage of vote to population was thirty-three and to population of voting age sixty-one, as compared with the Southern States, where the vote was only 10 per cent., and to population of voting age 21 per cent," we read in *The Sun*, which quotes Mr. Anderson as saying:

"This condition of political stagnation is an obvious menace to the progress and security of the entire Union. The States of the Solid South cast approximately one-fourth the votes of the electoral college. Under prevailing conditions they may be counted in advance for the candidate of one party, however unfitted he may be for office, or however unsound may be the policies he advocates. The entire press is alined with the dominant political party. There is no longer any discussion of political principles. The people are not informed as to public questions, and take little interest in public affairs.

"These and other conditions which might be described can not fail to have a far-reaching and disastrous effect on the social and economic, as well as the political life of these communities. Yet they are the inevitable consequences of the suppression of political independence, which results from the one-party system of government now prevailing in the South.

"Liberal and just election laws, fairly administered, lead to a revival of interest in public affairs, and will soon result in the development of two effective political parties."

"The political supremacy of the white people of the South must be sustained," explains the Columbia, (S. C.) *Record*, "but there is a question whether, in order to sustain it, we must perpetuate the present solidarity." Looking at the matter from the political standpoint, the Hartford *Courant*, a Northern paper, is convinced that:

"The South has made itself such a sure thing for the Democrats that neither party worries about it. The Republicans do not waste time in a hopeless fight for what they can not get, and the Democrats do not have to fight for what they have. When there are doubtful States in the South, then will they be regarded as worth catering to."

As the New York *Times* points out:

"Mr. Anderson, in his frank and sensible speech, did not go so far as to advocate the 'open and aboveboard disfranchisement' of the negroes; but he rather implied the hope that they would in time divide their votes on issues, principles and parties.

"This evolution, plus an acceptance of the fact that Southern white people will not agree to office-holding by negroes, would go further to break the Solid South than any other factor. And thoughtful Southerners for a long time have realized that no better thing could happen to the South and the Democratic party. So long as the South always goes Democratic, States in other parts of the United States will always go Republican, regardless of men or issues; and it is this fact which has helped to keep the Democratic party sectional, has made the negro a political football, has had much to do with the adherence of the South to Prohibition, and has given the Klan a hold it would otherwise not have.

"These things are more implied than stated by Mr. Anderson, but when a Southern Republican is willing to forego the negro vote, he is making the strongest possible bid for recognition politically which one of his party faith can make in the South. Altho he is a Republican, the burden of his speech offers a better constructive program to the South than any Democrat has offered since Henry Watterson."

In the opinion of the Atlanta *Constitution*, however, "the people of the South are no more guilty of political intolerance than the people of other States of the East and West that always vote the Republican ticket." As the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* puts the case for the critics of the Anderson program:

"The 'office-holding oligarchy' which excites Mr. Anderson in his political moments is at least 50 per cent. delusion. The office-holders and their hangers-on exert a powerful influence in the Southern States, but so do the office-holders in States predominantly Republican, and even in States where the parties are evenly divided. What really irritates Mr. Anderson, one suspects, is not so much the oligarchy of the Democratic office-holders, as the much larger oligarchy of the several Democracies themselves—the absolutism with which the Democratic party, regardless of its interior factional mutations, rules the States of the Solid South to the exclusion of the Republicans.

"It is only slightly true that 'the development of a minority party is prevented by repressive and discriminatory laws.' Where the soil was favorable to the growth of a healthy Republican organism, as in the Ninth District of Virginia, control of the election machinery under laws passed by Democratic legislatures, has not prevented it from flourishing.

"Mr. Anderson has successfully diagnosed the Solid South's political ailment, but his prescription is considerably too facile and too much in the tradition of partizan polemic to command complete confidence. It is, for example, quite ludicrous for a Republican 'best mind' to charge the Southern Democracies with practising oligarchial methods, when his own party's nominations and principles are dictated by an oligarchy.

"There is no simple prescription for the safe and sensible liquidation of the South's political solidarity. All that can be asked of the Democratic South is to put an end to all discriminations, under the election laws, between white Democrats and white Republicans. After that is done, the growth of a minority party in the South will depend more on principles and practises of Republicanism than on anything else. If these principles and practises are such as to command the confidence of the white South, a full-size minority party will evolve here. If they are such as to create fear and misgivings, the South's Democratic solidarity will continue."

TIMES

AUG 1927

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

Colonel HENRY W. ANDERSON of Richmond, whose frank and sensible speech about the Southern negro before the Virginia Institute of Public Affairs at Charlottesville refreshed and made hopeful those hearers who are used to seeing the black man made the butt of Southern politics, has long advocated these ideas. He is not a "lily white" Southern Republican in the old sense of some of his Republican predecessors; for their theory was to use the negroes in primaries and elections to the extent that they could and then deny them recognition in administrative affairs. Colonel ANDERSON, perceiving and welcoming the growing conviction of Southern negroes that the political field is not for them, would not go so far as to advocate the "open and aboveboard disfranchisement" of these people; but he rather implied the hope that they would in time divide their votes on issues, principles and parties instead of going en bloc to the Republicans.

This evolution, plus an acceptance of the fact that Southern white people will not agree to office-holding by negroes, would go further to break the Solid South than any other factor. And thoughtful Southerners for a long time have realized that no better thing could happen to the South and the Democratic Party. So long as the South always goes Democratic, States in other parts of the United States will always go Republican, regardless of men or issues; and it is this fact which has helped to keep the Democratic Party sectional, has made the negro a political football, has had much to do with the adherence of the South to prohibition, and has given the Klan a hold it would otherwise not have.

These things are more implied than stated by Colonel ANDERSON, but when a Southern Republican is willing to forego the negro vote he is making the strongest possible bid for recognition politically which one of his party faith can make in the South. Although he is a Republican, the burden of his speech offers a better constructive program to the South than any Democrat has offered since HENRY WATTERSON used to urge the same thing. Nor need it be assumed that Virginia will [illegible] because a Republican has been [illegible]ost in these things, for Colo[illegible]NDERSON is related by social [illegible]lood ties to many of the [illegible] Families."

Political – 1927

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

PAINE SIGNED A PACT WITH NEGROES, CHARGE

Overton Says Mayor Imported Simmons Also.

HARKS BACK TO 1923

Renews Claim That Paine Injected Race Issue Into Campaign. Says He Will Tell Legislative Secrets.

Watkins Overton returned to the firing line yesterday with a statement charging that Mayor Paine imported Roscoe Conklin Simmons to speak for his candidacy in 1923 and also signed a pact in company with his commissioners making certain concessions to the negroes of the city.

Commercial Appeal 9-11-27

Mr. Overton's latest statement is in the form of direct questions to which he asks a categorical yes or no.

He closes by promising to tell of the time when he says the mayor held a secret meeting with the legislative delegation at the Hotel Peabody and asked for a $2.45 tax rate.

Memphis Press Scimitar

Mr. Overton's Statement.

The full text of the statement follows:

Mayor Paine, you imported Roscoe Conklin Simmons, nationally known negro orator of Chicago, and paid his expenses here to make an appeal to the Lincoln Club organization in your behalf, just before your election in November, 1923. This is the same Roscoe Conklin Simmons you now denounce on account of speeches he has recently made in Memphis to the former Lincoln Club members. Is this true? Answer yes or no.

One of your commissioners sought Lieut. George Lee, colored, in the latter's office, with a statement that Mr. Paine requested a meeting with Lee and a committee of Lincoln Club members in the mayor's office. Lee did get B. M. Roddy, Dr. J. B. Martin and Wayman Wilkerson to accompany him to the mayor's office, where you, Mr. Paine, received them with open arms. Is this not a fact? Answer yes or no.

Arrangements were then made for Roscoe Conklin Simmons to come to Memphis to arouse the negro voters in your behalf. It was further agreed that Simmons' opening address would be made at the Venus Theater, 317 Beale Avenue, and that you would have three of your loyal and devoted white friends to receive Simmons and sit on the stage with him, acting for you, and that one of your white friends would make a speech extolling your virtues to the negro members of the organized Lincoln Club. That day a truck paraded the downtown streets bearing this legend: "The mighty Roscoe Simmons takes the stump for the straight Paine ticket. Hear him tonight at the Venus Theater!" Is this true, or is it not? Answer yes or no.

You, Mr. Paine, signed an agreement, with your four commissioners, meeting the Lincoln Club demands before they finally agreed that their organization would work for your ticket. Is this not a fact? Answer yes or no.

Aroused Resentment.

You, of course, know that you aroused the resentment of the negroes when you went back on your signed, secret contract with them. And you further know that you aroused their just resentment by erecting an offensive crematory right at their high school.

Knowing you had so unfairly treated the negroes, and that you could not retain their good will that you had bargained for in 1923, you then conceived the shameful idea of raising the race issue in Memphis, when the negroes had not made any overtures to you or to us for anything.

In your wanton tirade against the negroes you say you'd like to have their support as individuals, but not the support of any organized negro club. Is not the negro West Tennessee League the same organization under a different name as the Lincoln Club, whose support you signed for and got in 1923? How do you make the distinction, which is a distinction without a difference?

We know, and you know, that the exorbitant taxes alone, not only on real estate, but on personalty, merchant's privilege, ad valorem, front foot assessment, etc., which you have imposed on the people of Memphis since you have been mayor, will beat you badly. You are now seeking a fake issue, in a vain endeavor to divert the people's mind from the real issue, but we are not going to let you do it.

We will tell pretty soon of your secret meeting with the Shelby legislative delegation at the Peabody, where you kicked the reporters out, and begged for a tax rate of $2.45 for the defenseless people to pay toward the upkeep of your extravagant and poorly run government.

WATKINS OVERTON.

NEW YORK EVENING TELEGRAM & MAIL

JUL 12 1927

ARKANSAS G. O. P. TO SPLIT IN 1928 OVER COOLIDGE

Negro Leaders Complain He Has Ignored Race in Appointments.

Special Dispatch to The New York Telegram.

LITTLE ROCK, July 12.—The regular Republican organization in Arkansas is for Calvin Coolidge in 1928.

The negro Republican organization is for any one else.

Arkansas indicates the part patronage will play in the Republican national convention. It explains why Coolidge can go to that convention with the votes of the solid South States, about a fourth of all the votes, tucked away.

The secret of the situation lies in the fact that the regular Republican organization has been for the last ten years virtually lily-white. As Scipio Jones, negro leader complains, "There's only been one negro appointed to Federal office in this State since 1916."

"We negroes don't care much for Mr. Coolidge," Jones asserted. "We'll send our own delegation to the national convention. We want to see some one elected who'll give the Arkansas black man more of a show."

Arkansas is about the only State in the South where white Republicans of accepted standing in Washington have tried determinedly to keep their party the color of unpicked cotton. There have been such movements elsewhere below the line, but the leaders have been lacking in party recognition. In Arkansas, however, there is H. L. Remmel, favorite of five Presidents, millionaire, banker and philanthropist, a man respected by even Democrats.

Bolting the Republican Party

The death of Charles J. Pickett, in the eyes of Republican leaders at Washington, removes a vital connecting link between the National Republican Committee and the colored people. Because of his popularity with his own, his unquestioned integrity and his wise judgment, Pickett was trusted as the confidential messenger and Intelligence Officer of the Republican leaders. They frankly fear that they will not be able to abort the threatened revolt of colored Republicans against their cowardice and indifference to the race's interest unless they can secure other Picketts to serve their selfsh and sinister purposes. They fear the intelligent, independent and progressive younger colored men coming to the fore in the political affairs of the people. They resent the upstanding, square-shooting leaders of the types that have made and held Chicago's colored electorate a beacon light to their race throughout the country. They fear the infectious influence of their type upon their brethren in the West and in such states in the East as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and New York. These states contain a voting colored population that is the balance of power in the border and pivotal states. Pickett was an ideal. He was not an "Uncle Tom" in the vernacular sense of that word. We pause here to state that the word "Uncle Tom" has been grossly and wrongfully applied by the newer generation. It has been applied recently to a well known local, aged race traitor in New York. To classify him as an "Uncle Tom," is to slander Uncle Tom. Uncle Tom was a character of Christ-like humility, patient, forbearing, wise and profoundly ambitious for his people even like unto the Christ. He was not a destructionist. He did not assail the character even of his enemies. He sought to do no man harm. He did not destroy the good name of all those he could, either for personal spite or venal selfishness. Uncle Tom was not a hypocrite, blowing hot and cold upon the wrongs done his people nor did he bend the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning. The Democratic attacks by the street orators upon the venomous old viper who has viciously sought to secure political preferment at the expense of his race's segregation and serfdom in New York City for a generation as an "Uncle Tom" is a slander on Uncle Tom. It has been by reason of the Republican politicians, catering to this type of colored mis-leader that the party has been brought to its present dire straits within the race. The New York Her-

News

9-24-27

New York City

ald Tribune, The New York World and Western colored papers who record the political sentiment of their section, all speak in ominous tones of the threatened revolt. There is time now for the Republican party in the nation to save its face. President Coolidge during the next few months may change completely their complex by some concrete action in the way of appointment of qualified colored Republicans to capitol positions by removing forthwith the last vestige of segregation in the government departments, by making his deeds square with his creed as to the political equality of colored Americans. President Coolidge and his colleagues may and should stem this revolt before it is too late.

COOLIDGE OUT OF RACE—WHY NOT HOOVER?

From the South Dakota White House President Coolidge on Tuesday of this week threw a sudden bomb shell into the political situation that has caused consternation among many of his followers by declaring that he "does not choose" to run for president next year. No one expected such an announcement from him, especially at this time.

Presidential aspirants who have regarded the President's candidacy as a block to their ambition are now free to give their own candidacy wings and let it soar,

Among them all we believe Secretary Hoover possesses the qualities which makes him the most available for next year's big fight with Al Smith, who will lead the Democratic hosts, and we sincerely hope that the politicians who, it must be admitted, control Republican nominations, will turn to Herbert Hoover and put him over in the June Convention next year.

We believe that the Negroes numbering 12,000,000 and casting 1,500,000 votes will find him safe, sound, judicial and fair on matters affecting their rights and interests.

"THE SCANDALS OF 1876"

Under the title head "The Scandals of 1876", George Creel in the current issue of Collier's Weekly revives the old worn out story that Samuel J. Tilden was elected president in 1876, but that the Presidency was stolen from him by the Republican party and Hayes fraudulently seated by an eight to seven Commission chosen as a compromise by a Republican Senate and a Democratic House in order to avert civil war.

Mr. Creel's review is interesting to those of the present day who will read it, less than a hundred of which readers are no doubt in ignorance of the real facts in the elections in 1876 as well as all of those which have followed up to 1924.

But there is no truth in Mr. Creel's review except that which can be read between the lines in his article that Negro disfranchisement through intimidation, fraud and corruption was exchanged by the Republican leaders in 1876 in settlement of the dispute as to the election of Hayes or Tilden precipitated by the Democratic leaders of the South who thus planned to win at the polls what they had lost in war, namely, the subjection of the Negro to the will of the white man of the South by taking away from him the newly granted protection of the ballot.

er with Negroes the Southern oligarchy in the former

Sullenly refusing to share political privilege and powseceding States stood aloof from the polls compelling the newly enfranchised Negro to accept the leadership and put in office the so-called carpet bagger and a few native born broad-minded men who accepted the War Amendments and conditions following in good faith together with the best material that offered itself in the Negro group. Under these men the seceding States were returned to their former position in the Union; government was administered fairly and justly; life, liberty and property were safe and protected. If there were Ku Klux Infamies, mob murders, midnight marauders it was among the enemies and would-be destroyers of the government, not among the upholders and allies of the then State and National governments. Under these men the free school system was established for the first time in the South, modern, just and impartial judicial systems were created.

With the cry of corruption and bribery ringing from one end of the country to the other the way was paved to steal the elections in the only three States that had not been already stolen, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, fo rthe Democratic State candidates, claim it for the National Democratic candidate if the vote was close, and effect a compromise allowing the votes of those States to go to Hayes and the Democratic candidates for governors in the respective States. It was never seriously thought or intended by Southern leaders that the votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana would be counted for Tilden. They knew that even with cannon, the shot gun, prevention of the opening of the polls where the Negro vote was heavy, vote repeating, voting of thousands of men from adjoining States in South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, ballot box stuffing, and every conceivable form of fraud and cheating they had but one desperate chance to win and that to compromise with the Hayes managers showing that the States voted locally for the Democratic Governors and State officers and nationally for the Republican Hayes for President.

It was a sale of Negro suffrage in the South by Republican leaders eight years after it was granted through a solemn amendment to the Constitution, to quiet a contention over the Presidency, never really serious, except in the minds of those who engineered the sale.

Southern leaders bluffed and won in 1876, and are still bluffing and winning, and have been enabled thereby to make Negro disfranchisement permanent, not only so but to witness the Republican party itself disfranchising Negroes in States where Democrats have disfranchised them by cutting down representation in conventions where their numbers entitle them to representation.

ald Tribune, The New York World and Western colored papers who record the political sentiment of their section, all speak in ominous tones of the threatened revolt. There is time now for the Republican party in the nation to save its face. President Coolidge during the next few months may change completely their complex by some concrete action in the way of appointment of qualified colored Republicans to capitol positions by removing forthwith the last vestige of segregation in the government departments, by making his deeds square with his creed as to the political equality of colored Americans. President Coolidge and his colleagues may and should stem this revolt before it is too late.

COOLIDGE OUT OF RACE—WHY NOT HOOVER?

From the South Dakota White House President Coolidge on Tuesday of this week threw a sudden bomb shell into the political situation that has caused consternation among many of his followers by declaring that he "does not choose" to run for president next year. No one expected such an announcement from him, especially at this time.

Presidential aspirants who have regarded the President's candidacy as a block to their ambition are now free to give their own candidacy wings and let it soar,

Among them all we believe Secretary Hoover possesses the qualities which makes him the most available for next year's big fight with Al Smith, who will lead the Democratic hosts, and we sincerely hope that the politicians who, it must be admitted, control Republican nominations, will turn to Herbert Hoover and put him over in the June Convention next year.

We believe that the Negroes numbering 12,000,000 and casting 1,500,000 votes will find him safe, sound, judicial and fair on matters affecting their rights and interests.

"THE SCANDALS OF 1876"

Under the title head "The Scandals of 1876", George Creel in the current issue of Collier's Weekly revives the old worn out story that Samuel J. Tilden was elected president in 1876, but that the Presidency was stolen from him by the Republican party and Hayes fraudulently seated by an eight to seven Commission chosen as a compromise by a Republican Senate and a Democratic House in order to avert civil war.

Mr. Creel's review is interesting to those of the present day who will read it, less than a hundred of which readers are no doubt in ignorance of the real facts in the elections in 1876 as well as all of those which have followed up to 1924.

But there is no truth in Mr. Creel's review except that which can be read between the lines in his article that Negro disfranchisement through intimidation, fraud and corruption was exchanged by the Republican leaders in 1876 in settlement of the dispute as to the election of Hayes or Tilden precipitated by the Democratic leaders of the South who thus planned to win at the polls what they had lost in war, namely, the subjection of the Negro to the will of the white man of the South by taking away from him the newly granted protection of the ballot.

er with Negroes the Southern oligarchy in the former

Sullenly refusing to share political privilege and powseceding States stood aloof from the polls compelling the newly enfranchised Negro to accept the leadership and put in office the so-called carpet bagger and a few native born broad-minded men who accepted the War Amendments and conditions following in good faith together with the best material that offered itself in the Negro group. Under these men the seceding States were returned to their former position in the Union; government was administered fairly and justly; life, liberty and property were safe and protected. If there were Ku Klux Infamies, mob murders, midnight marauders it was among the enemies and would-be destroyers of the government, not among the upholders and allies of the then State and National governments. Under these men the free school system was established for the first time in the South, modern, just and impartial judicial systems were created.

With the cry of corruption and bribery ringing from one end of the country to the other the way was paved to steal the elections in the only three States that had not been already stolen, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, fo rthe Democratic State candidates, claim it for the National Democratic candidate if the vote was close, and effect a compromise allowing the votes of those States to go to Hayes and the Democratic candidates for governors in the respective States. It was never seriously thought or intended by Southern leaders that the votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana would be counted for Tilden. They knew that even with cannon, the shot gun, prevention of the opening of the polls where the Negro vote was heavy, vote repeating, voting of thousands of men from adjoining States in South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, ballot box stuffing, and every conceivable form of fraud and cheating they had but one desperate chance to win and that to compromise with the Hayes managers showing that the States voted locally for the Democratic Governors and State officers and nationally for the Republican Hayes for President.

It was a sale of Negro suffrage in the South by Republican leaders eight years after it was granted through a solemn amendment to the Constitution, to quiet a contention over the Presidency, never really serious, except in the minds of those who engineered the sale.

Southern leaders bluffed and won in 1876, and are still bluffing and winning, and have been enabled thereby to make Negro disfranchisement permanent, not only so but to witness the Republican party itself disfranchising Negroes in States where Democrats have disfranchised them by cutting down representation in conventions where their numbers entitle them to representation.

Political – 1927
Party Affiliation
RECORD

Republican

JUN 1927

PLAN TO ORGANIZE NEGRO G.O.P. CLUB

Colored Voters Anxious To Aid Mackay Ticket.

Tomorrow night, at 8 o'clock, there will be formed at the club house at 170 High street, Hackensack, the Mackay Colored Republican Club of Hackensack, to which all colored persons in the city are invited.

D. Wright and T. B. James, prominent among the colored people in the city, are actively interested in the new club, formed to further the interests of Senator William B. Mackay and his ticket in the forthcoming primary.

The new club will be open every day and evening, and active work in politics will be carried on among the colored people of the city. It is expected that several hundred will be enrolled as members in the new club.

LILY WHITE G.O.P. SPREADING TO 17 STATES OF SOUTH

Ripe for Revolt Against Postmaster Rule.

BY ARTHUR EVANS.
[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Memphis, Tenn., Sept. 16.—[Special.]—A revolt against the old pocket borough system in the south of hand-picked delegations to the Republican national convention controlled by the hands that dish out the postmasterships and other jobs at Washington is quite vocative in these parts.

Apart from the federal job holders who are in a paddock by themselves, some Republican leaders are charging that the Republican party is deliberately organized in Tennessee on a defeatist basis by the party bosses with a view to make it easier to sit in the convention with a stack of vest pocket delegates.

It's an echo of the fights over "lily whites," and "black and tans" that for a generation and more have given color to the sessions of the credentials committee.

It has led to the formation of the Southern States Republican league, the head of which is Charles Ulysses Gordon of Greenville, Miss., who was Chicago's postmaster in the McKinley days. It is popularly known as a Lily White organization, and it is spreading into seventeen states of the south.

New Idea in Politics.

Some of the leaders of thought declare the growth of the south has made it ripe for an active Republican party, not founded on postmasters. The growth of the industry, the sifting of northern people through the south, a new generation that has a new idea of politics, all these things, they say, are making the opportunity for a strong two party system in the southern states.

Many Democrats are found applauding the idea, their contention being that an active state Republican party, patterned on the southern attitude on the race problem, would give them a choice at the polls when the Democrats put up bad candidates.

As politics is played down here, although Lowden, Hoover and Dawes are away in the lead in popular sentiment, friends of all three declare nobody will know who will get the national delegates until the bosses back east who control the federal patronage give the word.

Most of the politicians say that the vote of Tennessee's national delegates will be determined by the state organization, in which the ruling figure is Congressman J. Will Taylor of Knoxville, the national committeeman.

Bitterly Assail Butler.

National Chairman William M. Butler is criticized in Memphis even more strongly than he is in Iowa. Leaders in the Republican league declare that Butler has played hand in glove with politicians who have been running the state on a bipartisan hook up, seeking to keep it weak in order to maintain stronger hold on postoffices and other jobs, regarding which for years there have been recurrent charges of barter.

They declare that in 1924 Butler kept Gen. Dawes from speaking here because one local boss said it would maybe provoke a race riot. The defeatist idea, they argue, is so strongly entrenched that back in 1920 before Butler's time, the only way Tennessee was carried for Harding and the Republican elected a governor, half the congressmen and the railroad commissioner, was through the instrumentality of a separate movement working apart from the state machine.

One of the loudest phases of political gossip here is that the state party is not controlled so much by Committeeman Taylor as it is by Robert E. Church, a Negro alumnus of Harvard, who lives in Memphis. It is declared that Church has more power in the distribution of patronage than any other Republican in the state, and though this is disputed by some of the old line politicians, it is declared that Taylor has to make engagements to call at the White House through Church, if he is in a hurry.

Negro Leader Gets Reward.

Some of the local leaders protest that Church gets recognition from the Coolidge leaders in the distribution of federal jobs in western Tennessee as a reward for work he does in organizing the Negro vote in Illinois and Indiana, and other outside states.

The Taylor group denies that Republican voters have no voice in the state party affairs, pointing to the law under which the state committeemen are elected in district primaries.

All through this region is an anti bellum whig sentiment all ready to be tapped by the Republican party, according to John W. Farley, one of the founders of the Southern Republican league.

"In the days of the Whig party," he says, "the people subscribed to the economic principles of this party of which Lincoln was a member. An active constructive Republican party in the state, not based on the barter of jobs, would find this old Whig sentiment which still survives, a great source of strength."

TIMES-DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

AUG 20 1927

Mr. Anderson on the South

BEFORE the Institute of Public Affairs, of the University of Virginia, Henry W. Anderson, of Richmond, voiced a very profound truth—there should be two reasonably equal parties in the South. "The Solid South," he contended, was a drag and a handicap and a chock to the South. In so far as he could disclaim it, too, he disavowed the practice of the Republican party of considering the Negro as an essential factor of the South's Republicanism.

But Mr. Anderson spoke as a theorist, not as a practicing politician. He ignored the fact that Republicanism in power donates to the Negro in the South such offices and jobs as it is able to occupy and discharge. As a student of government and of political economics, Mr. Anderson expounds an unanswerable theory; as an observer of conditions in the South, he speaks as a theorist of the library.

So far as can be judged from his address, Mr. Anderson spoke as one who hoped in the dim future. As a thinker of today, he spoke as a dreamer.

NEGROES AS-SAIL TICKETS

MEMEPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 15 (ANP)—Resenting derogatory and mis leading statements made by candidates for mayor, the Negro citizens headed by Wayman Wilkerson and S. W. Brooms, attacked the platform of both candidates and from all indications will support an independent ticket.

Mayor Paine and Candidate Overton have both injected the race issue in the election and both have been charged with trying to appeal the white voters through race-prejudice. Overton charges Paine with being responsible for the establishment of the Lincoln League of colored voters, for the purpose of securing the support of the Negro vote.

9-17-27

The statements of Mayor Paine and Overton were characterized as insults to the Negro voters, by Wilkerson who was the principal speaker at the meeting of the Lincoln League, at which both candidates were denounced.

Louisville, Ky.

"I would rather see Negroes support some ticket without the slightest hope of success, than to see them support either of these tickets which have insulted us," declared Wilkerson.

The League, according to Brooms, stands for Negro policemen, Negro firemen and access to all public places. Broams, in a spirited address urged the voters to stand by their principles and not to surrender to political expediency, which would result "only in playing the game of politicians who care nothing for our just aspirations."

COOLIDGE AND G. O. P. NOMINATION

In discussing, in last week's issue, President Coolidge's laconic statement about not "choosing" to run for the presidency in 1928, The Informer ventured the assertion that the chief executive of the republic was merely "passing the buck" to Republican leaders and testing his strength with party bosses and slate-makers as to their reaction to the third-term bogey, and to ascertain just how he (President Coolidge) stood with party leaders concerning his renomination and reelection.

Hardly before the ink was dry on last week's editorial discussing this matter, the president was visited by a group of party leaders at the summer White House in the South Dakota hills, and overtures and representations made to him that he is the logical candidate for the Republican party and the nation in 1928.

In discussing this visit and conference of these Republican party leaders and high officials with Mr. Coolidge, newspaper dispatches stated that the president was urged by the delegation to remain available for renomination, being assured that he—and only he—can carry the G. O. P. to victory in 1928 and safeguard and assure the continuation of the present era of economic stability and national prosperity.

In our feeble judgment (if we can understand the English language, or even the so-called Yankee language—this editor was taught by Yankee teachers for 11 years and ought to be able to understand some of their lingo), the president did not state that he would not be a candidate for the presidency of the United States of America in 1928, but he merely asserted or wrote that "I do not choose to run for the presidency in 1928."

Why, such a statement is as plain as the nose on one's face, and was not the emphatic assertion that the president will not be a candidate for the presidency in 1928.

The party leaders and bosses fear that, with Mr. Coolidge out of the runnig and race, the field will be open to "favorite sons" and other aspirants and that some "dark horse" might enter the White House as a result of such a campaign—as was done in 1920 when Governor Frank O. Lowden and General Leonard Wood were the contending aspirants for Republican nomination for the presidency, and Warren G. Harding was nominated and elected.

Furthermore, these party bosses and political leaders seem to believe that a change in titular head just now will wreak havoc to the cause of the party, as if all the presidential brains are located in the cranium of the present occupant of the White House.

The Informer is neither anti-Coolidge nor pro-Coolidge, as such; but this paper does not hold to the view that if Mr. Coolidge does not run as a Republican presidential nominee next year, either the party or the country will go to the "demnition bow-wows."

Mr. Coolidge has made a safe, sane and sensible leader, yet there is nothing remarkable about him except his political astuteness, at which he is a master.

He carried to the presidential chair quite a bit of the proverbial "Coolidge luck," and the party bosses and leaders are not so much for Mr. Coolidge as they are for themselves; and the president, if he finally "chooses" to run in 1928, will merely be aiding and abetting the cause of the G. O. P. chieftains—national and sectional—who see in and through Mr. Coolidge's retention of the office an opportunity to further entrench themselves in partisan and political power.

It is all politics pure and simple, and it will not surprise The Informer to see these politicians literally draft or conscript President Coolidge in 1928, even if the chief magistrate of the republic does not "choose" to run for the office again.

TWO PARTIES IN GEORGIA

The Tribune has long felt and has so stated that the one great need in Georgia is for two major political parties. For this need the state has become stagnant, as well as several of the other Southern states and will remain so, and even become worse unless the two-party idea is carried into successful operation. In a way Lawyer J. Quinn West of Thomson, Ga., in a communication to the Atlanta Constitution, touched upon it. He states:

> The best interest of Georgia cry out for and demand another political party and for disinterested leadership. Thinking people over the state must be possessed with a feeling of sickening disgust when they contemplate the present political situation.

He was moved to this assertion mainly because of the action of the recent legislature in "bucking" the governor and failing to pass important proposed legislation. The lawyer suggests the formation of a "Georgia Party." This suggestion is an impotent one. Such a party, being local, so far as the state is concerned, will be void of the permanent virility needed in such an organization. In this suggestion Mr. West has shown the will that dominates the average Georgian in being afraid to advocate or suggest the name of the Republican party as a contending force in the state. To have two successful local parties, each will necessarily be compelled to have a national background. At present only two major parties lay claim to this, the Republican and Democratic. Emphasizing his contention for two parties Mr. West asserts:

> That is our main need—two parties, each with platforms and promises; each with party principles and party candidates. Then an elected representative would stand for something and be bound by it. Such is not now the case, when they vote as they please, do as they please, or do nothing as they please.

A greater plea for two contending parties in the state was never made, notwithstanding the attitude assumed in naming one of the parties.

The correspondent then excoriated the leaders of the Democratic party in the recent legislature when he says that

> The situation cries out for unselfish leaders, not demagogues if you please, but real leaders who have the best interest of Georgia at heart. Of course, there are many good men in the legislature now, and this is not an attack on any one of them, but this in an attack and a protest against their impotance as a whole, which is the result of a bad system, and shows the need of two political parties in this state, parties that know where they are going so Georgia may be going on her way towards better days.

It can not be contradicted that ninety per cent of the white voters of the state are slaves to the Democratic party, whether that party is right or wrong, and are afraid of ostracism should they be known as being connected or voting for any other party, especially the Republican. The time is now opportune for the freedom of Georgia from the thraldom of one party in order that she may rightfully take her place in the galaxy of other progressive states. It is left for Mr. West and others of his way of thinking to lead the way.

COURT UPSETS ELECTIONS BY MOB TACTICS

Louisville Mayor on "Fired" List

Louisville, Ky., June 24.—The entire Republican ticket numbering more than 700 officeholders will lose their offices Monday when Democratic candidates for city and Jefferson county offices during the 1925 election campaign will come to power. This change is the result of the decision rendered by the court of appeals declaring that the Republicans committed acts of violence upon Race political workers and voters in the 1925 elections.

The court upheld the charges that members of our group who were affiliated with Democratic organizations were driven away from precincts where they were assigned as workers through actual violence. In one precinct a Democratic worker was threatened and later called outside of the polling booth, assaulted and knocked down, shot at and otherwise threatened, the court found. Another was struck from heind, knocked down and his Democratic badge taken from him. Another was assaulted on the way from the polls to his dinner. The court held that the election laws were violated when Republicans in an effort to keep the citizens from the polls fired off pistols in some of the precincts.

The court's ruling that "no election" had been held in 1925 on the grounds of conspiracy and illegal voting will cause 49 Republican officials to lose their positions, including the mayor and nine Jefferson county officials. Governor W. J. Fields Tuesday made the executive appointments required under the court decision. This is the first time in a decade that the Democrats will gain control of the city and county administrations.

Political—1927

Party Affiliation

Republican

LEAVING THE NEGRO OUT

We have noted that there is much being said about the approaching National and State election, which will be fanned into white heat ere the next six months roll around.

The Republican bosses of City and State are having their little closed door conferences, busy selecting those whom they expect to make the race for mayor, governor, United States Senate and whatnot. We note that no Negro has been called into any of these conferences, and we presume that no thought is given as to whether the bosses' choice is, by reputation or disposition, favorable to the colored people of the state who in all probability, will cast one-tenth of the vote in the state at the next election.

Basing our opinion on the past, we venture to say, that the Republicans are pretty "cock sure" that they can win; notwithstanding the fact that governor Baker won over his opponent, Dr. Nelson by only about five thousand votes. And Mr. Baker followed the administration of Arthur M. Hyde, the best governor Missouri has had. But things are different now. The Baker administration is the worst the state has had. Therefore, his successors will have an uphill pull.

We are not complaining because the bosses are not taking the Negro into their conferences, for we take it, that they have TEN TIMES more to lose than we. But we are concerned about the Negro himself. We want him to "wake up" and use his ballot intelligently. We want the Negro, when the bosses get behind closed doors and trot out a man for office like Sam Baker, to say No! and MEAN NO! Let that fellow who boasts that he has your vote in his vest pocket on election day, awake to find that he has been "weighed in balances and found wanting."

TIMES

AUG 26 1927

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

Southern Republicans Should Reform Before Tackling Problem.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

THE TIMES editorial "The Negro in Politics" ignores many of the difficulties of a political situation for which it offers a solution. The differences between the Democratic and the Republican Parties south of the Mason and Dixon Line cannot be cleared up in such a simple manner as a change of political attitude of the white man in the South toward the negro and the realization by the negro that he cannot be an office-holder. They are more fundamental and deep-rooted than that.

Should a more liberal franchise be granted to the negro and he thus be permitted to participate more effectively than now in the primaries of the Democratic Party and political issues purely local, and in due course develop differences of opinion on issues and principles instead of going en bloc to the Republican Party, it would hardly be an entering wedge in splitting up the Solid South. Until the Republican Party in this section ceases to be the monopolistic beneficiary of Federal patronage, it can not attract white voters for its candidates. As long as the Federal office-holding trust, which constitutes the bone and muscle of that party continues, white men in number holding opinions and animated with a desire to participate in the councils and management of that part will be unable to break into it even with the use of force.

Colonel Anderson some twenty years ago renounced the creed of his fathers and became a Republican. With all the zeal of a convert he preached the gospel of his new found faith to the people of his State, and although he may have led a few whites to the standards of the Republican Party, his influence within his new party has been negligible. The great majority of his party are simply officeholders and recipients of patronage; they do not want and will not receive and advocate new principles.

At a personal sacrifice Colonel Anderson ran for Governor of his State on the Republican ticket in 1921, and, with the great ability and force of which he is capable, among other things advocated a liberalizing of the franchise, prophesying that it would break up the oligarchy of Democratic officeholders then in the saddle and be a step toward breaking up the Solid South and pave the way to the return of Southern statesmen to national power and influence. Distrust of his party, more than a repudiation of the principles he so ably advocated, resulted in a usual Southern election. Colonel Anderson again returned to private life whence he periodically emerges preaching his same gospel.

Let the Republican Party in the South first clean house and then advocate wholesome principles; but until the Augean stables are cleansed white people here want none of their doctrines.

JOHN B. JENKINS Jr.

Norfolk, Va., Aug. 23, 1927.

ALBANY, N. Y.

Press

AUG 23 1927

Drift of Opinion

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

From the New York Times.

Colonel Henry W. Anderson of Richmond, whose frank and sensible speech about the southern negro before the Virginia Institute of Public Affairs at Charlottesville refreshed and made hopeful those hearers who are used to seeing the black man made the butt of southern politics, has long advocated these ideas. He is not a "lily white" southern Republican in the old sense of some of his Republican predecessors; for their theory was to use the negroes in primaries and elections to the extent that they could and then deny them recognition in administrative affairs. Colonel Andreson, perceiving and welcoming the growing conviction of southern negroes that the political field is not for them, would not go so far as to advocate the "open and above board disfranchisement" of these people; but he rather implied the hope that they would in time divide their votes on issues, principles and parties instead of going en bloc to the Republicans.

This evolution, plus an acceptance of the fact that southern white people will not agree to office-holding by negroes, would go further to break the solid south than any other factor. And thoughtful southerners for a long time have realized that no better thing could happen to the south and Democratic party. So long as the south always goes Democratic, states in other parts of the United States will always go Republican, regardless of men or issues; and it is this fact which has helped to keep the Democratic party sectional, has made the negro a political football, has had much to do with the adherence of the south to prohibtion, and has given the Klan a hold it would otherwise not have.

These things are more implied than stated by Colonel Anderson, but when a southern Republican is willing to forego the negro vote he is making the strongest possible bid for recognition politically which one of his party faith can make in the south. Although he is a Republican, the burden of his speech offers a better constructive program to the south than any Democrat has offered since Henry Watterson used to urge the same thing. Nor need it be assumed that Virginia will blush because a Republican has been foremost in these things, for Colonel Anderson is related by social and blood ties to many of the "First Families."

Public Forum

Commendation

Editor, Journal and Guide,

Sir:—May I commend you on the dignified and impressive editorial of last week's issue, captioned, "Open Conspiracy Openly Arrived At". The Virginian-Pilot rightly opens its leader editorial on Monday morning with a recognition of the power and influence and calmly considered opinions of your paper, which I regard as the finest exponent of clean journalism.

In two other things was the Virginian-Pilot correct. First, that your editorial was unanswerable—and it should not have added that it was unanswerable in the light of law and theory (of government). For if it is unanswerable on those grounds, how logically can it be otherwise answerable?

In the second place, the distinguished Norfolk daily was correct in granting that the South's attitude was indefensible, although again a qualification was made.

The conspiracy is open, fine distinctions notwithstanding, for does not even the Virginian-Pilot admit that there is an indirect effort to exclude the Negro from participation in the government under which he lives? The South will never hold a minor place in politics as long as it has to adjust its political thinking and acting to its efforts to deny what under any considerations rightly belongs to us.

Having never given us an opportunity to freely and intelligently take our rightful share in public affairs, among other things, how does the white South come by its fear of ill consequences resulting from our participation therein-

And the idea that maybe in the future things will be better and then our chance will come is in need of debunking. Once the white Democrats and Republicans combine against us in their party affairs, what is to stop us from holding the balance of power in general elections? The South has more to fear from the proposed inter-party arrangement than from a position of simple justice which will grant us the rights that are ours as Americans.

I will not take more space. You will handle the argument adequately. Keep up the good work; it is worthy of a Harmon award.

A CONSTANT READER

Norfolk, Va.

Memphis Fears A Solid Negro Vote

The Associated Negro Press
Staff Correspondence

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 21.—The spot-light which was turned on the political situation in Chicago during the April elections, is now focused upon the forthcoming mayorality elections here in October and the interest in the situation down here is as acute as it was in the Windy City in the spring.

Like Chicago, the Negro vote and the race question in general hold the center of the stage. Charges and counter-charges are flying thick and fast as each candidate lays his case before the people, on every occasion speakers when they "rise to remark" and to cite their records which make out of them "servants of the people" "the people's choice" and the like always take the opportunity to take a fling at the Negro and the race question.

The race issue was injected in the campaign when Watkins Overton, the candidate opposing the present mayor Rowlett Payne, declared that the mayor was seeking the Negro vote and was responsible for the organization of the West Tennessee Civic and political League, composed wholly of Negroes. The mayor denied the allegations and

further went on record as being wholly against any organization of Negro voters, which might in anyway tend to dominate the political situation in Memphis and threaten "white supremacy".

Overton, however, scoffed at the denial and declared that not only was Payne responsible for the organization, but was instrumental in brinnging Colonel Roscoe Conklin Simmons of Memphis in 1923 to help make an appeal for the Negro votes.

Just what the Negro voters are planning to do in the October elections has not been determined. Both candidates have refused to meet the demands made for Negro policemen, firemen and an open door of parks and other public places. The Negro citizens, however, under the leadership of Robert R. Church, Wayman Wilkerson, and other prominent Negroes, have paid their poll tax in large numbers and an unprecedented vote is expected.

The sentiment expressed by the mayor, as to the menace of a solid Negro vote, finds expression throughout the city. The white folks fear organized effort and are seeking to thwart the attempt of Negroes to secure their full rights through the ballot wisely cast. Anyway October will be an important month in the history of Memphis.

RACE LEADERS CONTROL 70 G.O.P. VOTES, REPORT

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 22.—If the "I do not choose" statement of President Coolidge means positively that he will not accept another nomination, four colored men will play a more important part in the next Republican National convention than has been played by any Negroes since the 1912 convention when the late Henry Lincoln Johnson remained loyal to Taft, made his renomination possible and caused a split in the Republican party.

Those four men are Benjamin Jefferson Davis of Atlanta, Ga., Walter L. Cohen comptroller of customs at New Orleans, Pa.; Perry W. Howard, special assistant to the Attorney General, Washington, D. C., and Robert R. Church of Memphis, Tenn.

Two of them, Mr. Davis and Mr. Howard, are members of the Republican National Committee and by virtue of their positions are bound to be important factors in the next Republican National Convention.

Mr. Cohen and Mr. Church are the de facto members of the Republican National Committee from their respective states. Emile Kuntz is the legal national committeeman for Louisiana, and Representative J. Will Taylor is the legal national committeeman for Tennessee. But these national committeemen in their actions simply reflect the views of the political bosses of their respective states.

These four colored men will control a total of 70 votes in the next Republican National Convention, unless there is a change made in the apportionment of delegates at the meeting of the Republican National Committee in December.

Georgia will have 18 votes in the convention, Louisiana 13, Mississippi 22, and Tennessee 17. There is a total of 1,109 votes in the convention. Five hundred and fifty-five votes are necessary for a choice. The 70 votes controlled by these four men will constitute about one-eighth of the votes necessary for a choice.

With an unlimited field of candidates, the bidding for a bloc of 70 votes will be tense. The four men acting in unison can demand and receive more consideration than fould be given to single delegations from southern states.

With Howard and Cohen holding Federal offices and with Church and Davis not desiring appointments for themselves, there is the possibility that whatever trading may be done for the 70 votes that will be controlled by them, will be upon the basis of fairer treatment to colored people generally by the executive branch of the Government.

There are already indications that the four men will play politics together. A conference is said to have been held already for the purpose of pooling their strength in the next Republican National Convention.

None of these four men is committed to the candidacy of any one. Each of them says that Coolidge is his choice and that he has no second choice. They are non-committal regarding the candidacy of Hughes, Hoover, Lowden and Dawes.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

Southern Republicans Should Reform Before Tackling Problem.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

THE TIMES editorial "The Negro in Politics" ignores many of the difficulties of a political situation for which it offers a solution. The differences between the Democratic and the Republican Parties south of the Mason and Dixon Line cannot be cleared up in such a simple manner as a change of political attitude of the white man in the South toward the negro and the realization by the negro that he cannot be an office-holder. They are more fundamental and deep-rooted than that.

Should a more liberal franchise be granted to the negro and he thus be permitted to participate more effectively than now in the primaries of the Democratic Party and political issues purely local and in due course develop differences of opinion on issues and principles instead of going en bloc to the Republican Party, it would hardly be an entering wedge in splitting up the Solid South. Until the Republican Party in this section ceases to be the monopolistic beneficiary of Federal patronage, it cannot attract white voters for its candidates. As long as the Federal office-holding trust, which constitutes the bone and muscle of that party, continues, white men in numbers holding opinions and animated with a desire to participate in the councils and management of that party will be unable to break into it even with the use of force.

Colonel Anderson some twenty years ago renounced the creed of his fathers and became a Republican. With all the zeal of a convert he preached the gospel of his new-found faith to the people of his State, and although he may have led a few whites to the standards of the Republican Party, his influence within his new party has been negligible. The great majority of his party are simply officeholders and recipients of patronage; they do not want and will not receive and advocate new principles.

At a personal sacrifice Colonel Anderson ran for Governor of his State on the Republican ticket of 1921, and, with the great ability and force of which he is capable, among other things advocated a liberalizing of the franchise, prophesying that it would break up the oligarchy of Democratic officeholders then in the saddle and be a step toward breaking up the Solid South and pave the way to the return of Southern statesmen to national power and influence. Distrust of his party, more than a repudiation of the principles he so ably advocated, resulted in a usual Southern election. Colonel Anderson again returned to private life, whence he periodically emerges, preaching his same gospel.

Let the Republican Party in the South first clean house and then advocate wholesome principles; but until the Augean stables are cleansed white people here want none of their doctrines.

JOHN B. JENKINS Jr.

Norfolk, Va., Aug. 23, 1927.

ROBERT CHURCH WINS ANOTHER POLITICAL FIGHT

Another political victory for Robert R. Church, political leader of Memphis, Tenn., was recorded Monday when G. Tom Taylor was appointed acting postmaster at Memphis, succeeding Sol Seches, the present postmaster.

As a result of the effort of Mr. Church, the Civil Service Commission placed the name of Mr. Taylor on the eligible list last Saturday. The commission had previously certified to the Post Office department the names of Mr. Seches and Clint McKellar, assistant postmaster who is a brother of Senator Kenneth D. McKellar, Democrat, of Tennessee.

The fight over the postmastership at Memphis has been waged ever since the Republicans were returned to power in 1920 and Charles Metcalf resigned.

Commission Revoked

The first candidate of Mr. Church was the late Steve Wright. Mr. Church at that time succeeded in having the commission of the late Charles B. Quinn as acting postmaster at Memphis revoked the next day after it was issued. Quinn received his commission April 22, 1921, and left Washington immediately for Memphis. The next day his commission was revoked, a telegram to that effect reaching him at Chattanooga, Tenn. Post Office Department officials say that is the only instance since the establishment of the department that a commission has been revoked before it reached its destination.

Mr. Seches finally received the appointment, Wright losing out, and Mr. Church took up the fight in behalf of G. Tom Taylor, who belonged to the Brownloe faction of the Republican party in Tennessee. National Committeeman J. Will Taylor was opposed to him. Mr. Church reconciled their differences.

Cleveland Convention

G. Tom Taylor is a former postmaster of Union City, Tenn. He served as state treasurer of Tennessee under former Governor Ben Hooper. He and Wayman Wilkerson represented the tenth congressional district as delegates at the last Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

MEMPHIS MAYOR IS OBDURATE

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 15.—"No Negro policeman, no Negro firemen and no general admission of Negroes to Overton Park."

That is Mayor Rowlett Paine's answer to the demands of the West Tennessee Civic and Political League, a Negro political organization led by the well known Republican leader, Bob Church. The Mayor made no effort to apologize for his refusal and closed his lengthy statement with an appeal to the white citizens to become qualified voters and be prepared to exercise the right of suffrage. "The unusual activities of the Negroes along political lines, now prevailing in this city; the admittedly large number of illegal Negro registrations, the organization of this Negro political club, its publicly announced demands, constitute a challenge to every white man and woman in the city of Memphis to become qualified voters," declared the municipal head.

Mayor Paine is the official who publicly thanked Tom Lee, Mississippi river hero, for saving the lives of 30 whites.

Mayor Paine is a candidate for re-election and his opponent is Watkins Overton, candidate on the county organization ticket. The league is lining up votes for Overton. An intense activity in Negro sections was apparent during registration and speakers were brought in from out of town.

Political - 1927

Party Affiliation

Republican

ROBERTS DOES HIS DUTY

Senator Adelbert Roberts, of the black race, and a member of the Illinois state senate, has opened up the question of the gas tax in this state after the Illinois senate had voted it down. Roberts on Monday last made a motion to reconsider the bill and his motion was carried. Some of Mr. Roberts' fellow senators have subjected him to severe castigation and have attempted to brand him as being unfaithful to his trust and untrue to the "great colored district in Chicago" that he represents. This writer has focused his attention on the recent sessions of our legislature and has arrived at the conclusion that "the great Chicago southside" should be fully acquainted with the activities of its spokesman whom they have honored and by virtue of their vote have placed in office.

The present gas tax bill is sponsored by Governor Small and purports to levy a tax of two cents upon every gallon of gasoline, purchased by an automobile or truck owner in the state of Illinois. This gas tax bill by reason of necessity will cause the gasoline stations to advance the price at least another cent in order to provide for additional costs in collecting the tax, keeping record of it and turning it over to the State treasury. The net proceeds of the gas tax will be used to improve the Illinois automobile roads. Most of the legislators from Cook County, wherein lies Chicago, have expressed themselves as feeling that such a tax will inure to the benefit of other counties and that it is an unfair burden to impose on their constituents. The bill was passed in the lower house after a bitter fight in which the four black representatives lined themselves up with the Governor and voted for the bill to the consternation of other Cook county Representatives. When the bill came before the senate, Mr. Roberts voted against it and it was defeated. Now he has changed his mind and his supporters want to know why.

Mr. Roberts voted for the bill because it entrenches him more strongly in the Republican machinery of the state, he voted for the bill as a far-sighted piece of diplomacy and statesmanship, he voted for the bill because Governor Small is anxious for it to pass and Governor Small is a friend of Mr. Roberts' supporters.

Governor Small is soon to march to the firing line and meet the battle for re-election. He feels, or at least it appears that he feels, that the down state vote will tide him over. The down-staters want good roads, hard roads and more roads. The gas tax will make it possible for the Governor to build these roads and in the light of cold-blooded politics to garner the favor of the down-staters. In voting for this issue, Mr. Roberts has obligated the down-state legislators who will be in duty and honor bound to aid him in legislation as it comes up effecting us, "Chicago's great southside." Mr. Roberts' action shows diplomacy and statesmanship when he obligates the Governor to his people and submerges the interests of one large county and city for the benefit of the entire state. Such official conduct exemplifies farsightedness, sagacity and common sense.

Mr. Roberts voted for the reconsideration of the bill because Governor Small has given his people more recognition than any previous Governor. It was Governor Small who broke all precedents by appointing a member of "Chicago great southside" as a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission, a position of great dignity and importance. He has made other appointments in the state departments without regard of color. Small has given us recognition and even though there are many who claim that he has been corrupt in office, the people of this state expressed their confidence in him by re-electing him when he was under a cloud and the Attorney General of the State and the criminal courts have given him a clean bill of health. If Governor Small has been a bad man in the eyes of his opponents, he has been good to us. The American people have forced us to line up with men who are good to us even though their methods in office are sometimes questionable. Mr. Roberts has done his duty.

As far as paying three cents more for gas, it is of no consequence to us. It is no color tax and we pay such on every common commodity and privilege. We would pay ten cents more on every gallon of gas cheerfully if relieved of the manifold burdens of taxation without representation as exist in this nation.

COOLIDGE'S LACONIC STATEMENT.

The typewritten statement of President Calvin Coolidge, handed to newspaper correspondents at the summer capital in South Dakota, last week, is rather an ambiguous one, and seemed to be clothed in that language, either incapable of proper interpretation or capable of any interpretation, which characterizes so many of the statements made or handed out by the present occupant of the White House.

In stating that he does not choose to run for the presidency in 1928, President Coolidge did not definitely declare himself out of the race, but rather inferred or sought to create the impression that he was in the hands of his friends; and, while he has no particular ambition or desire to seek the renomination during 1928 and again aspire for the highest office within the gift of the American electorate, he did not state that he would not run again if these friends and political advisers urge and insist that he become a candidate to succeed himself in the presidential chair.

Rated as the smartest, most astute and clever politician to ever adorn or occupy the presidential chair, President Coolidge has too much political wisdom and sagacity to issue any statement just here which will entirely eliminate him from the presidential sweepstakes, or which would have the tendency to encourage other aspirants to announce for the office this early in the game.

This "choosing" statement was merely another one of this cool and calculating chief executive's political gestures, and who can say but that it was issued as a "feeler" to ascertain, if possible, the reaction of the politicians and electors to the president's candidacy for another term!

Reduced to its lowest common denominator and sifted to its final analysis, the mere statement that "I do not choose to run for president in 1928," is like an old woman's Mother Hubbard dress—covers everything and touches nothing.

One might not choose to go to work at his daily task, but to merely assert such does not mean or indicate that the person making the utterance will not be found at his daily task when the hour arrives for him or her to be on the job.

The fact that a person does not "choose" to do a thing, does not mean that he will do it, or will not do it. In fact, the remark is subject to more than one interpretation or application.

This laconic statement of the president has divided the country into at least two groups: one holding that Mr. Coolidge has definitely removed himself from the field of presidential candidates and has opened the doors for the "favored sons" and other presidential aspirants; while another group contends that Mr. Coolidge has merely invited his supporters and advisers to urge and insist that he become a candidate next year.

The Informer holds to the view that the president is trying to see how he stands as it regards the so-called "third term", and that he will not refuse to seek renomination and re-election if the party bosses contend and argue that only he can bring victory to the cause of the Republican party in the quadrennial national election of 1928.

Finally, the editor of The Informer did not "choose" to write this editorial on this laconic statement of President Coolidge, but so many inquiries have poured into our sanctum and upon our ears that we finally "chose" to make this editorial observation concerning the chief magistrate's pronouncement, and his probable and possible attitude regarding the presidential race in 1928.

Political – 1927 I Republican

Party Affiliation

ROBERTS DOES HIS DUTY

Senator Adelbert Roberts, of the black race, and a member of the Illinois state senate, has opened up the question of the gas tax in this state after the Illinois senate had voted it down. Roberts on Monday last made a motion to reconsider the bill and his motion was carried. Some of Mr. Roberts' fellow senators have subjected him to severe castigation and have attempted to brand him as being unfaithful to his trust and untrue to the "great colored district in Chicago" that he represents. This writer has focused his attention on the recent sessions of our legislature and has arrived at the conclusion that "the great Chicago southside" should be fully acquainted with the activities of its spokesman whom they have honored and by virtue of their vote have placed in office.

The present gas tax issue is sponsored by Governor Small and purports to levy a tax of two cents upon every gallon of gasoline, purchased by an automobile or truck owner in the state of Illinois. This gas tax bill by reason of necessity will cause the gasoline stations to advance the price at least another cent in order to provide for additional costs in collecting the tax, keeping record of it and turning it over to the State treasury. The net proceeds of the gas tax will be used to improve the Illinois automobile roads. Most of the legislators from Cook County, wherein lies Chicago, have expressed themselves as feeling that such a tax will inure to the benefit of other counties and that it is an unfair burden to impose on their constituents. The bill was passed in the lower house after a bitter fight in which the four black representatives lined themselves up with the Governor and voted for the bill to the consternation of other Cook county Representatives. When the bill came before the senate, Mr. Roberts voted against it and it was defeated. Now he has changed his mind and his supporters want to know why.

Mr. Roberts voted for the bill because it entrenches him more strongly in the Republican machinery of the state, he voted for the bill as a far-sighted piece of diplomacy and statesmanship, he voted for the bill because Governor Small is anxious for it to pass and Governor Small is a friend of Mr. Roberts' supporters.

Governor Small is soon to march to the firing line and meet the battle for re-election. He feels, or at least it appears that he feels, that the down state vote will tide him over. The down-staters want good roads, hard roads and more roads. The gas tax will make it possible for the Governor to build these roads and in the light of cold-blooded politics to garner the favor of the down-staters. In voting for this issue, Mr. Roberts has obligated the down-state legislators who will be in duty and honor bound to aid him in legislation as it comes up effecting us, "Chicago's great southside." Mr. Roberts' action shows diplomacy and statesmanship when he obligates the Governor to his people and submerges the interests of one large county and city for the benefit of the entire state. Such official conduct exemplifies farsightedness, sagacity and common sense. Mr. Roberts voted for the reconsideration of the bill because Governor Small has given his people more recognition than any previous Governor. It was Governor Small who broke all precedents by appointing a member of "Chicago great southside" as a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission, a position of great dignity and importance. He has made other appointments in the state departments without regard of color. Small has given us recognition and even though there are many who claim that he has been corrupt in office, the people of this state expressed their confidence in him by re-electing him when he was under a cloud and the Attorney General of the State and the criminal courts have given him a clean bill of health. If Governor Small has been a bad man in the eyes of his opponents, he has been good to us. The American people have forced us to line up with men who are good to us even though their methods in office are sometimes questionable. Mr. Roberts has done his duty.

As far as paying three cents more for gas, it is of no consequence to us. It is no color tax and we pay such on every common commodity and privilege. We would pay ten cents more on every gallon of gas cheerfully if relieved of the manifold burdens of taxation without representation as exist in this nation.

COOLIDGE'S LACONIC STATEMENT

The typewritten statement of President Calvin Coolidge, handed to newspaper correspondents at the summer capital in South Dakota, last week, is rather an ambiguous one, and seemed to be clothed in that language, either incapable of proper interpretation or capable of any interpretation, which characterizes so many of the statements made or handed out by the present occupant of the White House.

In stating that he does not "choose" to run for the presidency in 1928, President Coolidge did not definitely declare himself out of the race, but rather inferred or sought to create the impression that he was in the hands of his friends; and, while he has no particular ambition or desire to seek the renomination during 1928 and again aspire for the highest office within the gift of the American electorate, he did not state that he would not run again if these friends and political advisers urge and insist that he become a candidate to succeed himself in the presidential chair.

Rated as the smartest, most astute and clever politician to ever adorn or occupy the presidential chair, President Coolidge has too much political wisdom and sagacity to issue any statement just here which will entirely eliminate him from the presidential sweepstakes, or which would have the tendency to encourage other aspirants to announce for the office this early in the game.

This "choosing" statement was merely another one of this cool and calculating chief executive's political gestures, and who can say but that it was issued as a "feeler" to ascertain, if possible, the reaction of the politicians and electors to the president's candidacy for another term!

Reduced to its lowest common denominator and sifted to its final analysis, the mere statement that "I do not choose to run for president in 1928," is like an old woman's Mother Hubbard dress—covers everything and touches nothing.

One might not choose to go to work at his daily task, but to merely assert such does not mean or indicate that the person making the utterance will not be found at his daily task when the hour arrives for him or her to be on the job.

The fact that a person does not "choose" to do a thing, does not mean that he will do it, or will not do it. In fact, the remark is subject to more than one interpretation or application.

This laconic statement of the president has divided the country into at least two groups: one holding that Mr. Coolidge has definitely removed himself from the field of presidential candidates and has opened the doors for the "favored sons" and other presidential aspirants; while another group contends that Mr. Coolidge has merely invited his supporters and advisers to urge and insist that he become a candidate next year.

The Informer holds to the view that the president is trying to see how he stands as it regards the so-called "third term", and that he will not refuse to seek renomination and re-election if the party bosses contend and argue that only he can bring victory to the cause of the Republican party in the quadrennial national election of 1928.

Finally, the editor of The Informer did not "choose" to write this editorial on this laconic statement of President Coolidge, but so many inquiries have poured into our sanctum and upon our ears that we finally "chose" to make this editorial observation concerning the chief magistrate's pronouncement, and his probable and possible attitude regarding the presidential race in 1928.

CHARLESTON
SOUTH CAROLINA

AUG 27 1927

Parties Within the Primary

Addressing the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia Henry W. Anderson, lawyer and Republican leader, who lives in Richmond, a citizen who commands respect, dilated on the necessity of a respectable Republican party in the South. He is reported to have said that the negro population should be disregarded, that the negroes would consult their own interests by abandoning the pretense to political activities and devoting themselves to improving their material condition.

The story is old. Thirty years ago the late N. G. Gonzales emphasized the necessity of two parties in the South if progressive and independent thinking were to survive. Hundreds of editors have written thousands of editorials on the same subject.

The obstacle, of course, is that the negroes have no notion of giving up the hope of one day entering politics and getting office. For that one can hardly blame them. Political self-effacement has never characterized any race. The white people of the South know that, even with restricted suffrage laws, the admission to the polls of a considerable proportion of the negro population would surely result in corruption. Always, vicious white leaders are to be found in all parties and factions and they will not hesitate to use the negro votes, buying them with whiskey or money or poisoning them with appeals to their worst passions. That is the danger. Intelligent white men perceive it. Not for three decades have they feared a return of negro domination but they are not ready to invite the risk of negro contamination of the electorate. They are well aware that numbers of the whites are ignorant and easily misled, but they are fearful of the creation of a condition that might be incomparably worse.

Two-party government is obviously indispensable to healthy government, which nothing could prove more fully than the dull, deep, stupid apathy that is now settled over South Carolina. There are no parties in this State and no party principles—only second rate men bellowing third rate speeches mostly about themselves. The prospect of solution or improvement of the tax laws or of any other in South Carolina, under existing conditions, is dim indeed.

A way out of the wilderness is plain. Two parties could be formed and could operate within the Democratic organization, accepting the primary as final. The ratification in the general election of the nomination of a ticket by the primary would be as practical and easy as is the ratification of the nomination of individual candidates who represent only themselevs.

The plan already has been tried. It was eminently successful in 1892 and in the early years of that decade substantial two-party government was in operation in this State and leaders, legislators and the people thought and acted upon issues, whether rightly or not.

The existing condition is perfectly satisfactory to the office holders most of whom are of a caliber which no party or faction would dare to depend upon for leadership.

SAMPSON WON

As is known to all voters who care, Judge F. D. Sampson won the Republican nomination for Governor over Hon. Robt. H. Lucas.

This paper was for Mr. Lucas because it knew the kind of man he is. It was against Judge Sampson because of the men who sponsored his cause.

We have no regrets to make. If the situation arose tomorrow we would do the same thing. As a matter of fact it does not matter much to us who is Governor of Kentucky. If the white people and other Colored folks can stand Judge Sampson, so can we. If the majority want Mr. Beckham we will go merrily on our way whistling "Let a little sunshine in," or "What Does It Matter."

But we shall ever and always oppose known Negro haters whether they are labelled Republicans or not.

The business of ignoring the Negro all the year up to election time, of insulting and disregarding him when he wants some recognition, then expecting him to vote 100 per cent Republican is nauseating to us.

Right now, whiteRepublican leaders are trying to pick a candidate for Mayor. Not a Negro has been asked the wishes of the Negro on the subject. With 30,000 Negroes voting Republican in the past not a thought has been given as to what they might think of a candidate or whom they might want.

This is contempt and disrespect of the rankest kind. And yet Negroes are to blame. They sit around and wait and the candidate picked might be a Negro haters, a lily-white, a dog and whatever he is or whoever he is white Republicans figure they can get enough Negro politicians to push him down our throats. But we shall see.

There are more independent thinking Negroes today than ever in the history of the city.

Twelve years ago no man would have believed that in the city of Lopisville there would be found at the polls Negro Democrat judges, clerks and sheriffs. Nobody would have believed Negroes would have been seen on the streets with Democrat badges in their lapels. Yet that is what we saw last Saturday. So our Republican leaders had better take note. They had better shed some of their contempt for Negroes and include them in their councils and deliberations. We sound this note of warning. Take it or leave it.

A SOUTHERN MAN FOR PRESIDENT

A few weeks ago, The Independent, without prejudice to the South's political interests, admonished the Democratic Party, South, that it was high time it was rising to the dignity of full citizenship, and asserting the force of its numerical strength in the making of presidents in the national life. That it had the brains, the character and the men, but did not have the guts to assert its rights in the councils of the Democratic Party—hence it was virtually as much disfranchised in finality as the colored Republicans are of the ballot.

We did not take this position because we desired to see a Democrat President, but because we have sectional pride and believe in consistency. And if the country is to have the misfortune of another Democratic President at Washington, we would like to see a broad-minded, conservative, clean-cut Southerner, like Senator George, Underwood or McLean, of North Carolina have it.

It seems to us that this is the opportune time for the Solid South to rise in the might of its power and numbers and nominate a clean, conservative, level-headed Democrat like Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia.

We sounded the tocsin a few days ago, and it seems that the Democratic press, largely throughout the South, has taken up the challenge and are calling the attention of the Solid South to its strength and opportunity. Whether it has been aroused by our broadside criticism, calling their attention to their ability, opportunity and lack of manhood to take advantage of their chance, we are not able to say, but we do know that we were the first to sound the alarm.

The South is naturally dry, because the South is largely pure American, and a very little foreign blood is mixed among the Southern people. Foreigners are only a negligible quantity in our population. Therefore, the best people of the South, though in the Democratic Party, stand for the highest ideals of moral government, and there is no reason why this section of the country should bow to Tammnay, or support any man for President who does not reflect in his life and record their views and ideals. Of course, expediency may dictate the Democratic policy in future, as it has in the past, but the Civil War has been over long enough to stop fighting it once every four years in the Democratic convention, by telling the South that a Southerner can not carry the East, North, nor the Middle West, because the memories of the Confedarcy still linger in the minds of those states whose electoral votes are necessary to elect a President. Just as long as the South listens to this sophistry, Northern and Western Democrats will always be nominated, without regard to availability or harmony with the views of the backbone of the Democratic Party. The South furnishes the votes, the North the views and the candidates. The South calmly and serenely submits, because the Northern Democrats tell them that you have a black menace at your door and you threaten white supremacy every time you take any position that is likely to alienate the friendship and union that now exists between the Democrats North and the Democrats South. The South bowing to this old prejudice, remains in a state of political peonage, while they do the work, and the Northern Democrats get all the glory and all the pay.

Tammany Hall in New York is Tammany Hall enough in America. The people, North nor South, do not want Tammany methods, nor Tammany men in Washington, and as long as William Jennings Bryan lived the country was safe from the threat and menace, because he would not permit the Democratic Party to sacrifice principle for pie or policy. He believed in the Jeffersonian idea of popular government, where the people might have an opportunity to express their will at the ballot box. If the South started out furnishing

Political - 1927

II

Party Affiliation

Continued from sheet 71

Presidents and furnished such men as Washington, Jefferson, Monroe and Madison, why should she yield for fifty years to the North, to furnish all the Presidents out of men who have not one quality that presents them favorably to the Democratic Party, and that is, he can carry New York. Whether the Democrats know it or not they have a man in their party who is Calvin Coolidge in wisdom, soundness, conservatism and in a large way enjoys the confidence of the American people whereever he is known to a degree that no other Democrat enjoys. He is clean; he is young, not ambitious, knows when to talk and when not to talk, just as does Calvin Coolidge. He has been in the United States Senate only a short while, less than a full term, but he enjoys the confidence and respect on both sides of the Senate in a degree that no other Democrat enjoys, or has enjoyed in a goodly number of years. He is poor in means, but rich in character, and the Democrats would make no better start in reviving the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy than the nomination of this Georgian. Not that we would support him if he were nomintaed, but the fact that we do not agree with him politically is no reason why we should not give our opinion of his high character, his cleverness and his statesmanship. 9-22-27

Our morning contemporary seems to be lining strictly up behind him, and there is no better judge of the worth of men politically and otherwise in this country than the judgment of the Reverend Samuel W. Small. Independent

Al Smith and no other man should be denied the right of citizenship or to aspire to the highest position in the gift of the government because he is a Catholic, Baptist, Methodist or a whatnot. His religion should not be held against him; yet, if the voters of America desire to select a man for the same reason they select their membership in the church, they should not be accused of raising the question of religious intolerance, neither should a candidate be chosen purely upon sectional grounds, neither should a candidate be discriminated against on sectional grounds. But, whenever a moral question is involved, as in the liquor traffic, a candidate should be selected with a view of preserving the highest ideals of demcoratic government.

So, let the South put principle above party expediency; manhood and statesmanship above the pelf and plunder that would fall in their laps, if a bad man is elected President.

Let the South assert itself.

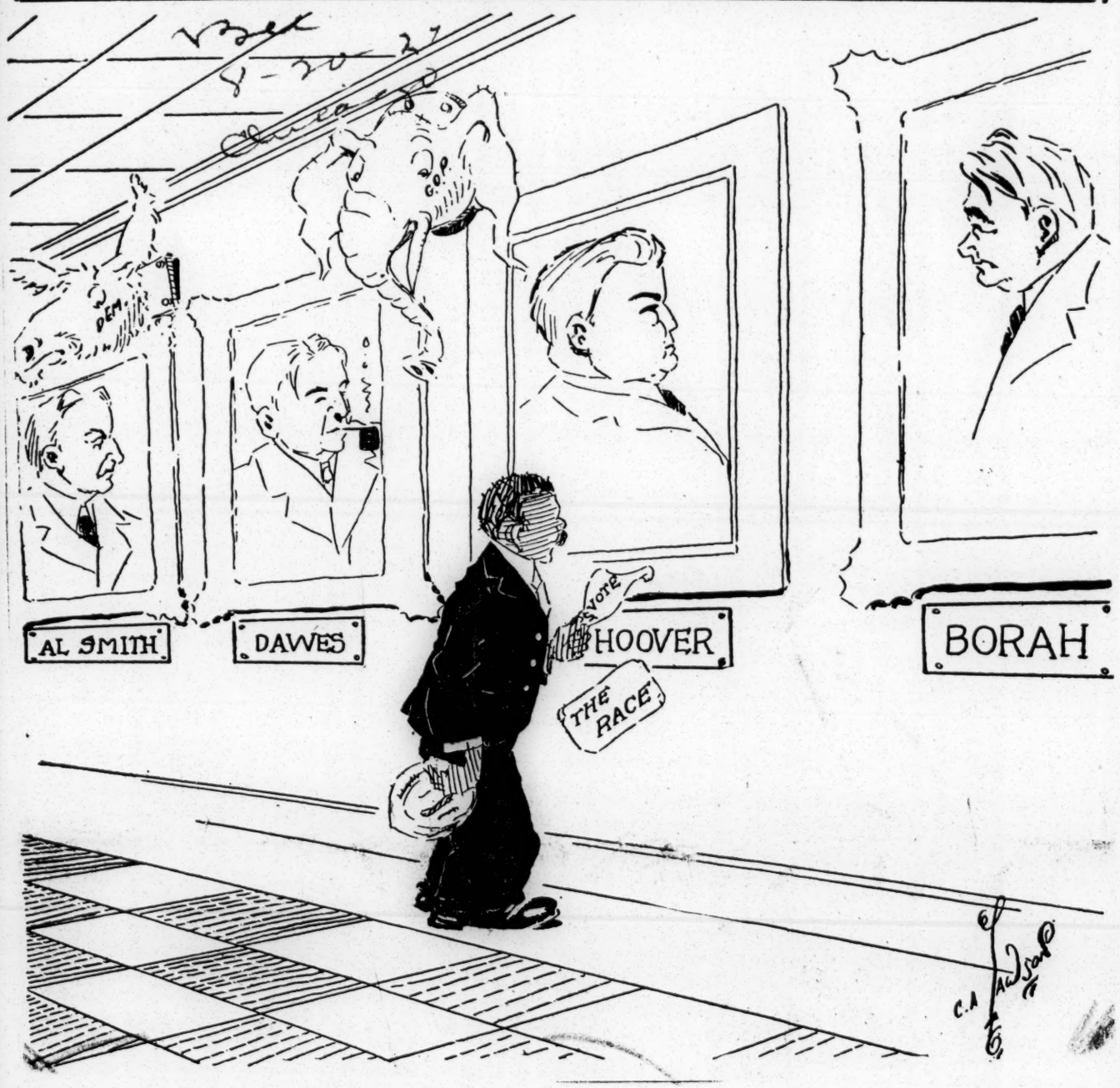
Republican

President Coolidge Declines

The colored citizens of America will feel that President Coolidge was not by any means the worst Republican President that ever sat in the White House so far as they are concerned. President Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Abraham Lincoln, was positively a renegade to Republican principles, who turned the clock backward in behalf of slave holding Dixie. President Rutherford B. Hayes, who succeeded Grant, withdrew the Union troops from the South and left the hapless, degraded freedman to the tender mercies of the embittered barbarous South. President Coolidge and Harding, who succeeded Taft, were not half so spineless and reactionary as the present Chief Justice when he sat as Chief Magistrate in the White House. What Johnson was to Lincoln and Hayes was to Grant, Taft was to Roosevelt, the immortal. When the strenuous sage of Oyster Bay was president, those were the halcyon days of the Republic for colored Americans. Roosevelt had not only the convictions of equal opportunity and a square deal for colored citizens, but he had the courage of those convictions. Harding had those same convictions but not the courage. Coolidge has had the courage but no such convictions. Taft had neither convictions nor courage. Since Roosevelt's day, the race has gone steadily backward in its political standing and prestige. The decline has been gradual but great. How great this has been can be seen in the recent reflection that President Coolidge had almost been persuaded to appoint a Caucasian minister to the Republic of Liberia. The Registry of the Treasury, Minister to Hayti, Auditor of the Navy Revenue Collector at Georgetown and at Honolulu, Counsul at Vladvostock, Russia, and quite a score of similar Federal posts at home and abroad under Roosevelt became the realm of forbidden fruit to colored America under Coolidge. This was a condition the Puritan President found and which he apparently could not correct. For his many fine words of hope and courage to the race, however, he deserves its thanks. For his approval of making the Veterans' Hospital, at Tuskegee, all colored, he has again rendered the race under the cruel circumstances his debtor. Segregation has persisted under Coolidge in the Government Departments and lynching and Ku Klux Klan outrages have multiplied. President Coolidge has temporized with the Negrophobes of the nation, those within his cabinet, especially. They have camouflaged him. They have checkmated the political progress of fifteen million deserving citizens. The President has yet eighteen months to make good his promises and pledges to them for their loyal, patriotic support. He needs must work fast to fulfill those just promises and those earned pledges, if he wishes to inherit colored America's gratitude and if he wishes to retain for his party their solid support.

News 9-13-27 New York, N.Y.

WE'RE LOOKIN' 'EM OVER



OPPORTUNITY IN SEVENTEENTH WARD.

The nearer the time comes for the filling of the place left vacant on the Republican Central City Committee, caused by the death of Frank M. Slater, who, at the time of his death, was committeeman from the Seventeenth Ward; the opportunity for the colored people in the Ward becomes more evident each day.

If one of their number can not be elected, then it is up to the good common sense judgement of these Negro constituents to make the bargain which will bring to their group the maximum net gain.

According to a statement from Oliver T. Remmers, chairman of the City Republican Committee, that committee will be guided by the present organization's selection in filling the place. That being the case, attention is directed to the fact that eight of the twenty-three precincts are presided over by colored, and because of the ambition of the aspirants which will bring five or six into the race, these precincts will have the controlling vote.

JUST THINK OF IT! What an unusual opportunity! In the meeting, whenever it will be, the colored voters will have the opportunity to name one of their own, or name the man who will "tote fair" and give the race a square deal. This can be done. If the eight precinct men and women get together, it will be just like marching into a convention with a majority delegate already pledged.

Remember, the bosses are already "fishing" to control the committee. Assured of just one majority, either faction would be satisfied. The Seventeenth is a strong Republican Ward made and maintained so by the Negro vote. West of Grand Blvd., you will find that there are just as many Democrats in the Ward as Republicans.

The Republicans rely upon the large Negro vote East of Grand for its big majority.

We call attention to these facts and figures to show what an opportunity the Negro will have.

Of course, the Negroes in the Ward will, like others have individual choice and friends among the white aspirants. It may be a little hard for them to agree on such persons. But they can get together on one of the race. Once united, they can surely elect one of the race or name the man who is selected.

Will the precinct workers of the Seventeenth Ward have forethought enough to see just a little ahead of their ownselves in a matter of this kind? If so, will they have the courage to act for the good of the whole?—We hope so.

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation.

Republican

COOLIDGE A BIG DISAPPOINTMENT

The announcement of Calvin Coolidge that he did not "choose" to be a candidate to succeed himself as president of the United States did not occasion any upheaval among Negroes, traditionally republicans, and wards of Coolidge's party. There was not only no upheaval but hardly a ripple of disturbance. The reason is that Coolidge has been a disappointment to Negroes.

It has been several years since Negroes have looked for any additional legislation to make eeffctive the promises implied in the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. Ever since William McKinley made the beginning of closing the breach between the north and the south, we have known that friendliness to Negroes, was what the republican party was giving in exchange. Thirty years ago this policy was begun but the solid south is solid still. A few meals, some alluring assurances that economically the south and the north were one and should be one politically, are all northern republicans have received in return.

No republican president would listen to democrats about his appointments in the north. But color and race in politics as in all else, throw things out of joint. Since a Negro is not acceptable to the majority of citizens in southern communities, "majority" meaning white and therefore democratic, national appointments from Coolidge have been few and far between. He, like Taft, Roosevelt and Harding, has not given in New York, Illinois and Missouri, what is deserved in southern states both on the basis of population and party. He has said more than Harding and Taft, but a congress of his party has not done anything to put us on an equality with other citizens.

These reflections make Negroes indifferent to whether Coolidge runs again or not. The truth is that republican success is coming to have about the same place in Negroes' minds that we have in the party's. And that mutuality, our realization that we should "get" as well as "give," is wholesome. It is the one sound basis upon which the citizen in a democracy should stand. Whether we be members of this party or that, it should be because it serves us, just as we support it. The old argument for the republican party was illogical. "The bloody shirt," by which is meant the Civil War record of the republican party, it itself has deserted, and we can do no less.

We have no hope that the republican nominee, Coolidge, Hoover, Lowden, Dawes, or any other, will mean much to Negroes, except as we force the party to give a fair exchange for our support. We must strike a bargain. In the past, bargaining on our part has been one-sided. The one or two Negroes who represent the system as straw bosses of southern non-voting states and the few black job-hunters from northern states, have said all we want of the republican party, is a few deleatges in the national convention, a word in the platform, and Jim-Crow headquarters in Chicago and New York during the campaign. The result it that our one-tenth of the population of the country gets no legislation and only a few public places, the whole being less than a fair reward for the importance of our vote in any crucial northern states.

Coolidge as president and leader of the republican party, has done little to make us care whether or not he runs again, and we do not feel any differently about any candidate who would ride our back to the heaven of his opportunity and tie us on the outside.

President Coolidge Names White Man As Register of the Treasury and So Portrays Idea of "Coolidge Economy"

Tidrington of Indiana, Only Negro Candidate, Sacrificed By Senator Watson of That State For The Indiana Klan

By R. B .LEMUS

Washington, D. C.—President Coolidge's act of naming a white man, Major Walter O. Woods, as Register of the Treasury, succeeding Harvey V. Speelman, Ohio, also white, is interpreted with authority here as an unavoidable incident in the economy of modern politics." Major Woods is an official of the Treasury Department, and it is understood that his promotion has to do with that efficiency which is supposed to go hand in hand with "Coolidge Economy."

So many matters of vital import to the masses of the Negro require attention at this time that reaction to Mr. Coolidge's failure to name a Negro for the registership of the treasury is hardly perceptible.

Washington Is Undisturbed.

This community, aside from official circles, seems scarcely disturbed. The criticisms which followed disappointment rests solely on sentimental grounds, which have no place in this modern, practical epoch. That a black man should be Register of the Treasury or Minister of Hayti, simply because black men so long and ably served in these posts, is as obsolete as the idea that a young Negro also must be Republican because his grandfather was.

Only one of the so-called Negro Federal offices of yore remains—the Recorder of Deeds; and this not in recognition of the Negro as merely such, but in deference to the politically organized and voting blacks of West Virginia. When a Maryland congressman sought to displace the incumbent with one of his Negroes for personal political benefit, the plan failed, chiefly because West Virginia Negroes are formidable, while Maryland's black political strength is limited to Baltimore.

Political Strength Scarce.

And Maryland is no exception to the rule in the matter of statewide political organization of the race; outside of West Virginia that formidableness the Negro possesses at the polls is confined to the cities, generally one per state.

Nevertheless, it seemed for a time that a Negro man would be named as Register of the Treasury by the President. E. C. Tidrington of Indiana was the gentleman within sight of the Register's private office desk-chair in the "jim-crow adjunct" of the treasury on D street, northeast.

posite Union Station. It is believed that Mr. Tidrington failed because his sponsor, Senator Watson, and his colleague, Senator Robinson, deliberately failed to support Mr. Coolidge's "World-Court" program in the Senate. Many are with the conviction that Tidrington was the price Senator Watson paid for standing, as alleged, with the Indiana Klan for the word court.

No Organized Effort.

Others opine that while there were and are race men who could have been named if Watson sacrificed Tidrington, it is a notorious fact that not the least organized attempt was made by the race to land the post; that President Coolidge was left alone to resist the tremendous pressure against a Negro Register, including the objection of Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, and that until the Negro gets organized politically, state by state, he might as well stay uncomplainingly in the back seats This is no time for sentiment; it is the epoch of intense practical politics, mostly influenced by consideration of big business, as indicated by the fact that the name of Firestone, "rubber king" is always associated with the Liberian Ministership.

A DIFFICULT PROGRAM.

Among other Southern Republicans, Mr. GEORGE W. BEAN, Florida's National Committeeman, is "tired of this talk of Southern delegates being delivered," and he hopefully adds that "nothing of the sort will happen next year." In order to blunt the convention plowshares of such sowers of Southern delegations as JOE KEALING of Indiana, BASCOM SLEMP of Virginia and F. H. HITCHCOCK of New York and Arizona, Mr. BEAN proposes a pre-convention conference of the Southern delegations. It will discuss the tariff wishes of the South, will attempt to act harmoniously in presenting these to the convention, and will, one assumes, deliver its vote as solidly as possible to those candidates who agree to the program.

It is a worthy plan, but some practical considerations are in its way. Its aim is much the same as that expressed at Charlottesville by Colonel HENRY W. ANDERSON of Richmond: to transform Southern delegations from vendible blocs. But the Florida remedy overlooks some political processes. For instance, how are the Mississippi and South Carolina and Louisiana delegations to name only three—to be selected before they come to this tariff conference? How are the patronage brokers, who are the sole support of Southern Republicanism, to be kept out of the choosings? Where are the delegates, especially the colored delegates, to get their Federal appointments except from the patronage brokers? Then, if the delegates are selected as usual, the pre-convention conference may pass a lot of resolutions, but the delegates will melt away to certain candidates as always before. Since the dominant Caucasian all over the United States is rarely in convention politics for his health, why should the African brother be expected to starve for his tariff-principle outside the patronage crib? The Gridiron Club used to sing a song to Republican Presidents, nominated with the aid of unswerving negro delegations, about "a delegate named Uncle Ned "who went to conventions whenever "he was bid, for that's *how* he lived, "long ago." The song went on to relate that Uncle Ned attended all the conventions: "he helped nominate "but he never could elect, for they "wouldn't let him vote at the polls."

Colonel ANDERSON is nearer a solution, which is that Southern Republican politics will not reach a higher level until the voters quit voting according to their color and a few Southern States thereby go Republican. But that will require revolutionary methods.

Arkansas Blacks Rebel At Tactics of G.O.P. Leaders

(Preston News Service)

Little Rock, Ark.—According to Earl Sparling, the regular Republican organization in Arkansas is for Calvin Coolidge in 1928. The Negro organization is for anyone else.

As well as any other state, Arkansas indicates the part patronage will play in the next Republican national convention. It explains why Coolidge, if he wishes, can go to that convention with the votes of the solid south states—about a fourth of all the votes—tucked away in his vest pocket.

Sparling says: "The secret of the Arkansas situation lies in the fact that the regular Republican organization has been for the last ten years, virtually 'lily-white', as Scipio Jones, the prominent leader complains." Jones says: "There's only been one Negro appointed to federal office in the state of Arkansas since 1916." Therefore the Negro Republicans are refusing to fall in line with the regulars—"lily-whites".

"We Negroes don't care much for Mr. Coolidge," Jones asserted recently. "We'll send our own delegation to the national convention. We want to see someone elected who'll give the Arkansas black man more of a show."

Since Negro Republicans in Arkansas, up to the time they were eliminated from the patronage picnic, were invariably red hot for whatever Republican happened to reside in the White Houst, the situation down here is not only illuminative of what federal patronage really means in the South, but it is filled with explosive possibilities.

It is said that Arkansas is about the only state in the South where white Republicans of accepted standing in Washington have tried determinedly to keep their party the color of unpicked cotton. There have been "lily-white" movements elsewhere below the Mason and Dixon line, but the white leaders have been singularly lacking in party recognition. The Negro leaders in Georgia have been able to rout their white opponents. Tennessee has a set of ableleaders who hold their own. In Arkansas, however, there is H. L. Remmel, favorite of five presidents, national committeeman for 13 years, chairman of state central committee for 28 years, millionaire banker, philanthropist, manufacturer, a man respected even by the Democrats.

Remmel, through his henchman, Ginnachio, said recently: "We believe that the Republican party in the South must look toward the future. We believe that if there is to be any progress, we must get along with our Democratic friends. We must keep our organization pure and white."

The "lily-white" fight got out of the woods in 1920 when J. H. Blount, a Negro, ran as an independent for governor. He polled 15,627 votes, as against 46,339 for Wallace Townsend, white Republican, and 123,604 for T. C. McRae, Democratic candidate.

"I DO NOT CHOOSE TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1928"

The statement made by the President at Rapid City, South Dakota, to the effect that he does not choose to run for President in 1928, neither takes him out of the race for the Republican nomination for President in 1928, nor places him in the race. It leaves the President purely on neutral grounds; to say I do not choose to run for President in 1928, in no sense means or says I will not run for President in 1928, if the people choose me. The President leaves himself on high ground. He can accept, if the nomination is offered him, or he can decline. The Independent regards him as a much stronger candidate and more certain of the nomination if he had not made the statement.

The President has put to route the third term bugbear. It can be no longer claimed that he is ambitious for more honor than Washington, the father of his country. He has put it up to the American people to say whether they will choose to nominate and elect him. His statement definitely settles the question that he is not a candidate and elect him. His statement definitely settles the question that he is not a candidate in the common acceptance of the term, but in no sense precludes his acceptance of the gifted honor if the people choose to select him.

The Independent has always been for Mr. Coolidge for President, and in the light of this unselfish statement, we are stronger for him than ever, and we will bend every energy at our command to bring about his renomination and re-election.

The Democratic Party would be happy for the President to eliminate himself from the situation because they conjure that it would spell an omen of victory for them; they recognize with Mr. Coolidge as the Republican standard-bearer in 1928, no Democrat need apply to the American electorate for a berth in the White House from March, 1929, to March, 1933. We congratulate the President for his wisdom, patriotism and far-sighted statesmanship, and warn him that whether he chooses to run for President in 1928, that the American people will choose him and re-elect him President.

In the light of present conditions, the President could not have said anything else but what he did say, "I do not choose to run for President in 1928." He could not say I'm a candidate and I choose to run for President in 1928. His case is with the people, and he will answer their bugle call. Mr. Coolidge is a man of the people and the people will not let him go—they have need of him.

The Primaries Are The Thing

The meeting of the National League of Republican Colored Women which recently held a three day session in Washington was a success from every point of view. It marked a definite and distinct milestone in the progress of colored women. Reduced to their lowest terms the topics discussed concerned what we should do in politics and how we should do it. It was the consensus of opinion that it is the duty of colored women to try to get the right kind of men nominated in the primaries and then to do something in their power to elect them.

The delegates to the political conference discussed the questions presented for their consideration like veterans rather than amateurs. It would have been a revelation to the average man, if he could have heard the clearness and the conciseness with which the women expressed their points of view and the earnestness with which they stated them.

The interest which intelligent colored women are manifesting in politics augurs well for the future. No women in the United States need the ballot more than they do and no group

Republican.

Political - 1927

Party Affiliation.

Diplomatic But Firm

In a carefully and considerately worded article which we are reprinting in our "Spirit of the Press," the Virginian-Pilot discusses the editorial which appeared in the **Journal and Guide** of September 3d under the caption of "Open Conspiracy Openly Arrived At". Our plea was for justice to the Negro in the administration of Southern election laws. We did not ask for the repeal of any existing constitutional enactments, which in the letter, are applicable to both races. We did express disagreement with and disapproval of the movement launched by certain Republican leaders and concurred in by the Democrats to promulgate intra-party rules which would operate to exclude Negroes not only from elections but from party memberships. We called it "Open Conspiracy Openly Arrived At"; the Virginian-Pilot calls it "Open Necessity Openly Arrived At". What it is, is not so important. What it does, is the thing that concerns thoughtful Negroes in Virginia and the rest of the South.

What are the motives actuating the proponents of this plan to further disfranchise the Negro by special agreement between the two principal political parties? To change the South from a one-party to a two-party section so as to bring about the more desirable conditions which exist where there is healthy political competition, and at the same time preserve interracial harmony. At least that is the generous and diplomatic answer of the Virginian-Pilot. Mr. Anderson and others who are less considerate in their candor say boldly that it is to preserve white supremacy.

Very well, if that sort of political fusion is necessary to preserve white supremacy what about all of the statutory enactments and constitutional amendments which were adopted for that very purpose and which are still in force? Mr. Anderson gives the answer. They were designed to disfranchise the Negro, but they have also—rather unexpectedly—disfranchised a large majority of the whites, especially the underprivileged whites. So we are up against a condition, not a theory. The method of overcoming the condition is not to be dictated by justice, but by expediency.

9-10-27

If the late Booker T. Washington was anything, he was a prophet. He was a half century ahead of the educational experts of the world in the matter of education to meet the demands of our growing civilization. He lived to see his theories accepted and vindicated. A homely philosophy of his was that a man could not hold another down in a ditch without staying down there with him. In some things the South has recognized that truth. A generation ago the governing authorities would not listen to any suggestion of giving the Negro anything more than the rudiments of education at State expense. Southern public opinion held to the theory that it was dangerous to educate the Negro liberally. We have lived to see that theory exploded, and Southern people accept as expedient the principle that it is economically sound and socially wise to give the Negro as well as white citizens a thorough education.

Booker Washington also predicted that by its quiescent and passive attitude on lynching the white South was sowing the seeds of trouble and that prophecy has come true. Over twenty years ago, in addressing an Alabama audience on lynching Washington said:

> "Just as sure as you allow injustice to be perpetuated against my people with impunity the day will come when those who are allowed to deal out injustice against my poor, defenseless people will turn on you. Just as sure as you live, you will not be able to protect members of the white race from mob violence if you allow matters to remain as they are."

Recent events in Alabama and in all parts of the South prove that the thing which Washington predicted is at hand. Can we draw a distinction between perpetuated political injustice and perpetuated social injustice?

Finally, is it not true that the psychology that opposes the participation of the Negro in public affairs on the grounds that it would be a menace to Caucasian government, or more reasonably, that it "would make for interracial difficulty and interracial misery", is merely a reflex of the psychology of entrenched power, the familiar voice of a cautious majority?

There is some encouragement to be derived from the Virginian-Pilot's thoughtful and restrained discussion of the subject. There is the admission that "in theory, as well as in law, the exclusion of the Negro from Southern public affairs is indefensible." That shows that the Southern sense of social justice is not as blunt as it was. The expressed hope that a future generation may be more able to deal justly with this complex problem is a far step ahead of the generally proclaimed conviction that what is, will always remain so. The candid admission that it is necessary to do violence to the Negro's legal status as written into the constitution in order to achieve a "redressing of political balance in the South," is softened by the dispassionate language in which it is clothed.

ONLY FOR RETALIATION

ARE REPUBLICANS INTERESTED IN DISFRANCHISEMENT OF COLORED SOUTH — NO INTENTION OF AGITATING IT UNLESS NO. REPUBLICAN EXPENDITURES ARE TO BE PROBED

Washington, D. C., March 14, 1927: Senator David Reed, Republican, of Pennsylvania, during the closing days of the Sixty-ninth Congress, reviewed the election evasions of the Solid South, so successful in keeping the race vote away from the polls. He read into the record the total vote of ward after ward and county after counnty in Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas. He told the Senate that he had complete statistics dealing with every Southern State, and urged that if the Democratic sponsors of the investigation resolution, Senator Reed of Missouri insisted upon delving into Pennsylvania and Illinois elections, they might as well make a clean sweep by venturing into the Solid South and investigating the suppression of the Colored vote there.

He cited Montgomery, Ala., and said, "The city of Montgomery, Ala., has a population of 43,000 persons. Among them are 19,800 Colored. Out of the 19,800 there were only FOURTEEN VOTES for the Republican candidate for the Senate of the United States. It seems too plain for argument that out of 19,800 citizens of that race there were not more than 14 who paid their poll taxes and had the educational qualifications and wanted to vote for the Republican candidate for the Senate."

Commenting further upon the vote suppression in the South, Senator Reed of Pennsylvania showed a number of ratios between votes actually cast for Republican candidates and the eligible Colored voting population, as follows:

County	Votes Cast		Eligibles
Bullock	8	out of	8,840
Choctaw	19	" "	4,949
Greene	5	" "	7,057
Hale	23	" "	8,346
Lowndes	5	" "	9,818
Marengo	17	" "	12,360
Monroe	22	" "	6,796
Perry	25	" "	8,203
Pike	29	" "	6,579
Russell	14	" "	8,816
Sumter	28	" "	9,217
Tallapoosa	1	" "	4,282

"I think," concluded the Republican Senator, "I have given enough to indicate there was at least ground for a reasonable suspicion that the free exercise of the suffrage which we have all longed to see extend throughout the country does not obtain in Alabama, at least, on the fact of the returns to the extent that the most ardent advocate of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would have wished."

After continued debate, with Reed of Pennsylvania lashing the Democratic South with eevry breath, the resolution of Senator Reed of Missouri was defeated; Southern Democrats breathed a sigh of relief when they realized that for the time being their suppression of Colored votes will remain safely within their own bosoms.

Fairness And Friendliness Shown All Through Political Career

Real Leaders of Party Are Back of Him

he local Republican organization wa³ against the Honorable Robt. H. Lucas for Governor.



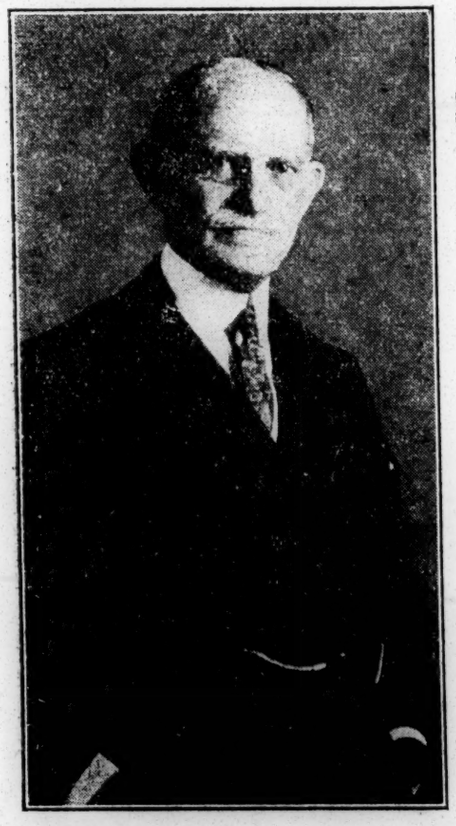
Hon. Robt. H. Lucas, candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor.

Mr. Lucas is much admired and respected by Colored citizens. Their support, together with the support of the best White element of the party assures his nomination.

Then the best citizenship of the state will elect him for the good of Kentucky.

Colored voters have been keeping quiet wondering what "our good white folks,, were doing in their private meetings where they nominate all candidates for office then tell the Negroes to vote for whoever and whatever they put on the ticket.

So they, the Colored voters, were surprised when they were told that



Senator Richard P. Ernst, who Heartily Favors Mr. Lucas For Governor.

Colored voters who have always highly regarded Mr. Lucas for his fairness and friendliness and consideration of the Colored element of the Republican party, could not conceive that Mr.L ucas would not have the whole-hearted support of all Republicans. Propaganda was just put out that Mr. Lucas was not in the race in earnest and when certain leaders like Mr. Chesley H. Searcy and Mr. Paul Burlingame were said to be opposed to him, Colored voters did not know what it was all about.

So representatives of The Louisville News called on Mr. Lucas and asked him if he was really running for the nomination and if he wanted the Colored vote. Mr. Lucas seemed surprised and declared he was in the race in earnest and felt sure he would be nominated. He called attention to the fact he had always been fair to Colored people and said he would most assuredly appreciate and expect their support.

Senators Sackett and Ernst, leaders of the party, are heart and soul for Mr. Lucas.

Harvey Burns, local Republican leader, declared if Mr. Lucas was out to win he would go the limit for him. Rev. G. F. Watson, Rev. T. Timberlake and others said they were glad to learn Mr. Lucas "meant business."

It goes without saying that The Louisville News is for Mr. Lucas. This paper has said often that it felt that Mr. Lucas was one of the best men in the Republican party as regards our race. It repeats that now.



Harvey Burns, funeral director, business man and politician, who tells the world he is out and out for Mr. Lucas.



Rev. G. F. Watson, leading Baptist Pastor in Louisville, who puts Race above Party, but who comes out for Mr. Lucas as the best man of all mentioned for exalted office of Governor of Kentucky.

Political - 1927

Party Affiliation.

Republican

"I DO NOT CHOOSE"

Tuesday afternoon President Coolidge sent to the country a single sentence of ten words, eight of them words of one syllable. He said, "I do not choose to run for president in 1928." Already thousands of words, making columns of printed matter, have been used in an attempt to explain the meaning of these ten words. Those who favor the renomination of the President as the candidate of the Republican party give to them one meaning. Those who are looking elsewhere for a candidate find in them another meaning.

This search for the meaning of the President's announcement recalls the famous conversation between Madame de Stael and Talleyrand, Madame de Stael said: "Words are the jewels that express thoughts." "No, madame," said Talleyrand, "words are caskets that conceal thoughts." Talleyrand was a statesman, while Madame de Stael was a mere woman of letters.

There need be no mystery about the meaning of the President's words. Of course he does not choose to run for president. The choice is with the Republican National Convention. Calvin Coolidge did not choose to run for governor of Massachusetts, or vice-president of the United States. The choice was that of the conventions that named him for the particular offices.

If the reaction of the Republicans is favorable to the President's announcement, he will be renominated next year and will accept the nomination. If it is unfavorable he will not be nominated.

The announcement will develop the situation as regards candidates. From now on the political pot will advance from a gentle simmer to energetic boiling. Prophecy at this stage of the game would be

ARKANSAS G O P BOLT COOLIDGE BAND WAGON

"Anybody Else Will Do" Is Slogan Of Long Suffering Westerners

LILY WHITES HAVE UPPER HAND THERE

We Must Keep Organization Pure And White Says Leader

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., (P. N. S.)—According to Earl Sparling the regular Republican organization in Arkansas is for Calvin Coolidge in 1928. The Negro organization is for anyone else.

As well as any other state Arkansas indicates the part patronage will play in the next Republican national convention. It explains why Coolidge, if he wishes, can go to that convention with the votes of the solid south states, about a fourth of all the votes, tucked away in his vest pocket.

Sparling says: the secret of the Arkansas situation lies in the fact that the regular Republican organization has been for the last ten years virtually "lily-white", as Sipio Jones, the prominent leader complains. Jones says: "There's only been one Negro appointed to federal office in the State of Arkansas since 1916." Therefore the Negro Republicans are refusing to fall in line with the regulars—"lily-whites."

"We Negroes don't care much for Mr. Coolidge," Jones recently asserted. We'll send our own delegation to the national convention We want to see someone elected who'll give the Arkansas black man more of a show."

Since Negro Republicans in Arkansas, up to the time they were eliminated from the patronage picnic, were invaribly red hot for whatever Republican who happened to reside in the White House, the situation down here is not only illuminative of what federal patronage really means in the South but it is filled with explosive possibilities.

It is said that Arkansas is about the only state in the South where white Republicans of accepted standing in Washington have tried determinedly to keep their party the color of unpicked cotton. There have been "lily-white" movements elsewhere below the Mason and Dixon line, but the white leaders have been singularly lacking in party recognition. The Negro leaders in Georgia have been able to route their white opponents. Tennessee has a set of able Negro leaders who hold their own. In Arkansas, however, there is H. L. Remmel, favorite of five presidents, national committeeman for 13 years, chairman of state committee for 28 years, millionaire banker philanthropist, manufacturer, a man respected by the Democrats.

Remmel thru his henchman, Ginnachio said recently, "We believe that the Republican party in the South must look toward the future. We believe that if there is to be any progress, that we must get along with our Democratic friends. We must keep our organization pure and white."

The lily-white fight got out of the woods in 1920 when J. H. Blount, a Negro ran as an independent for governor. He polled 15,627 votes, against 45,339 for Wallace Townsend, white republican, and 123,604 for T. C. McRae, Democratic candidate.

—o—

NEW YORK
TIMES

AUG 4 1927

NEW JERSEY TALKS OF COOLIDGE DRAFT

Many Republican Leaders Insist That the President Again Head the Ticket.

STOKES ISSUES APPEAL

Representative Bacharach, However, Thinks Coolidge Has Definitely Withdrawn His Name.

In New Jersey yesterday the general opinion expressed by Republican politicians was that the country would demand that President Coolidge run again, despite his statement that he does not "choose" to do so and on all sides amazement and surprise were expressed that the President should have seen fit, at this time, to make the statement that he did.

The Republican sentiment, as far as the politicians were concerned, was pretty well epitomized by former Governor E. C. Stokes, candidate for United States Senator next year, who asserted that the Coolidge statement will not prevent his being "drafted." In a statement issued in Trenton, Mr. Stokes said:

"The President's statement is an exemplification of the highest ideals of statesmanship. The office should seek the man, not the man the office.

"The President has left the matter in the hands of the people and refuses to be placed in the position of even the slightest suspicion of using the powers of the chief executive to in any way promote a third term.

"The people will call him as Cincinnatus was called from the plow.

"The country demands a continuation of the Coolidge policies."

Mr. Stokes sent a copy of his statement by telegraph to all members of the New Jersey Republican State Committee, members of the Legislature, County Committee Chairmen and Vice Chairmen. Mr. Coolidge already has the endorsement of the New Jersey organization for a renomination, and the move of Mr. Stokes was regarded as a part of a campaign to create a great popular demand in the State for the renomination of the President.

There is little likelihood that there will be any marked division of sentiment in the Jersey Republican organization, but it may have been slightly significant that a boom for President for Senator Walter E. Edge was started yesterday in Camden, though in a rather small way. His name was put before the New Jersey State Colored Republican Women Voters' Association, in convention at Camden, by Dr. Charles Leslie Hudson of Morris County, who simply said that he regarded Mr. Edge is fit Presidential timber, a declaration that was received with applause.

Thomas Edison, at West Orange, advanced the opinion that Mr. Coolidge's statement was due to the fact that he is "sick of his job."

"He is getting sick of his job," said Mr. Edison. "I think a return to nature in the wild country of the Black Hills of South Dakota has started him thinking that the job he now has is not a very happy existence."

Republican County Chairman Thomas H. Brown of Hudson said: "The country and the Republican Party need President Coolidge next year and will draft him. New Jersey at its May primaries will choose for the Republican National Convention a delegation of twenty-eight or more who will be unreservedly for Coolidge's renomination."

Representative Isaac Bacharach of Atlantic City took the view that Mr. Coolidge meant what he said and had eliminated himself. He said:

"There is little that any one can say. I believe the President meant that he is not going to run. Like every one else I regret it. But I believe that when the President says he won't run his decision is final."

Former Senator William H. Parry made public a letter he had already sent to President Coolidge. He ridiculed the third-term argument and concluded his letter as follows:

"America needs you for another four years. You may not choose to run, but you should not deny the popular demand which exists for your re-election."

THE NEGRO IN THE FORTHCOMING CAMPAIGN.

By KELLY MILLER, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

The Negro Press Association, in its last session, gave out a public address advising the race not to take sides in the preliminary decisions, but to wait until candidates and issues were set and selected by the ruling parties. I am wholly unable to persuade myself of the wisdom of this policy. If a subordinate group desires to have its wishes and interests respected, it must insist upon its claims in and out of season. Impressment of influence is much more easy and effective when imparted while matters are in a plastic state rather than after they have become crystallized in rigid form. The time to impress the public mind is before it has made up itself to a definite cast of thought and sentiment.

The issues of the twenty-eighth campaign are at the present time more fluid than they have been in any pre-election year within the recollection of the writer Nothing is determined, or easily determinable. There is a strong sentiment within the office holding circles of the Republican party for the renomination of the present incumbent of the presidency. The National Republican Committee has been canvassed, and have endorsed the president for self succession, with all but unanimity. The occupant of the White House, of either party, can always renominate himself, if he chooses to do so. He controls the party machinery which is always responsive to his desires. He manipulates party patronage which is most persuasive to the thrifty politician. It was interesting to see with what enthusiasm the two, or is it four, colored members of the national committee, seconded the motion. For them to have done otherwise would have been suicidal to their further political prospects. The race must take their advice with a grain of political salt.

I clearly recall the case of Judson W. Lyon then register of the treasury. It was the question of Roosevelt's nomination to succeed himself. Mr Lyon was sounded, and stated that he would be pleased to support Mr. Roosevelt, if a certain other well-known name were not in the running. The knowing ones believed that the undisclosed name was that of Mark Hanna. This failure to rally unreservedly to the nomination of the resigning magistrate sounded Mr. Lyon's death warrant. Theodore Roosevelt was nominated and elected. In the meantime, I believe Mr. Hanna had died, and passed beyond the arena of politics. Mr. Lyon remained a true and loyal Republican. He supported the nominee with all of his power, as far as permitted to do so. But when his term of office was up, another was chosen as register of the treasury. I wrote Mr. Roosevelt as strong a letter as I could in behalf of the worthy official. The register was good enough to say that my letter was the best presented appraisement of his case and cause. But all to no avail. He had committed the unpardonable political sin of standing in the way of the sought self succession of the occupant of the White House.

Mr. Coolidge's record on the race question is now before us. This has been made during the fifty-five months. It is for the Negro to decide whether his re-election would be for the best interest of the race, and to make that decision known, and as far as possible, felt. It may be that he has done the best he could under the delicate and difficult circumstances which beset him. He may have done as well as any other person would have done who might have been elected president. He has twenty-two months of his second term still remaining. There is yet time for him to give larger satisfaction to the race. If he desires a renomination and election, a pre-election spurt in behalf of the Negro may enhance his chances. But up to date, it is but fair to all concerned to say that the good president does not seem to have found very much in the Negro's political favor that appeals to him. The third term argument cuts no figure in the mind of the Negro politician. It makes no difference to the race whether a given good president holds the office for one term or a half dozen terms.

Four years ago the knowing Negro politicians were assuring us that Mr. Coolidge was then filling out Mr. Harding's unexpired term, and that his attitude toward the race should not be then determined, but that we should wait until he was president by direct election. We were abundantly assured that then we should be more than satisfied. But alas, our political prognosticators have proved to be poor prophets. I suppose that now we must give them another chance. We must rely upon the hope that if given another full quadrennium, the good Mr. Coolidge will make it all right with the Negro.

I said to one of my good political friends the other day, that I was going to anxiously wait to see what eloquent arguments and persuasive reasons the Negro politicians would advance in the twenty-eighth campaign to convince the race to support the party and candidate of their earlier love.

Howsoever these things may be, now is the time for every good citizen of public influence to make it known whether he wishes Mr. Coolidge to be renominated, and why. This, I concede, is an unkindly task to impose on the politician who loves a seat on the band wagon.

The only great issue of which I can now think of vital importance to the Negro in the next campaign, is that of prohibition. Will either or both parties, with political cunning be permitted to dodge this moral issue or will they be forced to frankly face it and stand up for their moral conviction? There is no other issue between the parties of any particular interest or importance to the race. The Negro had as well determine his political allegiance by the tossing of a penny, so far as the economic and general issues are concerned.

Must the race stand off in moral aloofness, while the two parties live upon the question of the integrity of the constitution of the United States? Now is the time to cry out and spare not. I have written and spoken so freely and frequently on this question, that I can hope to do scarcely more than indulge in repetition and reiterate. But like the lark who strikes the right note the first time, I must rely upon repetition for the best effect. The race should utilize all of its prenomination influence in favor of the policy and the candidate who comes out most definitely for temperance and law enforcement. Now is the time when press, platform and pulpit will have their great weight with public sentiment. It seems to me to be political cowardice for the race to sit supinely by while the great issues are formulating in the public mind.

The leaders of the race will be called upon, as never before, to determine the wisdom or folly of political unity and solidarity behind any party or candidate. For the last three or four campaigns the race has not been voting for the Republican party or for the Republican candidate; but against the Democrats. The traditional attitude of the two parties on the question of human rights made this one-sided alliance inevitable. But the reason for solidarity has grown weaker and weaker with each campaign. Some Democrats, usually from the Southern states, are more unfriendly to the political and civil rights of the race than most Republicans; while other Democrats, usually from the North, are more friendly than most Republicans. Will it forever be the part of political wisdom to carry all of our eggs in one basket? The increasing approximation of the two parties on the question of human rights is releasing the Negro from the bondage of one party support which has held him in leash sinc the days of reconstruction. The ancient scarecrow of the Southerner's determination to override the black man's rights will not continue to scare. The fact is he has his own local way as completely under the national control of the Republican as of the Democratic party.

The so-called new Negro has declared his arrival. It remains to be seen what position he will assume and assert in the political arena. Will he continue the traditional allegiance, without rhyme or reason, because his fathers did so before him, or will he bring his own reason into requisition? Now is the time to revive and revise Mr. Matthew's famous fourteen points. The race certainly should seek to be restored to its former prestige in public favor and should clamor for enlarged consideration in keeping with its grown numbers, intelligence and substantial strength. As matters now stand the tendency is distinctively downward. Mr. Coolidge is, I believe the only Republican president who has not made a single appointment, confirmatory rank, except as a matter of replacement. In the matter of the civil service, as I pointed out in my last release, the decline has been notable in the past five years. It is for the race, thru its leaders and spokesmen, to say to the nation, whether or not it is pleased with this state of things and is willing to vote for its continuance.

As affecting political policies, the Negro must speak now, or during the next incoming administration, hold his peace.

THE NEGRO IN THE FORTHCOMING CAMPAIGN.

By KELLY MILLER, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

The Negro Press Association, in its last session, gave out a public address advising the race not to take sides in the preliminary decisions, but to wait until candidates and issues were set and selected by the ruling parties. I am wholly unable to persuade myself of the wisdom of this policy. If a subordinate group desires to have its wishes and interests respected, it must insist upon its claims in and out of season. Impressment of influence is much more easy and effective when imparted while matters are in a plastic state rather than after they have become crystallized in rigid form. The time to impress the public mind is before it has made up itself to a definite cast of thought and sentiment.

The issues of the twenty-eighth campaign are at the present time more fluid than they have been in any pre-election year within the recollection of the writer Nothing is determined, or easily determinable. There is a strong sentiment within the office holding circles of the Republican party for the renomination of the present incumbent of the presidency. The National Republican Committee has been canvassed, and have endorsed the president for self succession, with all but unanimity. The occupant of the White House, of either party, can always renominate himself, if he chooses to do so. He controls the party machinery which is always responsive to his desires. He manipulates party patronage which is most persuasive to the thrifty politician. It was interesting to see with what enthusiasm the two, or is it four, colored members of the national committee, seconded the motion. For them to have done otherwise would have been suicidal to their further political prospects. The race must take their advice with a grain of political salt.

I clearly recall the case of Judson W. Lyon, then register of the treasury. It was the question of Roosevelt's nomination to succeed himself. Mr Lyon was sounded, and stated that he would be pleased to support Mr. Roosevelt, if a certain other well-known name were not in the running. The knowing ones believed that the undisclosed name was that of Mark Hanna. This failure to rally unreservedly to the nomination of the resigning magistrate sounded Mr. Lyon's death warrant. Theodore Roosevelt was nominated and elected. In the meantime, I believe Mr. Hanna had died, and passed beyond the arena of politics. Mr. Lyon remained a true and loyal Republican. He supported the nominee with all of his power, as far as permitted to do so. But when his term of office was up, another was chosen as register of the treasury. I wrote Mr. Roosevelt as strong a letter as I could in behalf of the worthy official. The register was good enough to say that my letter was the best presented appraisement of his case and cause. But all to no avail. He had committed the unpardonable political sin of standing in the way of the sought self succession of the occupant of the White House.

Mr. Coolidge's record on the race question is now before us. This has been made during the fifty-five months. It is for the Negro to decide whether his re-election would be for the best interest of the race, and to make that decision known, and as far as possible, felt. It may be that he has done the best he could under the delicate and difficult circumstances which beset him. He may have done as well as any other person would have done who might have been elected president. He has twenty-two months of his second term still remaining. There is yet time for him to give larger satisfaction to the race. If he desires a renomination and election, a pre-election spurt in behalf of the Negro may enhance his chances. But up to date, it is but fair to all concerned to say that the good president does not seem to have found very much in the Negro's political favor that appeals to him. The third term argument cuts no figure in the mind of the Negro politician. It makes no difference to the race whether a given good president holds the office for one term or a half dozen terms.

Four years ago the knowing Negro politicians were assuring us that Mr. Coolidge was then filling out Mr. Harding's unexpired term, and that his attitude toward the race should not be then determined, but that we should wait until he was president by direct election. We were abundantly assured that then we should be more than satisfied. But alas, our political prognosticators have proved to be poor prophets. I suppose that now we must give them another chance. We must rely upon the hope that if given another full quadrennium, the good Mr. Coolidge will make it all right with the Negro.

I said to one of my good political friends the other day, that I was going to anxiously wait to see what eloquent arguments and persuasive reasons the Negro politicians would advance in the twenty-eighth campaign to convince the race to support the party and candidate of their earlier love. Howsoever these things may be, now is the time for every good citizen of public influence to make it known whether he wishes Mr. Coolidge to be renominated, and why. This, I concede, is an unkindly task to impose on the politician who loves a seat on the band wagon.

The only great issue of which I can now think of vital importance to the Negro in the next campaign, is that of prohibition. Will either or both parties, with political cunning be permitted to dodge this moral issue or will they be forced to frankly face it and stand up for their moral conviction? There is no other issue between the parties of any particular interest or importance to the race. The Negro had as well determine his political allegiance by the tossing of a penny, so far as the economic and general issues are concerned.

Must the race stand off in moral aloofness, while the two parties live upon the question of the integrity of the constitution of the United States? Now is the time to cry out and spare not. I have written and spoken so freely and frequently on this question, that I can hope to do scarcely more than indulge in repetition and reiterate. But like the lark who strikes the right note the first time, I must rely upon repetition for the best effect. The race should utilize all of its prenomination influence in favor of the policy and the candidate who comes out most definitely for temperance and law enforcement. Now is the time when press, platform and pulpit will have their great weight with public sentiment. It seems to me to be political cowardice for the race to sit supinely by while the great issues are formulating in the public mind.

The leaders of the race will be called upon, as never before, to determine the wisdom or folly of political unity and solidarity behind any party or candidate. For the last three or four campaigns the race has not been voting for the Republican party or for the Republican candidate; but against the Democrats. The traditional attitude of the two parties on the question of human rights made this one-sided alliance inevitable. But the reason for solidarity has grown weaker and weaker with each campaign. Some Democrats, usually from the Southern states, are more unfriendly to the political and civil rights of the race than most Republicans; while other Democrats, usually from the North, are more friendly than most Republicans. Will it forever be the part of political wisdom to carry all of our eggs in one basket? The increasing approximation of the two parties on the question of human rights is releasing the Negro from the bondage of one party support which has held him in leash sinc the days of reconstruction. The ancient scarecrow of the Southerner's determination to override the black man's rights will not continue to scare. The fact is he has his own local way as completely under the national control of the Republican as of the Democratic party.

The so-called new Negro has declared his arrival. It remains to be seen what position he will assume and assert in the political arena. Will he continue the traditional allegiance, without rhyme or reason, because his fathers did so before him, or will he bring his own reason into requisition? Now is the time to revive and revise Mr. Matthew's famous fourteen points. The race certainly should seek to be restored to its former prestige in public favor and should clamor for enlarged consideration in keeping with its grown numbers, intelligence and substantial strength. As matters now stand the tendency is distinctively downward. Mr. Coolidge is, I believe, the only Republican president who has not made a single appointment, confirmatory rank, except as a matter of replacement. In the matter of the civil service, as I pointed out in my last release, the decline has been notable in the past five years. It is for the race, thru its leaders and spokesmen, to say to the nation, whether or not it is pleased with this state of things and is willing to vote for its continuance.

As affecting political policies, the Negro must speak now, or during the next incoming administration, hold his peace.

Political-1927

Republican.

Party Affiliation

DEFENDING SOUTHERN DELEGATES.

Editor Benjamin Jefferson Davis, in a recent issue of the Atlanta Independent, accused the editor of The Age of making a statement "unfair to the South, and not borne out by the facts," when he said: "President Coolidge may be renominated by by the aid of such delegates from the South as may be corralled by National Committeeman Davis and ex-Secretary Slemp, but that fact cannot be expected to arouse any great amount of enthusiasm among colored voters in the North." Editor and Committeeman Davis was quick to take offence at this plain statement concerning northern political sentiment and to draw the invidious conclusion that "Editor Moore is not by himself in thinking that southern delegates' political morality does not rise above the smell of a tainted dollar."

Nothing in the article referred to stated or implied the use of money, tainted or otherwise, in the securing of delegates in the South and sewing them up for the nomination of Mr. Coolidge. The assertion that such delegates might be "corralled" for that purpose by such experienced political round-up riders as the former Congressman from Virginia and the present Committeeman from Georgia, was a tribute to their ability to accomplish such results without resorting to the crude methods of purchase and delivery.

We are disposed to agree with Editor Davis, when he says that the facts do not bear out the statement that southern delegates are more corruptible than northern delegates. As he further says, "both are human and likely to err in common. Delegates at many conventions may have sold their votes, but if this indictment is true, it is as true of the northern delegates as of the southern delegates." The southern delegate who sells his vote is just as worthy as the northern delegate who buys it. Editor Davis, warmly resented the fact that it is generally charged that the Negro delegate does the selling in this review of recent convention history:

This too is equally as false as the other proposition. There are never more than thirty Negro delegates in a Republican National Convention. When was the time, when a switch of thirty votes would have swung the result the other way?

Harrison was re-nominated largely by officeholders, and defeated at the polls by the voters. These officeholders were neither Negroes nor southern delegates, but delegates from all over the country. There were nine hundred delegates in the Minneapolis convention, and only thirty-eight Negroes, and less than half of them office holders.

Who nominated McKinley over Reed in 1816 at St. Louis? There were no officeholders there. Did southern delegates do it? Out of nine hundred votes McKinley got seven hundred—and southern delegates, including Negroes, were less than two hundred.

In 1912, when Taft and Roosevelt split the party, did southern delegates, or Negroes or against the convention against "Teddy"? No northern delegates turned the trick, although the feat was credited to the South. Illinois, Massachusetts, or Indiana could have elected McGovern over Root, just as easy as Georgia or Maryland elected Root. It was charged that Georgia defeated Roosevelt, when in fact, Georgia cast twenty-two votes for Root, and six for McGovern in the temporary organization.

All this propaganda about mercenary delegates in the South is purely camouflage to discredit the South and the Negro and has no foundation in fact.

It was neither the South nor the Negro that defeated Lowden at Chicago in 1920. It was the scandal among white northern delegates that drive the governor to defeat.

We are glad to give this space to Editor Davis' defence of the Southern delegates against the charge of bartering their votes in a national convention, a charge that was not made in The Age editorial that brought out this defence. Mr. Davis says that he has attended five national conventions as delegate, has met his own expenses and no body has ever sought to influence his vote at a convention or elsewhere. He asserts that southern delegates, if for Coolidge, will be as honestly so as delegates from any other section of the country.

Mr. Davis further announces that he will be for Mr. Coolidge in 1928, as he was in 1920 and in 1924, "without the hope of reward other than the consciousness that he has performed a sincere and patriotic duty, which altruistic sentiment only could be expected of the National Committeeman from Georgia. If Editor Davis were not so altruistic in his sentiments, we might urge upon him the policy of coupling his earnest support of Mr. Coolidge with a demand that the candidate fortify his assurances of goodwill and fair dealing by some concrete action toward the abolishing of the system of color discrimination and segregation that now prevails in the civil and military service of the country.

In the meantime we congratulate Mr. Davis upon his earnest and convincing defence of the southern delegates, and trust that they will use their votes in the national convention in such fashion as to further the best interests of the race.

SUPPORTING NEGRO BUSINESS

Senators T. H. Caraway of Arkansas and Earle B. May field of Texas are much exercised because of the recent statement of Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania to a Negro audience that scarcely more than five per cent of the population is permitted to vote in the South and that if Southern Senators attacked Smith of Illinois, the Republican Senators might have something to tell them. Mr. Caraway immediately replied with much heat and little truth that "Every Negro has a right to vote if he wants to vote." His further remarks were intended to show that the Negro will not vote unless he is paid.

No one denies that there are Negroes who will sell their vote, just as there are hundreds of white men, who sell their votes every election day. In most sections of Arkansas, however, there is only one party; the party of white arrogance and exploitation. To this party the Negro citizens are not admitted, consequently, as Mr. Caraway says, "There is no market for Negro votes in Arkansas." Not to have the right to participate in the Democratic primaries in Arkansas and other parts of the South is not to have the right to vote; primaries down there being the same as general elections in the civilized sections of the country. Moreover, in the remote sections of Arkansas (and the bulk of the Negroes live outside the few cities) few Negroes are brave enough to even present themselves at the polls.

Texas is not quite as bad. but it is bad enough. The Republicans have considerable strength there, but it does not compare with that of the Democrats. Where there is a large Negro population, there one will find only one party functioning—the Democratic Party. Senator Mayfield rises to deny Senator Reed's statement that 12 counties in the Lone Star State did not even open their polls last election day. Is this statement of Senator Reed's so far-fetched that it beggers belief? Not at all. What he states has, of course, occurred all over the South, because of the one-party system that makes nomination in primaries tantamount to election. That being the case, the white Southern gentlemen reason, why go to the expense of keeping the polls open another day? To hear Senators Caraway and Mayfield speak one would immediately jump to the conclusion that they were ignorant of the customs of the states they represent in Washington, D. C.

franchised and if the polls in certain counties in Texas are not closed on election day then they might as well be closed so far as the Negro citizens are concerned. How long this condition will last we are loath to prophesy. The awakening of the South, black and white, may bring a change within the next ten years. Much can happen in ten years. The South is becoming industrialized. Schools are better and more plentiful than ever before. The automobile is bringing people together—shattering distance. Soon the new enlightened South may come to realize that it has nothing to lose and a great deal to gain by accord-

All over the South Negroes are disregarding the black citizens all the rights possessed by white citizens. This is not an idle dream. Compared to what it was thirty years ago, the South today is a heaven for the Negro. The admirable spirit displayed by the increasing number of enlightened Southern whites—men, women and students — in courageously coming out in favor of full civil rights for their black brothers and sisters is a happy augury of the not-far-distant day when Senators from the South will not be so easily startled by mild statements of unpleasant facts.

Republican.

Political-1927

Party Affiliation

DEFENDING SOUTHERN DELEGATES.

Editor Benjamin Jefferson Davis, in a recent issue of the Atlanta Independent, accused the editor of The Age of making a statement "unfair to the South, and not borne out by the facts," when he said: "President Coolidge may be renominated by the aid of such delegates from the South as may be corralled by National Committeeman Davis and ex-Secretary Slemp, but that fact cannot be expected to arouse any great amount of enthusiasm among colored voters in the North." Editor and Committeeman Davis was quick to take offence at this plain statement concerning northern political sentiment and to draw the invidious conclusion that "Editor Moore is not by himself in 'thinking that southern delegates' political integrity does not rise above the smell of a tainted dollar."

Nothing in the article referred to stated or implied the use of money, tainted or otherwise, in the securing of delegates in the South and sewing them up for the nomination of Mr. Coolidge. The assertion that such delegates might be "corralled" for that purpose by such experienced political round-up riders as the former Congressman from Virginia and the present Committeeman from Georgia, was a tribute to their ability to accomplish such results without resorting to the crude methods of purchase and delivery.

We are disposed to agree with Editor Davis, when he says that the facts do not bear out the statement that southern delegates are more corruptible than northern delegates. As he further says, "both are human and likely to err in common. Delegates at many conventions may have sold their votes, but if this indictment is true, it is as true of the northern delegates as of the southern delegates." The southern delegate who sells his vote is just as worthy as the northern delegate who buys it. Editor Davis warmly resented the fact that it is generally charged that the Negro delegate does the selling in this review of recent convention history:

This too is equally as false as the other proposition. There are never more than thirty Negro delegates in a Republican National Convention. When was the time, when a switch of thirty votes would have swung the result the other way?

Harrison was re-nominated largely by office-holders, and defeated at the polls by the voters. These officeholders were neither Negroes nor southern delegates, but delegates from all over the country. There were nine hundred delegates in the Minneapolis convention, and only thirty-eight Negroes, and less than half of them office holders.

Who nominated McKinley over Reed in 1816 at St. Louis? There were no officeholders there. Did southern delegates do it? Out of nine hundred votes McKinley got seven hundred—and southern delegates, including Negroes, were less than two hundred.

In 1912, when Taft and Roosevelt split the party, did southern delegates, or Negroes or ganize the convention against "Teddy"? No northern delegates turned the trick, although the feat was credited to the South. Illinois, Massachusetts, or Indiana could have elected McGovern over Root, just as easy as Georgia or Maryland elected Root. It was charged that Georgia defeated Roosevelt, when in fact, Georgia cast twenty-two votes for Root, and six for McGovern in the temporary organization.

All this propaganda about mercenary delegates in the South is purely camouflage to discredit the South and the Negro and has no foundation in fact.

It was neither the South nor the Negro that defeated Lowden at Chicago in 1920. It was the scandal among white northern delegates that drive the governor to defeat.

We are glad to give this space to Editor Davis' defence of the Southern delegates against the charge of bartering their votes in a national convention, a charge that was not made in The Age editorial that brought out this defence. Mr. Davis says that he has attended five national conventions as delegate, has met his own expenses and no body has ever sought to influence his vote at a convention or elsewhere. He asserts that southern delegates, if for Coolidge, will be as honestly so as delegates from any other section of the country.

Mr. Davis further announces that he will be for Mr. Coolidge in 1928, as he was in 1924, "without the hope of reward other than the consciousness that he has performed a sincere and patriotic duty, which altruistic sentiment only could be expected of the National Committeeman from Georgia. If Editor Davis were not so altruistic in his sentiments, we might urge upon him the policy of coupling his earnest support of Mr. Coolidge with a demand that the candidate fortify his assurances of goodwill and fair dealing by some concrete action toward the abolishing of the system of color discrimination and segregation that now prevails in the civil and military service of the country.

In the meantime we congratulate Mr. Davis upon his earnest and convincing defence of the southern delegates, and trust that they will use their votes in the national convention in such fashion as to further the best interests of the race.

SUPPORTING NEGRO BUSINESS

Senators T. H. Caraway of Arkansas and Earle B. May of Texas are much exercised because of the recent statement of Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania to a Negro audience that scarcely more than five per cent of the population is permitted to vote in the South and that if Southern Senators attacked Smith of Illinois, the Republican Senators might have something to tell them. Mr. Caraway immediately replied with much heat and little truth that "Every Negro has a right to vote if he wants to vote." His further remarks were intended to show that the Negro will not vote unless he is paid.

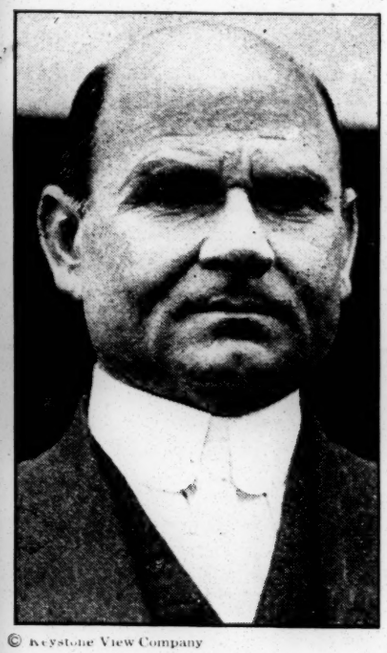
No one denies that there are Negroes who will sell their vote, just as there are hundreds of white men, who sell their votes every election day. In most sections of Arkansas, however, there is only one party; the party of white arrogance and exploitation. To this party the Negro citizens are not admitted, consequently, as Mr. Caraway says, "There is no market for Negro votes in Arkansas." Not to have the right to participate in the Democratic primaries in Arkansas and other parts of the South is not to have the right to vote; primaries down there being the same as general elections in the civilized sections of the country. Moreover, in the remote sections of Arkansas (and the bulk of the Negroes live outside the few cities) few Negroes are brave enough to even present themselves at the polls.

Texas is not quite as bad. but it is bad enough. The Republicans have considerable strength there, but it does not compare with that of the Democrats. Where there is a large Negro population, there one will find only one party functioning—the Democratic Party. Senator Mayfield rises to deny Senator Reed's statement that 12 counties in the Lone Star State did not even open their polls last election day. Is this statement of Senator Reed's so far-fetched that it beggers belief? Not at all. What he states has, of course, occurred all over the South, because of the one-party system that makes nomination in primaries tantamount to election. That being the case, the white Southern gentlemen reason, why go to the expense of keeping the polls open another day? To hear Senators Caraway and Mayfield speak one would immediately jump to the conclusion that they were ignorant of the customs of the states they represent in Washington, D. C.

All over the South Negroes are disfranchised and if the polls in certain counties in Texas are not closed on election day then they might as well be closed so far as the Negro citizens are concerned. How long this condition will last we are loath to prophesy. The awakening of the Southern whites—men, women and students — is an admirable spirit displayed by the increasing number of enlightened Southern citizens all the rights possessed by white citizens. Compared to what it was black and white, may bring a change within the next ten years—courageously coming out in favor of full civil rights for their Much can happen in ten years. The South is becoming industrialized. Schools are better and more plentiful than ever before. The automobile is bringing people together—shattering distance. Soon the new enlightened South may come to realize that it has nothing to lose and a great deal to gain by according to the black citizens a fair share of the things that it has. Compared to what it was. This is not an idle dream. For the Negro. years ago, the South today is a heaven for the Negro. black brothers and sisters is a happy augury of the not-far-distant day when Senators from the South will not be so easily startled by mild statements of unpleasant facts.

JOBBERY IN FEDERAL JOBS

IF IT IS TRUE that "more than $2,000,000 has been exacted as the aggregate price for appointments of postmasters, letter-carriers, United States marshals, and United States attorneys" by Republican politicians in the South, we may soon know all about it. Senator Harris, of Georgia, started the ball rolling by asking for an investigation of charges of corruption in his own State, and a committee has been preparing a resolution providing for an extension of the inquiry to other States. So, according to the Senator from Georgia, "it is now practically a certainty that there will be authorized by this session of Congress an investigation into the alleged barter and sale of Federal offices or of influence toward the securing of such offices, and that the committee to conduct the probe will be such as to insure a fair, thorough and effective investigation." But this may not be all. "South Squirms when G. O. P. Asks of Negro Votes," runs a Chicago *Tribune* head-line, referring to the efforts of Senator Richard P. Ernst, Republican, of Kentucky, to tie up with the patronage inquiry an investigation of alleged disfranchisement of negro voters in the South. Right here comes a decided difference of opinion. Some editors and correspondents insist that Sen. Ernst is simply trying to prevent any inquiry at all, that his move is "pure bluff," that the two subjects have no connection whatsoever. Senator Harris calls it "a smoke-screen." But some Republican papers see a logical connection in the effect of the Southern negro voter's peculiar status upon our national party organizations. The negro vote may be suppressed, observes the Omaha *Bee* (Rep.), "but it is counted when it comes to electing Democratic Congressmen or Republican delegates." And so, with this investigation preparing, "down the vista may be seen a succession of political spectacles not especially creditable to either party."



© Keystone View Company

HE STARTED IT

Senator Harris, of Georgia, who started the move to investigate charges of Republican job-selling in the South.

Trafficking in Federal offices by Republican politicians in Southern States has, according to statements made in recent editorial summaries and dispatches from Washington, been charged a number of times since the Republican party came into control in 1921. A number of specific charges have been made involving Republican organization leaders in Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Texas. It will be remembered that a Democratic Representative, back in 1922, charged C. Bascom Slemp, former Secretary to the President, with having been concerned with deals of this sort. In the background of transactions of this kind, says the Washington correspondent of the New York *World* (Dem.), "is a block of 108 delegates from these States to Republican national conventions, for the men who conduct the distribution of offices are the men who produce these delegates, usually for the Administration candidate. That is what the money is supposed to pay for." Charges of sales of jobs, continues the writer for *The World*, "have been up frequently in one form or another, but every time political influence has been able to choke off investigation." About three-quarters of the Federal employees are now in what is called the classified service. But, as the Supreme Court noted in its opinion on the Myers case some weeks ago, "political appointments of inferior offices are still maintained in one important class, that of first-, second- and third-class postmasters, collectors of internal revenue, marshals, collectors of customs, and similar offices." There are about 30,000 of these offices, most of them under a four-year tenure. Says the New York *World:*

"There is no other field for Federal corruption in this country in which known abuses have so long gone unexposed and unpunished. The barter of offices and indorsements affects the integrity of the whole Federal service in the section between Virginia and Texas, from attorneyships and marshalships to rural mail carriers. Moreover, it affects the integrity of our machinery for the election of Presidents. It is time that this evil, a full half-century old, was exposed and uprooted."

A Southern Democratic paper, the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, agrees that "soon or late the light will have to be turned on the subject of Federal patronage in the South, and the sooner the better."

Between this evil and the alleged disfranchisement of the Southern negroes there is "nothing in common," says the Democratic Atlanta *Constitution*. "The two evils are in no way connected," agrees the Louisville *Courier-Journal* in Senator Ernst's own State, and it puts the question:

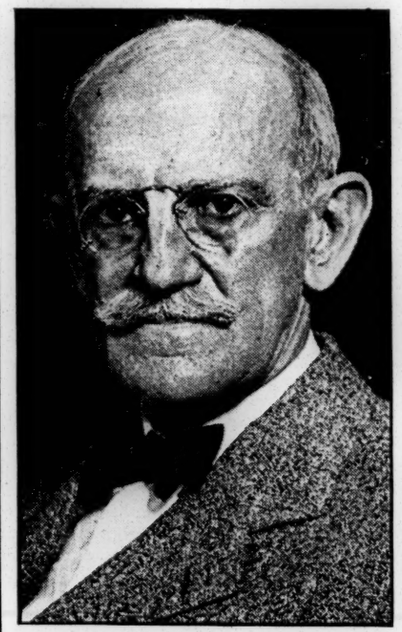
"If he believes the disfranchisement of negroes should be investigated, why has he not moved for such an investigation long ago, instead of waiting till a Southern Senator attempts to investigate the trading in Federal patronage, and then bobbing up to couple an investigation of disfranchisement with the investigation of the barter of offices?"

But the Chicago *Tribune* (Rep.) insists that it is all part of the same problem:

"A Republican national Administration rules the South for the delegates who sometimes have the balance of power in national conventions. The negroes are important in this control. In elections they cease to have any importance. They are counted for representation both in conventions and in Congress. Otherwise they have no political existence. The Southern States count them as citizens to get all the seats in the House of Representatives to which they would be entitled under the assumption that all the population thus represented had full franchise rights.

"The Republican party gets nothing but delegates from the South. These delegates may decide who the national candidate is to be, but he does not expect to get an electoral vote in the region they represent. The delegates go with the patronage, or the expectation of patronage, and the national Administration controls that."

But all this, reflects the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* (Rep.), is an old story. Offices, it recalls, were bought and sold in republican Rome, and "while it should be frowned on and rooted out, where this can be done, we shall only fool ourselves if we think that public offices in a democracy are not political currency, or that to some extent they will not always remain so."



© Henry Miller

HE WIDENED IT

Senator Ernst, of Kentucky, who wants charges of Democratic disfranchisement of the negroes investigated also.

KANSAS CITY, KANS.

RED POLITICIANS ELECT

Together Club Holds Meeting to Choose Officers to Coming Year.

Election of 1927 officers was held at the regular monthly meeting of the Stand Together, colored political club of Argentine district last Tuesday at the Mount Zion Methodist church, 1742 South Thirty-seventh street.

J. W. Harris was chosen president, W. M. Neeley, vice president; Sam Durham, treasurer; Hetty Cotton, secretary; and J. T. Jones, chaplain.

Beginning Tuesday, March 1, the club will meet every two weeks, alternately at the Metropolitan Second Baptist church, 1748 South Thirty-seventh and at the Methodist church.

LEDGER
NEWARK, N. J.

JAN 23 1927

Sessions of Negro Voters to Be Held

The annual mid-winter convention of the Independent Negro Voters' League of New Jersey will be held February 21 at the Roosevelt Temple. It is expected that 500 delegates, including scores of clergymen of all denominations, will attend.

National and state legislation affecting the race and the general betterment of it will be discussed. Prominent public officials, Bishop P. A. Wallace, head of the Zion church in the east; William B. Brandon and Robert S. Hartgroves will speak.

LILY WHITES FIGHT FOR G. O. P. CONTROL

Washington, D. C., Feb. 6.—As a prelude to the 1928 fight for the election of delegates to the Republican national convention, "lily white" Republicans are tearing themselves in Mississippi politics, according to a report reaching here this week.

A call has been issued for the second annual meeting of the Mississippi state council of the Southern States Republican league. This meeting will be held on McKinley's birthday, Jan. 29, in the Edwards house, a white hotel in Jackson, Miss., which bars members of the Race as guests.

The program provides for a conference in the forenoon of the white Republicans of Mississippi "to discuss plans for the organization of a Republican party in the state of Mississippi under white leadership."

The official call states that "short talks will be made by Republican men and women from over the state, outlining their views and pointing out the necessity for the organization of a Republican party in the state of Mississippi under white leadership."

This call is signed by George H. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, who is now a resident of Mississippi, president, and Ernest McCall Hawkins, secretary. The charter also provides that "only members of the white race shall be eligible for membership in this organization." The heads of the Republican party in Mississippi are Perry W. Howard, national committeeman, and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, national committeewoman.

Political-1927

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

THE PATRONAGE LAW

The Patronage Law passed in the last days of the first session of the 69th Congress, is just about as hysterical and void of common-sense as the Volstead Act. It is entitled, "An Act to Prevent the Sale of Federal Patronage," but in fact and purpose it is an act to disfranchise Negroes, and further embarrass the Republican party in the South. The only difference in the Volstead Act, and the insanity of the Patronage Act, is, the motive that inspired the movants to introduce the bill.

Those who promoted the Volstead Act had in mind the moral, economic and spiritual betterment of all the people. It is generally accepted that, "Wine is a mockery, and strong drink is raging"; and in the interest of the public morals, as well as the health and wealth of the people, the prohibitionists in this country put across the Volstead Act, following the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The had no desire to defeat any class of people of what was justly theirs, nor to make one class good and the other bad. But in their desire to pass a bill that would hold water and that would effectively restrict and regulate the sale of malt liquors, the movers leaned back too far, and passed an unreasonable law that took from the people many of their Constitutional liberties. By going to this extreme the law is unpopular, and impossible of enforcement, and instead of growing in favor with the people, it is daily growing in disfavor, because the people believe that the law, by its extremeness defeats the very purpose for which it was enacted—regulation and control. The promoters of the Patronage Bill did not have in mind the betterment of any class of people, but the detriment and undoing of fourteen million of the people. It was for no other purpose than to put two, lone Negroes out of business as factors in the political economy of their party, and thereby serve notice on all Negroes that, you are not in the picture so far as the making of the laws of the country, and the selection of the officers for their enforcement is concerned. It was not that the Democrats objected to the sale of patronage, if any was sold, but it was a matter of eliminating the Negro politically, put him in his place, and keep him there, as the Southern white man would express it.

If every Southern Democrat in Congress were satisfied that the Republican organization in the South was as innocent of trafficking in patronage as the Nazarene, they would object just as strong to the distribution of patronage by Negroes, as they would if the Negroes were making a million dollars out of it. The law was born to deprive American citizens of their rights because of color, or previous condition of servitude, and is just as unreasonable in conscience, and as impossible of enforcement as the Volstead law.

Who would believe the Democrats or Republicans are conscientiously opposed to trafficking in politics. White Democrats and Republicans, too, have been corrupting the ballot with money, and other things of value, from time immemorial, by selling offices for votes and support to insure elections. But, the law is on the books, and it must be observed. It is wrong in morals, and in law to sell public favors. Public office should come to the fittest by the selection of the people, without being influenced by money or other ulterior considerations. The organization in Georgia is innocent. No offices have been sold here before the law was passed, and none will be sold here after it is passed.

The law, as enacted by Congress, and signed by the President, will not prevent any honest man from helping his party, or from making a voluntary contribution, of his own free will, without the hope or expectation of an office as a consideration for his contribution. The law simply means that a man applying for a post office, or any other position shall not pay the party, or person to whom he applies, whether official or unofficial, any money or thing of value as a consideration to get the place for which he aspires. It means, on the other hand, that the person approached by the applicant shall not solicit from the applicant, receive or accept any money, or thing of value for the price of his influence in securing the position for which the applicant aspires. The applicant shall not give, before the appointment, or promise to give, after the appointment, to any person whatsoever, money, or anything of value for his, or their influence in securing a place in the Federal service. But, after the applicant receives his appointment, within the terms of the law, he can give away all of his salary each month to his party, or anybody else, if he chooses to do so, and not violate the law. So, as stringent as the law may appear, it will not prevent any man from giving one, or a thousand dollars to his party, before or after he receives his appointment, if the element of consideration does not enter into the transaction Congress is prohibited from passing ex post facto laws. The law is not retro-active, and does not effect, even those who may have given, or promised to give, as a consideration for their appointment, to the party, or other persons before the passage of the law. Anything that happened before the law was passed cannot be dealt with under the law. The law was effective December 11, 1926, when the President approved it. And now, since the law is the law, the individual, who receives an appointment without consideration, or promise to give or pay any person, or party, whatever, any money, if he so desires, after having received his appointment, can make any contribution that he desires to make for the support of the local, state, or national organization. There is nothing in the law, and there ought not to be anything in the conscience of the individual to keep him from making such a contribution for the support of his party in the same sense that he makes a contribution for the support of his church. It is nothing more than a debt of gratitude that the churchman realizes and exercises, and the self-same spirit of liberalism should control the conduct of the office seeker.

The individual who gives a hundred thousand dollars to his party for legitimate expenses, and afterwards accepts a portfolio in the President's Cabinet, does not accept appointment as a consideration for his donation, but sees it as an opportunity to render his country a service, by contributing his services, as well as his means to that institution, which in his honest judgment is the greatest promoter of good government.

People are going to have whiskey, good or bad, in spite of the Volstead Act, because they believe the law is unjust. Yet, it ought to be obeyed.

and both Democrats and Republicans are always going to find a way to promote the expenses of party machinery, the Patronage Act to the contrary notwithstanding. So, obey the law. You can give your party just as much now, and not violate the law, as you gave your party before the law was enacted. We believe in law enforcement and law observance, and there is always a way to obey the law, and exercise your personal liberties in the support of your institutions, religious or political, and maintain your status quo, both in morals and in law. Laws do not always accomplish their purpose, any more than men always reach their aim.

Lilly Whites Begin 1928 Campaign In Mississippi

Southern G. O. P. League Wants Party Under White Leadership

WASHINGTON, D. C.—As a prelude to the 1928 fight for the election of delegates to the Republican National Convention, "lily white" Republicans are rearing themselves in Mississippi politics, according to a report reaching here this week.

A call has been issued for the second annual meeting of the Mississippi State Council of the Southern States Republican League. This meeting will be held on McKinley's birthday, January 29th, in the Edwards' House, a white Hotel in Jackson, Mississippi, which prohibits colored persons from entering it except in a menial capacity.

The program provides for a conference in the forenoon of the white Republicans of Mississippi "to discuss plans for the organization of a Republican party in the State of Mississippi under white leadership."

Offered Call

The official call for the meeting states that "short talks will be made by Republican men and women from over the State, outlining their views and pointing out the necessity for the organization of a Republican party in the State of Mississippi under white leadership."

This call is signed by George H. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, who is now a resident of Mississippi, as president, and Ernest McCall Hawkins, as secretary, of the Mississippi State Council of the Southern States Republican League, which has headquarters in Memphis, Tenn.

Southern League

According to the charter of the Southern States Republican League, the purpose of this organization is "to promote and advance the economic, agricultural, industrial, commercial, educational and political interest of the people in the States of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, by advocating the principles of the Republican party as enunciated in its national platforms and to aid in extending the scope and usefulness of the Republican party throughout the states."

The charter also provides that "only members of the white race shall be eligible for membership in this organization."

The heads of the Republican party in Mississippi are Perry W. Howard, National Committeeman, and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, National Committeewoman.

Propaganda Is Proven False

Courier 1-15-27

GUTHRIE, Okla., Jan. 13.—Rumors that Sylvester Reed, Negro county commissioner of Logan county, had gone insane and was to be ousted from office and that have been broadcast upon the streets of this city for the past two weeks, seem destined to drop of their own weight today, following visits to the home of Reed by both his white and colored friends.

Apparently the false propaganda about Reed emanated from the same source as it did when the Attorney Generals' office was asked to investigate Reed's alleged part in a liquor ring that not only was charged with conspiring to violate the Eighteenth amendment, but was charged with issuing threats to do bloody violence to law enforcement agencies, both state and federal. The present attorney general-elect, Edwin Dabney, was charged by Attorney General Short with this investigation, the matter was dropped for want of evidence.

Political foes of Sylvester Reed have tried for years to wrest the power from him and confiscate the political influence of the Negroes of Logan county, who have with their suffrage kept him on the board of county commissioners for almost eight years. Recognized as the most influential member of the board, Reed is serving his third term. He was elected two terms of two years and is now enjoying a four-year term, under the law that extended the county commissioners' term of office.

Whites of the county became particularly wrathy when it was discovered that Reed was to have the "big say so" in the expenditure of Logan county's million and a half dollar bond issue. Crafty in the art of perfecting political combines, Reed, early in the game, formed an alliance with S. N. Hopkins, democratic member of the board and the chairman. Frank Raineheart, the third member, and republican, has had to stand on the side lines and see the business of the board run by a Negro republican and a democrat. Regardless of the unseemly combination. Reed has successfully maintained himself with his constituency and is recognized as the big stick on the board.

Recent illness has caused a recurrence of attack on the part of enemies, who now charge that he has gone insane and that he should be removed from office. A group of Reed's colored friends from Luther visited Reed last week. They claim when they went to the Reed home they found him convalescing from a nervous breakdown, but that his mind was clear; that he talked freely along many lines, especially about the affairs of the Masonic Grand Lodge. Those in the party were J. T. Armstrong, Ulysess Hogg, S. H. Hilorn and J. H. Broach.

Dr. H. W. Conrad of the Park Sanitarium, Guthrie, when approached on the subject, said that Reed's mind was in no wise impaired and that he would be out again soon, in the best of health.

Reed is 43 years old. He owns 480 acres of the finest land in Logan county and also has property in Guthrie. At the time ouster proceedings were attempted last year, his brother, Yancy Reed, was shot near an alleged whisky cache. Eddie Cook, another Negro, was killed at the same time. Frantic efforts were made to connect Sylvester Reed with this unfortunate affair.

A SLAVE IN UNCLE TOM'S CABIN OR A SLAVE IN THE LOG CABIN—WHICH?

When Abraham Lincoln took the slave out of Uncle Tom's Cabin, was he merely transferring him as a slave to the old Log Cabin?

Some so-called Republicans seem to think that's all the Emancipation Proclamation meant to the Negro. News

There is a class of small white politicians in Louisville that thinks the Negro belongs body, mind and soul to the Republican party and whether that party is right or wrong, whether it treats him with respect and consideration or wholly disregards him until election time, he, the Negro, must not even think anything much less say a word about it. If a Negro prefers to vote the Democratic ticket—that is a sin against the Holy Ghost to this class of Republicans. If one criticises the party —that is high treason. 3-5-27

Such Republicans talk about "knocking off" such Negroes, they plan to "get" any Negro who dares criticise rottenness in the party. And this is the caliber of Republicans that are put to the front to deal with the colored element of the party—Negro haters at heart, give you a pleasant smile when you take everything with a grin but who want to "knock you off" if you dare resent their rottenness.

"Republican" police shoot and beat Negroes unnecessarily—but a Negro Republican must not protest. Louisville, Ky.

Republican Park Commissioners put out our unkempt "jim crow" park and tell Negroes they cannot use other parks—but a Negro Republican cannot say anything. The Negro vote is over two-fifths of the total Republican vote but Negro Republicans must not ask for recognition of any sort. That there are high-class men in the party goes without saying. Many of the leading and most worthwhile citizens of Louisville are Republicans.

But our criticism is, they are not approachable and the "Republicans" with whom colored citizens have to deal are small bore people who have no idea of the fitness of things nor of their relations to colored people.

They think Lincoln took the Negro out of Uncle Tom's Cabin and put him in the old Log aCbin bound and shackled and gagged.

The big member of the Republican party had better wake up because someday thev will find Uncle Tom dead and his nephew—gone.

AMERICUS, GA. Times-Recorder

REPUBLICANS BEGIN "PLAYING POLITICS"

A few months before every presidential campaign we see our Republican friends begining their political play—reaching out for the negro vote in the North by "investgiating patronage and negro disfranchisement in the South JAN 7 1927

And these inquisitorial sessions end right where they begin. But it makes good reading matter in the North.

A Senate sub-committee is now debating whether to "investigate" patronage and franchirement at one and the same time, or make two investigations. Such quibbling gives them more time, more newspaper propaganda and aids in corralling the negro vote in the North.

So far as the South is concerned, it is mere chaff in the wind. In the first place, the Grand Old Party does not dare expose its pie-counter methods among Southern negro Republicans. And as for the disfranchisement of the negro in the South, it can't help itself if it would.

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation

Republican.

FEB 23 1927

"Get the Money, Boys"

The current number of the Independent Magazine has an enlightened article upon the workings of the Republican party in Georgia as it is now constituted, with Benjamin Jefferson Davis, editor of the Atlanta Independent, as the party head. The article is by Samuel Taylor Moore, who has recently completed a tour of the South exposing patronage conditions in this State. His article demonstrates what Georgians have always known—that the Republican organization in the State is a purely commercial proposition, collecting "voluntary" contributions from Republican office holders in the State and selling postmasterships.

The organization, Mr. Moore points out, maintains an elaborate suite on the fifth floor of the Hurt Building, in Atlanta. There may be found Roscoe Pickett, state chairman, John W. Martin, state treasurer, and Benjamin Davis, national committeeman.

"In the morning mail following Federal pay day come envelopes from all sections of the State containing checks for small sums: $4, $6, $8—whatever the public servant has pledged himself to pay," says Mr. Moore. "From the Atlanta district, many officeholders appear to pay their commission or salary in person. At these offices, too, applicants for various jobs in the federal service are interviewed."

The office collects somewhere between $8,000 and $10,000 a year, according to Davis. The Negro editor receives no salary as national committeeman, but he does receive a salary as secretary of the State organization. An assistant secretary also receives a salary and Martin receives a salary as treasurer. Despite the two acts of Congress passed in 1926 to prevent exactly what has been happening in Georgia, the sale of patronages goes on. The 1926 acts provide that it is unlawful for "any candidate for public office to pay or offer or promise to pay any sum of money or other thing of value in consideration of the use or promise of use of any influence whatsoever to procure any appointive office under the Government of the United States, and to solicit, or receive "either as a political contribution or for personal emolument, any sum of money or thing of value in consideration of the promise of support, or use of influence, in obtaining any appointive office." The other act directs that every appointive officer shall file, within thirty days after assuming office, any affidavit that he has not done these things.

Davis evades these by placing the "contributions" upon the same basis as those made to a church—in other words, purely "voluntary." He excuses that editorially in the Independent by saying: "People are going to have whisky, good or bad, in spite of the Volstead act, because they believe the law is unjust . . . both Democrats and Republicans are always going to find a way to promote the expenses of the party machinery, the Patronage Act to the contrary notwithstanding. Laws do not always accomplish their purpose any more than men always reach their aim."

The "contributions" continue. Martin, the treasurer, Mr. Moore records, duns those who fall behind on pledges made prior to the passage of the Patronage Act.

While Mr. Moore's article reveals the workings of the organization, it does not bring any particularly new information as to corruption. The Department of Justice has in its file the complete information as to the sale of postoffices in Georgia—and has done nothing about it. The United States District Attorney in Macon has had—if he does not now have it—information concerning the sale of postoffices in this district. The truth is that the administration is not inclined to do anything about it—so long as doing nothing means that the present administration will continue to corral the Negro delegates from the South.

COLORED VOTERS TELL WHY THEY BACK THOMPSON

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAR 26 1927

Say His Policies Give Them Best Chance.

At a meeting to aid the candidacy of William Hale Thompson for mayor held last night at the Lincoln Republican club, 3447 South State street, several Second and Third ward leaders spoke before an enthusiastic audience of colored people.

Oscar De Priest, ward committeeman, at the close of the meeting, appointed a committee of six colored women to arrange for a celebration the night of the election.

Calls Thompson Their Champion.

"In every crisis that has arisen in the black man's history," George W. Lawrence, Republican worker, said, "a champion has arisen. In the last ten years one of the finest and noblest friends that the Negro has ever had, Bill Thompson, has come to the front. He is our champion.

"You must either vote for Thompson or else die. Elect Big Bill or it's going to be bye-bye blackbird in Chicago."

Attorney Eugene Marshall asserted that Mayor Dever is the arch-traitor to the Negro race. He has failed not alone to allow the colored people liberty and freedom but has refused to give them justice, he said. Under the administration of Thompson, he asserted, the colored man will get a square deal.

Many Friends Elsewhere.

"Don't get the idea that there is only meanness and prejudice on the other side of the fence. Remember such men as Clarence S. Darrow and such women as Jane Addams are in Chicago. They are our friends. There are judges in the county building so fair to the Negro that I have never had to ask for a change of venue.

"But remember, the finest and noblest type of friend, the superb type of American citizen, the magnificent chief executive, William Hale Thompson. Hold your hands united and your fists clenched behind him."

Thompson and Flowers.

Ross D. Brown, another colored spokesman, was also bitterly opposed to Mayor Dever, but he said of Thompson:

"This world was swung into place by a wise omnipotence, with the lilacs blooming and the wild daisies blushing, and it was a wise omnipotence that gave us William Hale Thompson. If you are a hod carrier, ditch digger, or colored girl trepidating a brown skinned finger over a typewriter, vote for him."

At a meeting in the Forty-second ward at North Side Turner hall Roscoe Conkling Simmons, Negro orator, made an ardent plea for Mayor Thompson. Ald. Robert R. Jackson, Negro, was present, but did not speak. Simmons was introduced as a missionary from the south side come to the Forty-second ward to educate the 3,000 colored voters there.

Appeal
MEMPHIS
TENNESSEE

APR 12 1927

The Negro in Politics.

Last week two events stood out clearly above the daily record of murders, divorces, accidents, foreign wars and such like happenings. One was the tenth anniversary of the entrance of the United States into the World War. Chiefly did this fact remind the people of what happened 10 years ago and the changes that have come upon the individual leaders in that great struggle during the short space of time that has since intervened. A few philosophized about the possible meaning of the anniversary in the unnumbered decades and centuries that are to be. But they were only a few. The other event was the election in Chicago, an occurrence that took the glaring spotlight for the moment and then retired quickly behind the scenes of onrushing happenings.

There was at least one feature of this selection of a mayor for a single American town that was just as significant and meaningful as the outlook for the future set up by a world clash of contending civilizations. That conflict of nations and that onset of conflicting municipal citizenship developed a common denominator of supreme importance. In both cases there was a clash of races, many sided on the one hand and with only two aspects on the other. But the national exploitation given to the featuring of the negro in Chicago politics, taken in connection with the manner in which that featuring was done, offers an object lesson for profound and sympathetic study.

Whichever side was responsible for making the negro an issue in the campaign, the fact remains that each of the two chief contenders was busy up to election day in trying to blame the other. It has been remarked that the acrimonious struggle waged around the vote of the colored brother did not serve to solidify the white vote. But the issue was confused and the waters muddied to such an extent by the major candidates in their efforts to put the onus on each other that there was no real opportunity for solidification. However much either or both of the leading candidates desired to be the beneficiary of the negro vote, neither was willing to assume the burden for its wholesale introduction.

From this phase of the matter it can logically be deduced that the negro as a political factor of first importance is almost as little welcomed in Chicago as such a thing would be in Mississippi. The facts in the Chicago election indicate that the majority of white Chicagoans view with as little sympathy and as great alarm the possibility of having to submit to colored officials as people elsewhere in the country do. It was not the mere casting of their ballots by the negroes, but the implication that those voters must draw an official reward for their services, which caused the turmoil.

We are dealing with conditions and not theories when we assert that neither Chicago nor any other town north, south, east or west, would willingly accept for mayor or any other high official post one not of the Caucasian race. We say this not to create misunderstandings or to arouse animosities, but, to the contrary, to make the matter understandable and thus avert friction which must surely result from misconception or misinterpretation of prevailing sentiment. As a friend of the negro race we say that its best interests in this country will not be served by efforts to establish for itself any sort of political dominance in the country.

No one would attempt to controvert the fact that there is no legal barrier to the attainment by the colored race of full and complete political equality with the whites. Nor can it be denied that full political equality presupposes the holding of offices as well as the use of the ballot. But a calm analysis of the matter brings out the truth that there can be no complete political equality until social equality is also established. In other words people will not accept as their officials those whom they do not accept wholeheartedly on terms of intimate quality and association in the daily affairs of life.

Here then we get at the crux of the whole race problem. Here also is contained the explanation of why the racial problem will continue until the facts are honestly faced and courageously handled. There cannot be absolute and complete political equality until there is full social equality and the latter cannot be established until all racial lines are destroyed by intermarriage. But such a thing as racial intermarriage is absolutely unthinkable down here and, to a large extent also, in all other sections of the country. So, it must appear as if the ultimate aim of the movement inaugurated in Chicago is impossible of attainment.

But the colored race constitutes an integral part of the country just the same as the white. The two must live together and their existence must be harmonious. The Commercial Appeal has stood forth as the champion of complete justice for the equality of the colored man in his opportunities for self improvement, in the affairs of business, and in his standing before the courts. It has supported all efforts to give him an education, lead him to prosperity and make him happy and contented. And because it is interested in the material, moral and spiritual well-being of the colored people it cannot but reprobate the introduction of matters that are bound to create ill will and hatreds.

Recently Rev. Francis J. Grimke, of Washington, D. C., made reply to Clarence Darrow, who has, among other things, set himself as the champion of full equality of the negro with the white race. In a recent speech urging the negroes of the country to demand their full civil and political rights Darrow took occasion to air his agnostic views. He questioned a belief in God and sneered at religion, thus setting forth in rather anarchic fashion beliefs that would be destructive of the rights he was insisting that his audience demand. To that speech Rev. Grimke made this cryptic reply:

There are things of greater importance to the race, in its efforts to rise, than the recognition of its rights under the constitution.

And we commend this sage counsel to the earnest and honest consideration of the colored leaders and people.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

(The Commercial Appeal)

Last week two events stood out clearly above the daily record of murders, divorces, accidents, foreign wars and such like happenings. One was the tenth anniversary of the entrance of the United States into the World War. Chiefly did this fact remind the people of what happened 10 years ago and the changes that have come upon the individual leaders in that great struggle during the short space of time that has since intervened. A few philosophized about the possible meaning of the anniversary in the unnumbered decades and centuries that are to be. But they were only a few. The other event, was the election in Chicago, an occurrence that took the glaring spotlight for the moment and then retired quickly behind the scenes of onrushing happenings.

There was at least one feature of this selection of a mayor for a single American town that was just as significant and meaningful as the outlook for the future set up by a world clash of contending civilizations. That conflict of nations and that onset of conflicting municipal citizenship developed a common denominator of supreme importance. In both cases there was a clash of races, many sided on the one hand and with only two aspects on the other. But the national exploitation given to the featuring of the Negro in Chicago politics, taken in connection with the manner in which that featuring was done, offers an object lesson for profound and sympathetic study.

Whichever side was responsible for making the Negro an issue in the campaign, the fact remains that each of the two chief contenders was busy up to election day in trying to blame the other. It has been remarked that the acrimonious struggle waged around the vote of the colored brother did not serve to solidify the white vote. But the issue was confused and the waters muddied to such an extent by the major candidates in their efforts to put the onus on each other that there was no real opportunity for solidification. However much either or both of the leading candidates desired to be the beneficiary of the Negro vote, neither was willing to assume the burden for the wholesale introduction.

From this phase of the matter it can logically be deduced that the Negro as a political factor of first importance is almost as little welcomed in Chicago as such a thing would be in Mississippi. The facts in the Chicago election indicate that the majority of white Chicagoans view with as little sympathy and as great alarm the possibility of having to submit to colored officials as people elsewhere in the country do. It was not the mere casting of their ballots by the Negroes, but the implication that those voters must draw an official reward for their services, which caused the tumult.

We are dealing with conditions and not theories when we assert that neither Chicago nor any other town, north, south, east or west, would willingly accept for mayor or any other high official post one not of the Caucasian race. We say this not to create misunderstandings or to arouse animosities, but, to the contrary, to make the matter understandable and thus avert friction which must surely result from misconception or misinterpretation of prevailing sentiment. As a friend of the Negro race we say that its best interests in this country will not be served by efforts to establish for itself any sort of political dominance in the country.

No one would attempt to controvert the fact that there is no legal barrier to the attainment by the colored race of full and complete political equality with the whites. Nor can it be denied that full political equality pre-supposes the holding of offices as well as the use of the ballot. But a calm analysis of the matter brings out the truth that there can be no complete political equality until social equality is also established. In other words people will not accept as their officials those whom they do not accept whole-heartedly on terms of intimate equality and association in the daily affairs of life.

Here then we get at the crux of the whole race problem. Here also is contained the explanation of why the racial problem will continue until the facts are honestly faced and courageously handled. There can not be absolute and complete political equality until there is full social equality and the latter cannot be established until all racial lines are destroyed by intermarriage. But such a thing as racial intermarriage is absolutely unthinkable down here and, to a large extent also, in all other sections of the country. So, it must appear as if the ultimate aim of the movement inaugurated in Chicago is impossible of attainment.

But the colored race constitutes an integral part of the country just the same as the white. The two must live together and their existence must be harmonious. The Commercial Appeal has stood forth as the champion of complete justice for the equality of the colored man in his opportunities for self improvement, in the affairs of business, and in his standing before the courts. It has supported all efforts to give him an education, lead him to prosperity and make him happy and contented. And because it is interested in the material, moral and spiritual well-being of the colored people it cannot but reprobate the introduction of matters that are bound to create ill-will and hatreds.

There are things of greater importance to the race, in its efforts to rise, than the recognition of its rights under the constitution.

And we commend this sage counsel to the earnest and honest consideration of the colored leaders and people.

STAR
INDIANAPOLIS, IND

MAR 8 1927

COLORED REPUBLICANS ON EAST SIDE FORM CLUB

Organization of an East side colored Republican club, which will take an active part in political activities and at the same time work for civic development of the East side, was announced yesterday. Officers of the club are Hays Wilson, president; William H Johnson, secretary, and William Coleman, treasurer. The club, to be called the Colored East Side Republican Organization, will apply for a state charter, Mr. Wilson said. Temporary headquarters are at 1448 Martindale avenue.

Negro

Political — 1927
Party Affiliation.

Republican

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

(The Racial Element in the Chicago Mayoralty Campaign)

By B. SKLAR.

THE mayoralty campaign in the city of Chicago was a bitterly contested campaign, a historic campaign, we may say.

It was not the personality of the rival candidates that made this campaign so outstanding. There is nothing outstanding about Mr. Dever, Mr. Thompson or Mr. Robertson. Nor is there anything unusual in the charges of corruption flung at each other by the rival candidates. As usual each candidate declared himself a true friend of the laboring people, made the usual pre-election promise to be forgotten as they usually are on the day following the election.

The "leaders" of labor too acted in the usual manner in the Chicago campaign. Proclaiming themselves true to the bequest of Mr. Gompers "reward your friends and punish your enemies" they were hopelessly divided on the question as to who was the friend and who the enemy.

WHAT is it then that singles out the present campaign from the previous ones?

It is the racial issue which was brought into this campaign with a vehemence unknown heretofore in the politics of Chicago. It was as tho the South with all of its race hatred and race prejudice invaded our great city. The "white supremacy" was declared to be in danger. Police brutally raided the section of the city inhabited by the Negro citizens making wholesale arrests in order to create the impression of their criminal and dangerous character.

Try To Arouse Race Hatred.

NO other campaign witnessed such vicious methods of arousing race hatred and race prejudice as were applied in the present one. A sign was placed in one of the largest public parks reading:

"Do you wish the Negro to rule Chicago?"

Thousands of dodgers were scattered around the city spreading the message of race-prejudice and race-hatred.

"Do you want to work for Negro wages?" read one of them. It denounced Mr. Thompson because during his administration the Negro population of Chicago increased by 100,000, the contention being that this influx resulted in lowering the wages of the white workers and deprived them of their jobs.

Fake "Labor" Politics.

THE labor bureaucracy had also joined this Negro baiting campaign. Mr. Victor A. Olander, the secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor, affixed his signature to an appeal by the "Dever Trade-Union Committee", reading in part:

"During the year 1921 of the Thompson administration more than 70,000 non-union Negroes were imported, most of them for the purpose of breaking the strike of the Stockyards workers.

"Mayor Dever is opposed to the importation of undesirable labor for the purpose of breaking down the working conditions and wages of Chicago labor."

Mr. John Fitzpatrick, the president of the Chicago Federation of Labor also joined the ranks of the supporters of Mr. Dever, the campaign of the "white supremacy."

As a climax of the vicious campaign came the exposure of a plot to draw conspicuously thousands of Negro voters into the downtown section of the city for the purpose of arousing thru this demonstration the wrath of the whites. Fake invitations bearing the signature of Wm. Hale Thompson were mailed out to 10,000 Negro voters, requesting the recipients to come to the Hotel Sherman and visit with Thompson. Special badges were enclosed in the envelopes to lend weight to the invitation and allay suspicion. The plot fell thru but its evil intent persists.

Party Lines Smashed.

IN the bitter struggle which we attempted to depict the party lines were smashed. The "Chicago Tribune", the republican mouthpiece bitterly attacked Thompson and gave its support to Dever. Many prominent republicans switched their support to Dever. Among them is included Julius Rosenwald, the supposed friend and benefactor of the race, a member of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. (Will the N. A. A. C. P. still tolerate him in its ranks?)

Deep Industrial Changes.

INDEED the Negro vote was a decisive influence in the recent elections. Indeed the very bitterness of the attack launched against the colored citizens of our city proves the arrival of a new powerful factor into the political life of the country. The mayoralty campaign in Chicago reflects the deep going changes produced by the world war. Hundreds of thousands of Negroes came into the great industrial centers of the north. Now thousands more are coming and they are here to stay. The significance of this fact is tremendous.

It means as much for the movement for the liberation of the race as the birth of the working class of China meant for the nationalist movement there. The Negro proletariat is born. The former farmers and farm hands of the south are drawn into the huge factories, mills and mines. They are being welded together by the conscience of their common interest and by the feeling of power of their concentrated great numbers. They are being permeated with a rebellious spirit of discontent at the humiliation, inequality, persecution and exploitation which they suffer as a race.

Proletariat Will Lead.

THIS process is not being confined to the north alone. It embraces the south as well. The south is becoming industrialized. The Negro proletariat is being born in the south.

It was the new born working class of China that furnished the backbone, the indominitable spirit, the driving power, the unconquerable strength, the real leadership to the nationalist movement of China.

It is the working class, that will play a similar historic role in the liberative movement of this oppressed race in our country.

Capitalism Makes Concessions.

THE white ruling class already scented the advance of this force. The recent decisions of the supreme court of the United States declaring unconstitutional the disfranchisement of the Negro in the state of Texas, declaring unconsitutional the segregation in the schools of Louisiana, are indications that American capitalism fears the awakening Negro and is willing to make concessions in order to avoid a rebellion on the part of the oppressed black citizens in the south.

The Chicago mayoralty elections reflect the inevitable trend of events. It is true that in the present elections the splendid rebellious spirit of the Negro masses found its expression in the support of Thompson who is not deserving of it. There was no other spokesman of the interests of the colored citizens so they flocked to the standard of "Big Bill" who tomorrow in all probability will betray them.

Will Find Own Champions.

AS the racial movement will grow and mature it will find its own spokesmen, men and women of vision, power, and determination, by the side of whom "Big Bill" will cut a small and pitiful figure.

To help crystallize such a leadership is the duty and the pressing problem of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. The Communist movement alone will be capable of accomplishing this task as it is accomplishing it in China.

Such is our view upon the elections in Chicago. To interpret them merely as a contest between the republicans and democratic parties, as merely a fight of rival groups of capitalist interests, to overlook the importance of the part played by the racial element, is in our opinion, to be blind to a development that is destined to play a decisive role in the great struggle for freedom of the working classes of America.

THE NEWSPAPERS AND INTOLERANCE

It appears that the newspapers have unduly exaggerated the conditions at Chicago on the eve of the election for Mayor. William Hale Thompson was elected by a comfortable majority in spite of practically unanimous opposition from the daily press led by the Chicago Tribune. There was no rioting notwithstanding the mean and contemptible [illegible] race and sectarian intolerance.

Much of the [illegible] of race hatred and sectarian narrowness that exists in this country is due to the amount of space that the daily press devotes to it in its news columns. The news articles are so composed as to indicate sympathy with these unworthy feelings.

Much of our legislation and the decisions of courts are contaminated with distinctions of race. Our immigration and naturalization laws are shot through and through with distinctions of race. When we get outside of statutory law we find custom and administrative practice made the basis for all sorts of discriminations and proscriptions as to race. In more than half the States the so-called sacred institution of marriage is adulterated with racial antipathy.

Naturally, distinctions based upon race, and not upon "sense and worth" are odious, and produce a sense of irritation and resentment in self-respecting peoples against whom they are leveled. They tend to produce national discord and unrest.

It is unreasonable to presume that any normal human being, possessing the merest elements of civilization would endure being discriminated against on account of his race alone, without, at least, moral and intellectual revolt. It is a matter of experience that even peoples called savages manifest displeasure at such distinctions and the injustices resulting from them.

Any movement or effort designed to quench the fires of racial and sectarian hatred is worthy of encouragement, because it makes for national harmony and human kindness.

FIGHT FOR JUDGESHIP LOST AT N.Y.

Action Of Governor Gives Death Blow To Hope Of Harlem Politicians

ALBANY, N. Y., April 20.—Colored voters of New York are up in arms against Governor Al. Smith, who for the third time in as many years vetoed a bill to change the boundaries of the 7th Municipal Court District in Manhattan and to provide for a new 10th district with three new justices. The measure, which is sponsored by Assemblyman Grenthal, New York City Republican, would result, it is believed, in colored men being elected to at least one of the three posts as justice.

Former Assemblyman Pope Billups, who headed a delegation urging the Governor to sign the bill told the Empire State Executive that the New York City authorities would not oppose the re-districting except that they were convinced the change would result in the election of at least one justice of color.

Says Bill is Mandatory

Among other reasons given for the vetoing the measure, Governor Smith said:

"This bill is objectionable upon the ground that it is mandatory city legislation compelling the City of New York, in opposition to the wishes of the local authorities, to set up a new Municipal Court district. That is an expense which the local authorities state is not warranted."

Assemblyman Grenthal, following the veto, said in part:

"The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on March 10 decided that the city goevrnment could not legislate or act in any way regarding the Municipal Court, for the reason that the court is 'a branch of the judicial system of the State of New York, and has nothing to do with the property affairs or government of the city.'

"My bill was passed by the Legislature in conformity with the law.

"An Injustice"

"The Governor works an injustice to a growing and already overcrowded district, and does it on the pretext he must stand between the Republican Legislature and the treasury of the city.

"I notice that the Governor does not raise any such objections to a salary increase for the District Attorney of Queens from $12,000 to $20,000 a year, for the Surrogate of Queens from $17,5000 to $22,500 a year, for the District Attorney of Kings from $15,00 to $20,000 a year, for the Sheriff of New York County from $12,000 to $15,000 a year, for the Under Sheriff from $6,500 to $8,000 a year, for the Chief Clerk n the same office from $4,500 to $6,500 a year, and for the Assistant Couse! from $4,000 to $4,500 a year.

"Here are $25,000 in salary increases, all for Tammany officeholders, bills for these increases come before Governor Smith, and none apepars at the public hearing from the City Goevrnment.

"So the Governor signs the bills for all these increases and never says a word about home rule, mandatory eligsaltion or a Republican legislature warded off from the City treasury by a Democratic Governor who pretends he never plays politics, but who is playing politics all the time."

THEY DID IT

The solid black vote of Chicago did it. William Hale Thompson will be Chicago's next mayor on the strength of the sixty thousand votes which he polled in the black belt of the Windy City. We do not know much about Mayor-Elect Thompson, save what we have read—some good and some otherwise—but the point we are concerned in is the solidarity of the vote of Chicago's colored citizenry it turned the trick and put into office the man to whom the Negroes look for justice and fairness.

Sixty thousand votes out of a possible one million cast is numerically a small amount and yet its weight was so placed in the three-cornered mayoralty fight that it threw the election the way it wanted it to go. It was the balance of power. The lesson to be learned from the way these sixty thousand voters used their strength, though comparitively small against the million or more voters who took part in the election, is but another illustration of the fact that "in union there is strength." Thompson was the Negroes' choice to preside over their destinies and their wish has been gratified simply because they stuck together, a mighty good thing to do when you want anything.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

APR 2 1927

THE COLORED VOTERS.

One issue in the campaign is difficult to handle. It is the colored vote. It is such an issue as shouldn't be in politics and it is such a one as always will be in it when any one opens a door to it or makes an occasion. The colored voters of Chicago and of other cities are nearly all Republicans and probably will be Republicans for many years. That is natural. Even without a hurrah about it they would vote for Thompson. That would have been conceded and the vote virtually checked off from the start.

The difficulty in accepting the fact that there is such an issue is inherent in it. Whatever is said about a question which should not be in political consideration tends to aggravate it. When Thompson spoke in the Negro wards he was, as usual, himself. He said in effect that he was the only mayor who ever had given the colored population a square deal and the only one who would. He prepared his listeners to believe that life for them under him would be different from what it had been.

Democrats have picked this up. Dever hasn't. We believe he is the last man who would, but it has been used. Thompson makes a point of resenting it, but he started it. He made a special case of what he would do for the colored people and his opponents are rubbing it in. He was violent in what he said and some of his opponents are trying to make the most of it.

The whites and blacks of Chicago will have to get along together after the election. They can. All they need do is be themselves and behave themselves. Their relations are all right when they are not aggravated in their consciousness.

The voting should close the incident.

WHERE ARE DAVIS AND HOWARD?

It seems to be a difficult matter for the President to determine where he will spend his summer vacation. That it will be somewhere in the West seems to be fairly well settled. But the trouble consists in selecting the particular place or locality.

The general impression seems to be that, in some way, not altogether clear, the selection of a proper place will not only afford the President needed rest and recreation, but will have a favorable effect in producing in the minds of the dissatisfied and insurgent West a disposition to see things as the President sees them.

Those who set forth this view do not explain in detail how the physical presence of one man can change the understanding and convictions of intelligent people such as those of the West are said to be; but the practical politician is also a master psychologist, or rather is supposed to be, and no doubt he thinks he knows how the thing is brought about.

As a pre-vacation experience it has been suggested that the President go South. In this connection we have seen no manifestation of interest on the part of National Committeemen B. J. Davis, of Georgia, and P. W. Howard, of Mississippi. Why is this?

If men's minds can be changed by the physical presence of the President, there is no section of the country where such a change is needed so much as in the South. The South has been thinking the same things as regards partisan politics for more than three-quarters of a century. It would seem that the time ought to be ripe for a change.

Are not Messrs. Davis and Howard neglecting a rare opportunity to put Georgia and Mississippi in the doubtful column in the presidential election of 1928? Or, is it that their part is to be played before and at the nominating convention, and not at the election? We profess no special knowledge as to any of these matters and only refer to them because they are pertinent to the only present topic of domestic political interest.

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

The Empire State Republican Club

The relations of the Empire State Republican Club to the Republican organization in the state is auxiliary and subsidiary. It is subordinate to the party and contributes to its growth and welfare. Its duties are largely educative and promotive of the principles and policies of the party.

It teaches the duties of citizenship and undertakes to advance the idea that the principles of the Republican party are the best policies of government.

And in order to inculcate these principles in the hearts of the people, the club undertakes a campaign throughout the state to educate the citizens to qualify to vote by registering, and seeing to it that their names appear upon the qualified list of voters in the respective communities where they live.

The club will soon inaugurate a series of meetings throughout the state, in the principal cities. These meetings will be addressed by local talent, and outside talent.

Meetings will be held in Atlanta, Albany, Athens, Augusta, Brunswick, Columbus, Rome, Valdosta, Waycross, Bainbridge, Macon and Thomasville. These meetings will be held jointly with the county organization and the local club.

Our National Committeeman has been invited to address many of the meetings.

The recent decision of our supreme court, knocking the white primary into a cocked hat, spells no bad omen for a free ballot and fair count.

The local authorities will be expected to arrange these meetings, and notify the President or Secretary of the club, Atlanta, Georgia.

DR. W. F. BODDIE, President
DR. E. J. TURNER, Vice-President
T. J. FERGUSON, Treasurer
W. J. SHAW, Secretary
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

SOUTH GETS READY FOR 1928 FIGHT

'Lily-White" Republicans Becoming Active in Mississippi Politics.

By J. R. LAUTIER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 3.—As a prelude to the 1928 fight for the election of delegates to the Republican National Convention, "lily white" Republicans are rearing themselves in Mississippi politics, according to a report reaching here this week.

A call has been issued for the second annual meeting of the Mississippi State Council of the Southern States Republican League. This meeting will be held on McKinley's birthday, January 29, in the Edwards' House, a white hotel in Jackson, Miss., which prohibits colored persons from entering it except in a menial capacity.

The program provides for a conference in the forenoon of the white Republicans of Mississippi "to discuss plans for the organization of a Republican party in the State of Mississippi under white leadership."

The official call for the meeting states that "short talks will be made by Republican men and women from over the state, outlining their views and pointing out the necessity for the organization of a Republican party in the State of Mississippi under white leadership."

This call is signed by George H Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, who is now a resident of Mississippi, as president, and Ernest McCall Hawkins, as secretary of the Mississippi State Council of the Southern States Republican League, which has headquarters in Memphis, Tenn.

According to the charter of the Southern States Republican League the purpose of this organization is "to promote and advance the economic, agricultural, industrial, commercial, educational and political interest of the people in the States of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia, by advocating the principles of the Republican party as enunciated in its national platforms and to aid in extending the scope and usefulness of the Republican party throughout these states."

The charter also provides that "only members of the white race shall be eligible for membership in this organization."

The heads of the Republican party in Mississippi are Perry W. Howard, National Committeeman and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, National Committeewoman.

ANOTHER "FORCE BILL."

We do not believe that the south—the bedrock of the democratic party—will take kindly to the force rule sword that Mr. McAdoo has drawn to fight his way to the presidential nomination in 1928.

In voluntarily championing the bone-dry extremity of the prohibition issue, and in denouncing what he is pleased to term the "nullification" of the 18th amendment by New York, Illinois and other states that have voted repeals of their state enforcement laws, he is clearly within his rights, if he feels that kind of a belligerent political expediency will unify the already badly dismembered party—

But when he strikes directly at the time-honored principle of states' rights, and suggests forcing another federal constabulary or police bill upon the south, then he goes a step even beyond the one taken by the late Henry Cabot Lodge 20 years ago, and against which the south was aroused as at no time since the civil war.

Mr. McAdoo, in outlining his policies, declared in his unofficial announcement for the nomination—the recent Toledo address—as follows:

"The federal government has the power by enlarging its organization for the administration of justice and its staff of enforcement officers in these states, and by centering its effort upon them, to undo the effects of nullification."

And he went further in declaring it to be the sworn duty of the president **"to demand of congress the necessary appropriations and measures to enable him to enforce the constitution and laws of the United States in such nullification or recalcitrant states."**

Immediately such a clear-thinking newspaper as The New York Times was quick to suggest—

"This might be tried on by President Coolidge in connection with the nullification of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the constitution in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and other McAdoo strongholds."

And The New York World, democratic to the core, was equally as quick to visualize the stacks of federal bayonets throughout the south, as in the old days of carpet-bag political inquisition. It said:

"It will reveal Mr. McAdoo as honest enough to admit that he is willing to override the last vestige of states' rights with an army of federal policemen. If Mr. McAdoo sticks to his issue, his friends in the south will have fair warning."

The New York Evening Post did not fail to see the same danger signal.

If a federal police force can tear down states' rights and compel with federal bayonets the enforcement of the 18th amendment, **then the same federal police force must enforce the 14th and 15th amendments in the same way.**

Mr. McAdoo's defiant challenge is not only a sword thrust into the very vitals of the sacred tenets and traditions of the democratic party, but in the south it opens afresh a wound that time and sentiment had all but healed—a wound that will rekindle the fires of sectionalism, and can only serve to destroy every hope of party success for a generation to come.

As The New York Times further suggested—he has thrown his glove in the very face of that section of America where the democratic party is the strongest. It is time to think, and think seriously.

BIG BILL HOLDS 81% OF NEGROES' BALLOTS IN POLL

50,000 Majority on South Side Is Indicated.

PRE-ELECTION POLL.

Candid.—	Prev. reports.	Today's results.	Totals to date.	Pct.
Dever	10,834	3,345	14,179	43.53
Thom'n	12,537	4,383	16,920	51.94
Rob't'n	1,172	301	1,473	4.52
Totals	24,543	8,029	32,572	99.99

BY OSCAR HEWITT.

Sentiment on the south side at present strongly favors William Hale Thompson for mayor, if THE TRIBUNE poll is a reliable index. Measured in potential votes, the Thompson advantage there means upwards of 50,000 ballots.

That estimate will undoubtedly be questioned by the Democrats. They and the newspapers for years have talked so much about "the great west side" that they have come to believe it is the most populous section. The fact is that the south side in 1924 polled about 6,000 more votes for president, 13,000 more votes for governor and 17,000 more votes for United States senator than did the west side. It is therefore apparent that the south side can be as large a factor in deciding the mayoralty election as can the west side. There is probably 360,000 votes available on the south side for this contest and the straw votes indicate that Thompson has an advantage of nearly 15 per cent.

Strong for Thompson.

The straws presented today are from 22 south side movie theaters, four street intersections in white neighborhoods, five street corners in colored sections, all on the south side; and several miscellaneous locations. The total votes collected are 8,029, of which more than 80 per cent were gathered in on the south side.

The 6,524 straws for the south side were distributed by the voters among the candidates as follows:

Candidate.	Straws.	Percent.
Dever [Dem.]	2,670	40.92
Thompson [Rep.]	3,641	55.80
Robertson [Ind.]	213	3.26
Totals	6,524	99.98

A perusal of the details below, of which the above is a summarization, makes it evident even to those uninformed on politics that the following is the present situation on the south side:

The colored voters prefer Big Bill.

The high class Republican voters want Mayor Dever reëlected.

Part of the Democratic territory favors the present mayor and the other part leans strongly to the former mayor.

Better for Democrats.

From the Democratic viewpoint the south side is in much better shape than the west side, where the poll shows the Thompson sentiment so strong that it is apparent that many Democrats cast straws for "Big Bill." Today's figures indicate that the Democrats are making a little progress for Dever among the colored voters. In the poll results printed Sunday, Thompson had 92 per cent of the colored straws collected. In the four street corners of that area, for which figures are available today, Thompson's percentage is a trifle over 81. But even that is a tremendous advantage to Thompson. If he can hold 81 per cent of the colored voters until April 5 he will have thousands of votes in his pocket when the polls open.

The size of this Thompson margin is difficult to estimate because the influx of colored voters makes the 1920 census figures too low; but Thompson leaders have claimed there are between 80,000 and 90,000 colored citizens who will go to the polls on the south side.

Factor in Election.

Comment on that figure is reserved for more reckoning but unquestionably Thompson has a very large percentage of the colored vote and they will be a substantial factor in the election results.

Today's poll of the south side is almost an exact duplicate of the mayoralty election in that section four years ago, except that the figures were reversed. In the 1923 election, Dever who then had the support of a large part of the colored voters considering that he is a Democrat, polled 54.92 per cent of the south siders, and Leuder, the Republican candidate, received only 40.61 per cent. In the poll presented today, Thompson, the Republican, received 55.80 per cent of the straws and Dever 40.92 per cent. The poll indicates that the largest factor in the change is the colored section.

Republicans Favor Dever.

The poll shows that Dever is now the favorite in the Woodlawn area, that part of Hyde Park east of Cottage Grove avenue, the South Shore district, and the territory south of 67th street between Stoney Island avenue on the east and State street on the west. That is largely Republican territory. While the mayor now appears to have an edge in it, it is relatively small. The detail below will disclose several Democratic districts where the mayor is running ahead, but even in these he does not appear to have the normal Democratic strength. In several other Democratic spots the present mayor lags behind the former mayor.

The details of the poll are as follows:

Ward. Street corners.	Dever.	Thompson.	Robertson.
2—State and 31st-sts	18	212	1
2—Indiana and 35th-st	9	176	2
3—Cott. Grove and 39th	65	117	5
4—Cott. Grove and 47th	52	136	5
4—State and 47th-sts	6	70	1
6—Cott. Grove and 63rd	72	78	3
7—67th and Stony Island	67	35	4
8—75th and Cottage Grove	49	69	4
17—69th and Wentworth	74	50	5
MOVIE THEATERS.			
3—Lyceum, 3851 Cottage Grove	36	65	8
4—Frolic, 947 E. 55th-st.	91	50	3
5—Harding, 1316 E. 55th-st.	30	61	5
6—Tower, 1517 E. 63d-st.	138	94	4
7—Jeffery, 1980 E. 71st-st.	108	83	13
8—Chatham, 7536 Cottage Grove	36	54	6
9—Roseland State, 11020 Michigan	131	194	14
10—International, 9223 Commercial	43	79	6
11—Midwest, Archer and W. 35th-st.	109	156	7
12—Brighton Park, 4221 Archer	101	153	12
13—People's, 1620 W. 47th-st.	66	102	6
14—Halfield, 5449 S. Halsted-st.	147	68	4

Ward. Street corners.	Dever.	Thompson.	Robertson.
15—Boulevard, 1616 W. 55th-st.	167	141	11
16—West Englewood, 1619 W. 63d-st.	94	137	9
17—Stratford, 706 W. 63d	99	127	9
17—Englewood, 726 W. 63d-st.	101	122	9
19—Capitol, 7941 S. Halsted	106	97	8
2—Avenue, 3106 Indiana	24	162	0
7—Hamilton, 2100 E. 71st	73	109	11
6—Tivoli, 63d and Cottage Grove	386	283	26
7—Jackson Park, 6711 Stony Island	109	114	7
3—Harmony, 411 E. 43d	63	248	5
MEETINGS.			
Chicago Forum, Erlanger's theater	172	71	14
Coliseum Annex, religious	61	123	20
SPORTS.			
Soccer, De Paul field	117	125	20
HOSPITAL.			
Cook county hospital	102	139	8
DANCE HALLS.			
Dreamland, Van Buren and Paulina	90	175	19
Aragon, Argyle and Kenmore	75	54	4
Trianon, 62d and Cottage Grove	58	55	3

The seven detailed polls at the bottom of the list are highly illustrative of certain sentiment in the 32,572 straws collected by THE TRIBUNE to date.

Difference of Opinion.

The Chicago Forum appeals to those intellectually inclined. Apparently that class of Chicago citizenship favors Mayor Dever. The Coliseum annex meeting was where the girl evangelist appeared, where the appeal was largely to the emotions. That audience went for Thompson two to one. The reputation of Big Bill as a sportsman apparently appealed to the persons who attended the soccer game at De Paul college campus, and he was given the edge over the mayor. The county hospital poll was intended to be of poor people who were visiting their injured or sick relatives. On that basis it would have been much more for Thompson than the figures show, but many hospital attachés cast a straw, and they went for Dever. But at that Thompson got a third more votes.

The three dance halls polled are located on each of the three sides of the city. The west side hall went strong for Thompson and the north side hall gave Dever a substantial margin. He also had a slight edge in the south side dance hall.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.
APR 7 1927

Thompsonism Wins

Chicago, home of disorder and of brawling showed on Tuesday that it could elect a mayor as peaceably as any other American city. The armed guards and machine guns, mobilized by the chief of police for use in case of disturbance, were not needed. There were no outbreaks of violence, nor any flagrant efforts at intimidation of voters. In form, the election seems to have been open to no objection. But not so much can be said for the substance, or to put it another way, for the result. The result is not one in which the better elements in Chicago may find any satisfaction. Mayor William E. Dever, one of the best chief executives Chicago has ever had, went down to defeat before the redoubtable William Hale Thompson, whose administration of Chicago affairs from 1915 to 1923 left one of the most disgraceful records in the history of American municipal government. Thompson's election means a return of extravagance and incompetence in the administration of America's second city. It may also mean that the city is to be dominated by the traction interests, for Samuel Insull, the angel who contributed so heavily to the campaign fund of Frank Smith in the last Illinois senatorial campaign, is said to have been instrumental in bringing all Republican factions to unite behind Thompson.

The strictly partisan aspects of the campaign may be left out of consideration. Partisan organizations backed the two opposing candidates, but partisan issues and partisan principles were not involved. The contest was between the reform element behind Mayor Dever and the special interests and the special racial groups behind Mr. Thompson. The issue was between good government and Thompsonism. What Thompsonism is may be seen from the manner in which the victorious candidate conducted his campaign. Instead of undertaking intelligent discussion of the matters with which he would be required to deal if elected to the mayoralty, he contented himself with appeals to racial prejudice. He sought and won the favor of the Negro voters by allowing his Negro supporters to promise that his election would make Chicago the Mecca of the Negro race. He sought to curry favor with the Irish by attacking Mayor Dever as a "left-handed" member of the race and by denouncing King George V of England. For all others he put forward the slogan of "America First." He made the League of Nations an issue by including in many of their eyes, popular government and good government can not become synonymous terms. The man who diverts attention from the real issues by putting forward these matters so wholly unrelated to municipal affairs, stamps himself at once as a dangerous demagogue. The fact that a candidate for office can win by advancing irrelevant appeals to prejudice reflects on the electorate and tends to create misgivings as to popular government, not only in Chicago, but in all our large cities. As long as voters are not interested enough in the welfare of their city to perceive when agitators like Thompson are pulling the wool over their eyes, popular government and good government can not become synonymous terms.

BIG BILL HOLDS 81% OF NEGROES' BALLOTS IN POLL

50,000 Majority on South Side Is Indicated.

PRE-ELECTION POLL.

Candid.—	Prev. reports.	Today's results.	Totals to date.	Pct.
Dever	10,834	3,345	14,179	43.53
Thom'n	12,537	4,383	16,920	51.94
Rob't'n	1,172	301	1,473	4.52
Totals	24,543	8,029	32,572	99.99

BY OSCAR HEWITT.

Sentiment on the south side at present strongly favors William Hale Thompson for mayor, if THE TRIBUNE poll is a reliable index. Measured in potential votes, the Thompson advantage there means upwards of 50,000 ballots.

That estimate will undoubtedly be questioned by the Democrats. They and the newspapers for years have talked so much about "the great west side" that they have come to believe it is the most populous section. The fact is that the south side in 1924 polled about 6,000 more votes for president, 13,000 more votes for governor and 17,000 more votes for United States senator than did the west side. It is therefore apparent that the south side can be as large a factor in deciding the mayoralty election as can the west side. There is probably 360,000 votes available on the south side for this contest and the straw votes indicate that Thompson has an advantage of nearly 15 per cent.

Strong for Thompson.

The straws presented today are from 22 south side movie theaters, four street intersections in white neighborhoods, five street corners in colored sections, all on the south side; and several miscellaneous locations. The total votes collected are 8,029, of which more than 80 per cent were gathered in on the south side.

The 6,524 straws for the south side were distributed by the voters among the candidates as follows:

Candidate.	Straws.	Percent.
Dever [Dem.]	2,670	40.92
Thompson [Rep.]	3,641	55.80
Robertson [Ind.]	213	3.26
Totals	6,524	99.98

A perusal of the details below, of which the above is a summarization, makes it evident even to those uninformed on politics that the following is the present situation on the south side:

The colored voters prefer Big Bill.

The high class Republican voters want Mayor Dever reëlected.

Part of the Democratic territory favors the present mayor and the other part leans strongly to the former mayor.

Better for Democrats.

From the Democratic viewpoint the south side is in much better shape than the west side, where the poll shows the Thompson sentiment so strong that it is apparent that many Democrats cast straws for "Big Bill." Today's figures indicate that the Democrats are making a little progress for Dever among the colored voters. In the poll results printed Sunday, Thompson had 92 per cent of the colored straws collected. In the four street corners of that area, for which figures are available today, Thompson's percentage is a trifle over 81. But even that is a tremendous advantage to Thompson. If he can hold 81 per cent of the colored voters until April 5 he will have thousands of votes in his pocket when the polls open.

The size of this Thompson margin is difficult to estimate because the influx of colored voters makes the 1920 census figures too low; but Thompson leaders have claimed there are between 80,000 and 90,000 colored citizens who will go to the polls on the south side.

Factor in Election.

Comment on that figure is reserved for more reckoning but unquestionably Thompson has a very large percentage of the colored vote and they will be a substantial factor in the election results.

Today's poll of the south side is almost an exact duplicate of the mayoralty election in that section four years ago, except that the figures were reversed. In the 1923 election, Dever who then had the support of a large part of the colored voters considering that he is a Democrat, polled 54.92 per cent of the south siders, and Leuder, the Republican candidate, received only 40.61 per cent. In the poll presented today, Thompson, the Republican, received 55.80 per cent of the straws and Dever 40.92 per cent. The poll indicates that the largest factor in the change is the colored section.

Republicans Favor Dever.

The poll shows that Dever is now the favorite in the Woodlawn area, that part of Hyde Park east of Cottage Grove avenue, the South Shore district, and the territory south of 67th street between Stoney Island avenue on the east and State street on the west. That is largely Republican territory. While the mayor now appears to have an edge in it, it is relatively small. The detail below will disclose several Democratic districts where the mayor is running ahead, but even in these he does not appear to have the normal Democratic strength. In several other Democratic spots the present mayor lags behind the former mayor.

The details of the poll are as follows:

Ward. Street corners.	Dever.	Thompson.	Robertson.
2—State and 31st-sts.	18	212	1
2—Indiana and 35th-st.	9	176	2
3—Cott. Grove and 39th	65	117	5
4—Cott. Grove and 47th	52	136	5
4—State and 47th-sts.	6	70	1
6—Cott. Grove and 63rd	72	78	3
7—67th and Stony Island	67	35	4
8—75th and Cottage Grove	49	60	4
17—69th and Wentworth.	74	50	5
MOVIE THEATERS.			
3—Lyceum, 3851 Cottage Grove	36	65	8
4—Frolic, 947 E. 55th-st.	91	50	3
5—Harding, 1316 E. 55th-st.	30	61	5
6—Tower, 1517 E. 63d-st.	138	94	4
7—Jeffery, 1980 E. 71st-st.	108	83	13
8—Chatham, 7536 Cottage Grove	36	54	6
9—Roseland State, 11020 Michigan	131	194	14
10—International, 9223 Commercial	43	79	6
11—Midwest, Archer and W. 35th-st.	109	156	7
12—Brighton Park, 4221 Archer	101	152	12
13—People's, 1620 W. 47th-st.	66	102	6
14—Halfield, 5449 S. Halsted-st.	147	68	4

Ward. Street corners.	Dever.	Thompson.	Robertson.
15—Boulevard, 1616 W. 55th-st.	167	141	11
16—West Englewood, 1619 W. 63d-st.	94	137	9
17—Stratford, 706 W. 63d	99	127	9
17—Englewood, 726 W. 63d-st.	101	122	9
19—Capitol, 7941 S. Halsted	106	97	8
2—Avenue, 3106 Indiana	24	162	0
7—Hamilton, 2100 E. 71st	73	109	11
6—Tivoli, 63d and Cottage Grove	386	283	26
7—Jackson Park, 6711 Stony Island	109	114	7
3—Harmony, 411 E. 43d	63	248	5
MEETINGS.			
Chicago Forum, Erlanger's theater	172	71	14
Coliseum Annex, religious	61	123	20
SPORTS.			
Soccer, De Paul field.	117	125	20
HOSPITAL.			
Cook county hospital.	102	139	8
DANCE HALLS.			
Dreamland, Van Buren and Paulina	90	175	19
Aragon, Argyle and Kenmore	75	54	4
Trianon, 62d and Cottage Grove	58	55	3

The seven detailed polls at the bottom of the list are highly illustrative of certain sentiment in the 32,572 straws collected by THE TRIBUNE to date.

Difference of Opinion.

The Chicago Forum appeals to those intellectually inclined. Apparently that class of Chicago citizenship favors Mayor Dever. The Coliseum annex meeting was where the girl evangelist appeared, where the appeal was largely to the emotions. That audience went for Thompson two to one. The reputation of Big Bill as a sportsman apparently appealed to the persons who attended the soccer game at De Paul college campus, and he was given the edge over the mayor. The county hospital poll was intended to be of poor people who were visiting their injured or sick relatives. On that basis it would have been much more for Thompson than the figures show, but many hospital attachés cast a straw, and they went for Dever. But at that Thompson got a third more votes.

The three dance halls polled are located on each of the three sides of the city. The west side hall went strong for Thompson and the north side hall gave Dever a substantial margin. He also had a slight edge in the south side dance hall.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.

APR 7 1927

Thompsonism Wins

Chicago, home of disorder and of brawling, showed on Tuesday that it could elect a mayor as peaceably as any other American city. The armed guards and machine guns, mobilized by the chief of police for use in case of disturbance, were not needed. There were no outbreaks of violence, nor any flagrant efforts at intimidation of voters. In form, the election seems to have been open to no objection. But not so much can be said for the substance, or to put it another way, for the result. The result is not one in which the better elements in Chicago may find any satisfaction. Mayor William E. Dever, one of the best chief executives Chicago has ever had, went down to defeat before the redoubtable William Hale Thompson, whose administration of Chicago affairs from 1915 to 1923 left one of the most disgraceful records in the history of American municipal government. Thompson's election means a return of extravagance and incompetence in the administration of America's second city. It may also mean that the city is to be dominated by the traction interests, for Samuel Insull, the angel who contributed so heavily to the campaign fund of Frank Smith in the last Illinois senatorial campaign, is said to have been instrumental in bringing all Republican factions to unite behind Thompson.

The strictly partisan aspects of the campaign may be left out of consideration. Partisan organizations backed the two opposing candidates, but partisan issues and partisan principles were not involved. The contest was between the reform element behind Mayor Dever and the special interests and the special racial groups behind Mr. Thompson. The issue was between good government and Thompsonism. What Thompsonism is may be seen from the manner in which the victorious candidate conducted his campaign. Instead of undertaking intelligent discussion of the matters with which he would be required if elected to the mayoralty, he contented himself with appeals to racial prejudice. He sought and won the favor of the Negro voters by allowing his Negro supporters to promise that his election would make Chicago the Mecca of the Negro race. He sought to curry favor with the Irish by attacking Mayor Dever as a "left-handed" member of the race and by denouncing King George V of England. For all others he put forward the slogan of "America First." He made the League of Nations an issue by including in many of his campaign speeches denunciations of that agency for world peace. The man who diverts attention from the real issues by putting forward these matters so wholly unrelated to municipal affairs, stamps himself at once as a dangerous demagogue. The fact that a candidate for office can win by advancing irrelevant appeals to prejudice reflects on the electorate and tends to create misgivings as to popular government, not only in Chicago, but in all our large cities. As long as voters are not interested enough in the welfare of their city to perceive when agitators like Thompson are pulling the wool over their eyes, popular government and good government can not become synonymous terms.

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation

DEMOCRAT

Sherman

APR 1 1927

Republican.

Chicago and the Negro Vote.

In the Chicago municipal elections this year there have appeared problems which have forced the white population to take cognizance of a problem which threatens to be greater than most would admit they had dreamed of. That problem is the negro vote. There have been only recently, in connection with the supreme court ruling on the Texas primary election laws, comments even in Chicago newspapers in disparagement of the Texas attitude towards the negro voter.

Now, some of the Chicago people will come to understand that there is at least some smattering of reason for the exclusion of the negro voters from the democratic primaries. The negro population in Chicago is growing to such proportions that the block of colored voters may control a situation. It is fear of just such a situation that is being aroused now. The Houston Post-Dispatch describes the situation thus:

"Right now Chicago is being called upon to consider the negro in politics, and to judge from reports emanating from that self-confident city, the job isn't any too much to the liking of a great number of the white people, possibly a majority of them.

"Their problem grows out of the fact that 'Big Bill' Thompson, who was given the nomination for mayor by the republicans some time ago by a tremendous majority, has been flirting too openly and affectionately with the colored vote. It was expected by his apologists, of course, that he would cultivate the hyphenate vote, and play with the colored contingent sufficiently to assure its support, but when the nominee went down into the black belt and set himself up as the champion of the negro's various grievances in Chicago, promising to fire all the policemen who had made arrests in the negro section during a recent disturbance, and intimating that things would be rather free and easy in that quarter in case he was elected, a good many of the white supporters began to fear he was spreading it on a bit thick.

"The negroes are said to be promising 'Big Bill' 60,000 votes on April 5. With that bloc delivered to him, as mayor he would be under obligations to distribute some choice pieces of patronage among the colored race. The white folks aren't blind, either.

"Chicago has a negro population of 200,000 and it is encroaching in some places upon choice white residence sections, and negroes are taking white men's jobs. Having a great and growing negro population in your midst is a different matter from having a negligible negro population and sitting back and telling another section with a great colored population what to do about it. Chicago is finding this out through experience. The serious race riots in Chicagoi occurred during a former administration of Mr. Thompson, who has taken such a shne to the vote of color, Chicagoans are recalling.

"The upshot of it is that there is a possibility of the former mayor's losing more white votes by reason of his cultivation of the negroes, than he will get from the black belt if he gets the negro vote solid. It may turn out that the very strategy that Thompson is relying on to carry him back into power next week will add strength to the cause of Mayor Dever and save Chicago from another visitation of Thompsonism."

MINISTERS DENY THEY GAVE O. K. TO MAYOR DEVER

Revs. Williams, Branham And Petty Bare 'Interview' In Which They Were Misquoted

In a letter to the Chicago Whip, the Rev. L. K. Williams, pastor of Olivet Baptist Church; the Rev. J. H. Branham, assistant pastor of the same, and the Rev. W. L. Petty, pastor of the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church make an emphatic denial of the report published in local dailies—that they had endorsed Mayor Dever and assured him of their support. These ministers, who are representatives of the Douglass Civic League, on the other hand, declare they unqualifiedly condemned the action of Mayor Dever for his indiscriminate raids. The letter follows:

March 14, 1927.

Editor, Chicago Whip
Chicago, Ill.
Dear Editor:

We are sending you a report of what was actually said by the undersigned in a conference with the Mayor. Some newspapers made false and erroneous comments on the purpose and results of that conference. We have requested all of the papers mis-quoting us to make proper corrections. The Chicago Tribune did last Sunday, page 24.

We are not now for nor have we ever voted for Mayor Dever. Our purpose there was to protest against the indiscriminate raids made out here and to urge him not to permit the capitalization of race prejudice during this hot political campaign.

It should be said also that Mr. William E. King was no party to this conference, he just happened in.

The following is exactly what we said to Mayor Dever:

"All decent elements of the Second Ward believe in law and the enforcement of law, but this enforcement of law must be had in keeping with established legal methods. We are against crime and desire to see it uprooted everywhere, but we cannot approve promiscuous, indiscriminate raids perpetrated in the name and under the guise of law. We can and will co-operate with all properly constituted legal authority as it operates in harmony with law and good order."

J. H. Branham,
L. K. Williams,
W. L. Petty,
Committee Douglass Civic League,

SPRINGFIELD
ILLINOIS

MAR 19 1927

FAIRNESS NEEDED, SAYS COLORED G.O.P.

At a meeting of colored Republicans last night at 1219 East Madison street resolutions were adopted endorsing J. Emil Smith for mayor, Frank E. Early for police magistrate, the Republican nominees for supervisors, and Joseph M. Figueira for commissioner.

Resolutions stated that the hope of obtaining adequate political recognition rests the intelligent use of the ballot and in helping to elect men who are capable and fair to all classes. Henry Stephens Henry Williams, W. P. Pennington, W. T. Casey and Joe Marrin were members of the committee.

POLITICAL REPRISALS ON CHICAGO NEGROES FAIL OF EFFECT

The victory of William Hale Thompson in the Republican primary for Mayor of Chicago cost some of his friends in the Second Ward much discomfort. The large Negro vote given Mr. Thompson has incited a rather determined effort on the part of the city administration to dampen the ardor of the Negro voter before the regular election. The means of doing this do not appear either to be very dignified nor very fair.

Last week approximately 1,000 persons were arrested and put into the Chicago jails on no charges whatever. The pretentions on which this wholesale arrest of citizens was carried out were so absolutely flimsy and groundless that the court discharged them with much more dispatch and informality than they were herded in.

The matter seems to have taken the form of political reprisals on a wholesale scale much to the discomfort of those who were victims and ended much to the chagrin of those who staged this round up.

Such methods used to frighten Negroes from the pursuit and the exercise of political rights might have been effective a long time ago, and, in some places, they might be effective now, but, certainly, not very effective in a city like Chicago, where political privileges are guaranteed and exercised in common among citizens without regard for color.

A majority of 180,000 looks like a landslide that would involve something more than the Negro vote to affect.

In view of this fact it would seem that such methods of reprisal would serve only to augment the Negro vote in self defense and prove the wisdom of the party's choice of officials that can get public confidence and will serve and protect the populace. It seems rather cowardly to select the most defenseless part of the citizens as objects for revenge for something that has been done more by the influence and efforts of others than by themselves. And yet this is the common method of proving Nordic superiority.

NEWS

Tribune by AFRS 1927

Chicago Goes To The Polls

The decent people of Chicago go to the polls today frankly fearful that William Hale Thompson, demagogue de luxe, whose campaign has been based largely on an appeal to race hatreds and cheap "Americanism," has a good chance of being returned to the city hall from which he was ousted four years ago by Mayor Dever.

In the face of the opposition of thousands of Republicans of the better class in business, financial and professional circles, of independents, of civic leaders like Julius Rosenwald, President Simpson of Marshall Fields, Vice-President Dawes and many other leaders of the better opinion, the wide-open and Negro wards may return Big Bill to office. This situation would be impossible in the average community, but it is not so fantastic in a large American city. New York's experience, the experience of San Francisco and at times of Philadelphia and now Chicago's are serious indictments of democracy as far as it applies to city government.

Thompson was an expensive mayor; his extravagance finally beat him. He was also accused of corruption and though the charge wasn't proved, suspicions that it was true helped oust him. Yet with the assistance of those noble partners, Governor Len Small and State's Attorney Crowe, and the more respectable figures of Senator Deneen and Senator-elect Smith, who excuse their glaring failure of citizenship on the ground of party regularity, Thompson may win. The Republican machine thinks it may need Thompson in 1928, so a little thing like good government does not enter into its calculations.

Mayor Dever has been a capable mayor but all reports agree that he will be fortunate to pull through in the face of the Thompsons combine of the booze interests and every other disorderly and lawless element which stands for a wide-open town.

ATTACK DEVER ON POLICE RAIDS IN NEGRO WARDS

Foes Ask Council, State Inquiries.

Vice, gambling, and hoodlumism in the colored wards, Mayor Dever's orders to police there, and a wave of resentment from the Thompson camp entered Chicago's mayoral campaign yesterday as factors in a whirlwind of political controversy.

Tribune 3-10-27

The storm broke simultaneously in the city council here and in the legislature in Springfield. At the latter place attacks by Thompson partisans were met by Democrats, including Mayor Dever, there demanding home rule. The mayor and his partisans declared the police orders, called "oppressive measures" by opponents, were necessary to prevent a reign of lawlessness that would imperil the lives and property of the better class of residents in the Negro wards.

Fight on Two Fronts.

The day's developments at Springfield:

1. Senator A. H. Roberts and Representative George T. Kersey of the third district introduced resolutions denouncing the Chicago police and demanding investigations. The resolutions were sent to committees.

2. Mayor Dever issued 400 words defending his action as an urgent duty, and declaring himself "heartily in favor" of a fair investigation.

The Chicago developments were:

1. Alderman Anderson [2d], Jackson [3d], and Cronson [4th] attacked the "Cossack tyranny of hard boiled policemen," and asked the police committee to bring trial board charges against them.

2. Members of the police committee announced a special meeting at 1 p. m. today to consider the charges. Mayor Dever, Chief Collins, and other officials probably will be asked to appear.

How Trouble Started.

The situation, out of which yesterday's storm arose, started a week ago Tuesday when the Second, Third, and Fourth wards voted 8 to 1 for Thompson in the primary election. In the following celebration, Chief Collins declared, he found the "lid was off" with crime of all kinds on the rampage.

After a conference with the mayor, the chief shifted Capt. Dennis Carroll to the Stanton avenue police station with a picked group of officers and patrolmen. In the last few days, the police have swept through cabarets and places declared to be vice, gambling, and bootlegging resorts, bringing many suspects into the police courts.

Had not the drastic police measures been taken, Chief Collins asserted, it would have been necessary to "call the militia" to shield citizens, who had appealed to him for protection..

Anderson Assails the Police.

"The days of darkest Russia have been surpassed," declared Ald. Louis B. Anderson, Thompson's former floor leader. He opened the attack on the administration yesterday on the floor of the city council.

"On Saturday, March 5, between 1 and 12 p. m., nearly 1,000 citizens were unlawfully arrested in the 2d, 3d, and 4th wards. The police forcibly entered private homes and business places without warrants and in some cases assaulted inoffensive citizens.

"Later, these persons were crowded into cells and police squad rooms and there confined for thirty-six hours. They were not allowed to communicate either with attorneys, bondsmen or friends."

The arguments advanced by Senator Roberts and Representative Kersey ran in the same vein. They vigorously assailed Mayor Dever as a destroyer of the constitutional rights of liberty loving citizens, calling the actions of the police unjustifiable reprisals for the loss of political power to the Thompson forces.

Mayor Dever, when word of the Thompson attack came to his ears, lost no time in issuing a reply.

Dever Meets Attackers.

"It is notorious that for many years this district," his statement reads, referring to the 2d and 3d wards, "has abounded with dens of vice and iniquity, offering a constant menace to the peace and security of decent and honorable colored people residing in the district and to white people whose property and homes are located in or adjacent to that district.

"Particularly just before the recent Feb. 22 primary and since, there has been a disposition on the part of the lawless and criminal elements of the district to disregard obligations of law observance and attempt to open up resorts of the most vicious character which have been closed by the police department during the last four years.

"Complaints of this condition have been brought to me by respectable colored people, election officials, various civic agencies, and contending political factions."

Tribune

Calls It Thompson Move.

Prior to the mayor's statement, when the Roberts resolution was read to the senate, Senator Lecvin characterized it bluntly as a William Hale Thompson political move to regain power.

3-10-27

"It is intended to aid a party which placed a blot on the educational system in Chicago and stole everything which was not nailed down," he shouted. "In effect, they robbed every schoolhouse, and they are now attempting to get back into power to repeat that. I am surprised that Sen-

"THE NEGRO IN POLITICS."

Bedford, Va., April 14, 1927.

To The Commercial Appeal:

Today I have twice read your excellent and able editorial in The Commercial Appeal, "The Negro In Politics," and congratulate you on your frank and straightforward message. In it you have made a rare and hitherto untouched combination of points. To my mind, each fact set forth in your editorial should be obvious to all students of present day conditions.

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn

4-24-27

Like you, I am a friend to the negro, and stand "as a champion of complete justice and equality of the colored man in his opportunities for self-improvement in the affairs of business, and in his standing before the courts." But, as you say: "There can be no complete political equality until social equality is established. In other words, people will not accept as their officials those whom they do not accept whole heartedly on terms of intimate equality and association in the daily affairs of life."

I wish it were possible for everyone in this, our beloved land of the free to read your wonderful message. It would open their eyes to which way we are facing. Wishing for you and your splendid paper ever widening fields of usefulness, success and happiness, I am,

MRS. RUBY PRICE DE BOE.

Political-1927
Party Affiliation.

Republican

NEW JERSEY REPUBLICANS PETITION CONGRESS

Washington March 18, (CPB)—Congressman Francis F. Patterson, Republican, of Camden, N. J., just before the closing days of the Sixty-ninth Congress, presented a memorial petition of the Republican State Conference of New Jersey, composed of colored Republican clubs, urging legislature to suppress lynching and to enforce the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The petition was referred to the committee on the Judiciary.

The Chicago Election.

What we both feared and expected happened in the Chicago mayoralty election. "Big Bill" Thompson's South Side "black and tans" and West Side booze runners, gangsters, hi-jackers and gunmen, allied to the partisan Republican following, have triumphed in making "Big Bill" mayor. Fortunately, outside of a couple of bomb outrages, a showering of machine gun bullets in a couple of places and a few other acts of violence, the election was held without any grave outbreak. "Big Bill's" pledge to get rid of any policeman who tried to interfere with the private use of intoxicants ought to mean that henceforth the great city of the lakes will suffer nothing of aridity. And that should be sufficient compensation for Bill's West Side supporters.

What he will have to give to the colored brothers who form a dark cloud over the southern part of the city must remain for the future to determine. This feature of the situation is by no means reassuring to those persons throughout the country who have nothing but the best of wishes for Chicago despite her own perverseness. It is to be hoped that the sensible leaders of the city's large negro colony will not get an exaggerated idea of their position and importance. If the triumph of their favorite puts foolish notions into the heads of the negroes the result may be most unfortunate.

It cannot be denied that the introduction of the race issue into the campaign was an ill omened mistake. It served to bring out racial animosities and hatreds that are not good for any community. The fact that the Thompson leaders tried to fasten upon his opponent a charge of racial equality makes it plain that the majority of the white people of the great city are opposed to the introduction of the colored brother into politics. To all such we would refer the fact that the national Republican party compels members of that party in practically all the states of the south to pay their devoirs to negro leaders. If the Republicans of Chicago should be put in a position where they must make their obeisances and offer their supplications to one of the south side leaders they can appreciate the position of their brothers in the southland.

As for "Big Bill," he should have learned in the heated campaign through which he has emerged triumphant, that the majority of Chicagoans will not submit willingly to any domination by another race. If he has absorbed that lesson the evil consequences that are possible from his triumph can be averted. If he has not the whole great city may be compelled to reap the whirlwind that was sown in the wind by Bill and his overambitious lieutenants.

Cordele Ga., Dispatch

MAR 4 1927

HARRIS REPLIES ON NEGRO VOTE

WASHINGTON, March 4—(AP)—Senator W. J. Harris today replied in the senate to Senator Edge, of New Jersey, and Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, in their criticism of what they termed the South's suppression of the negro vote.

The Reed (Pennsylvania) filibuster is using in part as counter against theReed (Missouri) campaign funds committee resolution a proposed amendment that "the committee investigate and report to the next congress if any person was denied the right to vote by reason of race or color."

Senator George replied to the criticisms last night, but they were renewed on the floor again and Senator Edge commented disparging-y on the small vote cast in Georgia in comparison to the number registered.

Replying to the senator from New Jersey, Senator Harris replied that the white republicans of Georgia vote in the primaries of the state, and that the negroes were disqualified in large as result of failure to pay poll tax.

In answer to the question as to what proportion of the qualified voters go to the polls, Senator Harris asserted that abut 60 percent was his estimate.

Following his speech on the floor, Senator Harris declared that no threats of senators as to the negro question in Georgia would deter him from pushnig the resolution of the committee which has revealed such fraud and corruption in the elections as has shocked the people of the nation, who are opposed to the sale of seats in the United States Senate to the highest bidder.

Gratitude a Crime?

BECAUSE Negroes, holding the balance of power, elected William Hale Thompson, Republican, mayor of Chicago over William E. Dever, Democrat, the New York Evening Post says the election "is little short of a national as well as a local disgrace. It is as if John Faithful Hylan had 'come back' in New York, and, by the same token, it is a hint that even that calamity is not impossible." The editor also adds that:

> The Negro majority of 50,000 votes, had it come to Dever instead of to Thompson, would have turned the election. The Negroes were brought to Chicago during the war, were welcomed by Thompson, were given the organized vice privileges and are bound to Thompson, body and soul. Chicago, like Indianapolis and other Northern cities, is learning what Negro control means and why the South has kept these voters from the ballot box. May the day never come when Harlem runs New York.

IT IS PROBABLE that Mayor Hylan received a larger number of Negro votes than any other Democratic mayor before or since, so the Post editor might have added that he, too, gave vice privileges to Negroes in exchange for their support, which, like many of the statements already made, reek with prejudice and smell of Ku Klux Klan inspiration. Vice flourished under Hylan, yes, but not to any less extent than it is flourishing today under Mayor Walker, whom fewer Negroes supported than supported Hylan.

THOMPSON, the Republican, is a wet; but not any more so than Al Smith, the Democrat. Chicago politics is corrupt; but not any more so than Tammany Hall politics.

WHAT the Post editor resents, since that paper is now firmly in the hands of conscienceless capitalists, is the fact that Negroes have the ballot at all; and, having it, why they refuse to let others than themselves decide for whom they should vote.

"GRANTED," wrote James Weldon Johnson in his remonstrance, "that 55,000 Negroes did vote for Thompson, are they any more reprehensible than any of the 450,000 whites who did the same thing? Is it not true that raids in the colored section just before election, with the arrest and detention of some 1,000 colored people, resulted in just two being detained by the magistrates? And would not such action provoke the resentment of any group of citizens no matter what color? Is it not true, furthermore, that Mayor Dever ignored the colored citizens in the matter of appointments to office and in other ways?

"IF THE Negroes 'were brought to Chicago during the war,' as you intimate, it was to do the work needed while this country was at war and European immigration was temporarily stopped; and if Mayor Thompson 'welcomed' them, that is surely not to his discredit, and it is surely not calculated to make the people he welcomed vote against him."

IN CHICAGO, under Thompson's administration, and in New York City, under Hylan's administration, Negroes who had supported them did not have the door closed in their faces when they applied or were recommended for positions, or when they insisted that they be treated as citizens and men, and remembered these things when Hylan ran for mayor the second time, and when, a few days ago, they turned out en masse for Thompson. Since when has gratitude become a crime?

A NEWSPAPER NIGHTMARE.

That once staid and respectable exponent of evening journalism, the New York Evening Post, which has taken on a new lease of life under the Midas-like touch of the Man from Maine, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, has been having a nightmare over the results of the Chicago city election. It called the election of William Hale Thomas as Mayor "little short of a national as well as a local disgrace." It classed Thompson with Hylan of New York and Curley of Boston, which seems a little unjust to the former, at least. It attributed the election of Thompson to "corrupt politics, the Negroes and Volsteadism." It scored Senator Deneen for his support of the candidate, but reserved its most violent diatribe for the Negro voters.

Below we give a sample of the effusions emanating from the editorial chair once occupied by E. L. Godkin, who was bitter enough at times, but hardly so virulent. In its issue of April 6, the Post said:

> The Negro majority of 55,000 votes, had it gone to Dever instead of to Thompson, would have turned the election. The Negroes were brought to Chicago during the war, were welcomed by Thompson, were given the organied vice privileges and are bound to Thompson body and soul. Chicago, like Indianapolis and other Northern cities, is learning what Negro control means and why the South has kept these voters from the ballot box. May the day never come when Harlem runs New York.

The following day it returned to the charge by denouncing the appearance of "a class vote," as shown by the fact that "the Negroes voted en masse for Thompson in gratitude for both the defensible and the indefensible favors he had done them." It admitted that there is nothing new in this kind of action on the part of small groups of voters, but it contended that it is seldom that it is taken by a whole class. It deduced from this action, "that the Negroes of Chicago have yet to learn that the price for civic misrule must be paid by all classes." An honest afterthought compelled the grudging admission that "there are plenty of white voters who need to learn the same lesson, and they are not all in Chicago."

Now the reports from Chicago go to show that practically eighty-five to ninety per cent. of the Negro vote went to Thompson, despite the fact that so influential a Negro leader as Edward H. Wright opposed his candidacy and supported the Independent Republican candidate at the polls. And yet it was stated that in 1893 the South Side wards gaveMayor Dever, Democrat, who this year ran against Thompson, 45,000 votes, it being claimed that the Negro vote elected him to office. These same voters turned from Dever to Thompson, with but few exceptions, because of their dissatisfaction with the Democratic administration. This shows a remarkable degree of discrimination on the part of these voters, whether or not the ground for such a change was well-advised or not.

Last week we quoted the Chicago Journal of Commerce as to the municipal and civic neglect that has contributed to the excessive death rate among the Negroes of that city. The intense feeling and vicious tactics that characterized the recent campaign showed anything but a friendly attitude on the part of the Dever administration. It is not remarkable that under such conditions the bulk of the colored voters should turn to Thompson for relief. The Chicago Whip viewed the result "as the emphatic and decisive answer of the lawabiding citizens of the city of Chicago to the injection of the 'race question' into this election."

While the record of Thompson as a former Mayor may not have been such as to commend him to the hypercritical editors of the Evening Post, he probably stood for an improvement of the civic conditions from which the masses of the Negro population are suffering. Their support was therefore justified under those conditions, and the strictures of the Post are as undeserved as they are vicious.

Still, the equine riders of the night are no respecters of persons or papers.

THOMPSON, the Republican, is a wet; but not any more so than Al Smith, the Democrat. Chicago politics is corrupt; but not any more so than Tammany Hall politics.

WHAT the Post editor resents, since that paper is now firmly in the hands of conscienceless capitalists, is the fact that Negroes have the ballot at all; and, having it, why they refuse to let others than themselves decide for whom they should vote.

"GRANTED," wrote James Weldon Johnson in his remonstrance, "that 55,000 Negroes did vote for Thompson, are they any more reprehensible than any of the 450,000 whites who did the same thing? Is it not true that raids in the colored section just before election, with the arrest and detention of some 1,000 colored people, resulted in just two being detained by the magistrates? And would not such action provoke the resentment of any group of citizens no matter what color? Is it not true, furthermore, that Mayor Dever ignored the colored citizens in the matter of appointments to office and in other ways?

"IF THE Negroes 'were brought to Chicago during the war,' as you intimate, it was to do the work needed while this country was at war and European immigration was temporarily stopped; and if Mayor Thompson 'welcomed' them, that is surely not to his discredit, and it is surely not calculated to make the people he welcomed vote against him."

IN CHICAGO, under Thompson's administration, and in New York City, under Hylan's administration, Negroes who had supported them did not have the door closed in their faces when they applied or were recommended for positions, or when they insisted that they be treated as citizens and men, and remembered these things when Hylan ran for mayor the second time, and when, a few days ago, they turned out en masse for Thompson. Since when has gratitude become a crime?

A NEWSPAPER NIGHTMARE.

That once staid and respectable exponent of evening journalism, the New York Evening Post, which has taken on a new lease of life under the Midas-like touch of the Man from Maine, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, has been having a nightmare over the results of the Chicago city election. It called the election of William Hale Thomas as Mayor "little short of a national as well as a local disgrace." It classed Thompson with Hylan of New York and Curley of Boston, which seems a little unjust to the former, at least. It attributed the election of Thompson to "corrupt politics, the Negroes and Volsteadism." It scored Senator Deneen for his support of the candidate, but reserved its most violent diatribe for the Negro voters.

Below we give a sample of the effusions emanating from the editorial chair once occupied by E. L. Godkin, who was bitter enough at times, but hardly so virulent. In its issue of April 6, the Post said:

> The Negro majority of 55,000 votes, had it gone to Dever instead of to Thompson, would have turned the election. The Negroes were brought to Chicago during the war, were welcomed by Thompson, were given the organied vice privileges and are bound to Thompson body and soul. Chicago, like Indianapolis and other Northern cities, is learning what Negro control means and why the South has kept these voters from the ballot box. May the day never come when Harlem runs New York.

The following day it returned to the charge by denouncing the appearance of "a class vote," as shown by the fact that "the Negroes voted en masse for Thompson in gratitude for both the defensible and the indefensible favors he had done them." It admitted that there is nothing new in this kind of action on the part of small groups of voters, but it contended that it is seldom that it is taken by a whole class. It deduced from this action, "that the Negroes of Chicago have yet to learn that the price for civic misrule must be paid by all classes." An honest afterthought compelled the grudging admission that "there are plenty of white voters who need to learn the same lesson, and they are not all in Chicago."

Now the reports from Chicago go to show that practically eighty-five to ninety per cent. of the Negro vote went to Thompson, despite the fact that so influential a Negro leader as Edward H. Wright opposed his candidacy and supported the Independent Republican candidate at the polls. And yet it was stated that in 1893 the South Side wards gaveMayor Dever, Democrat, who this year ran against Thompson, 45,000 votes, it being claimed that the Negro vote elected him to office. These same voters turned from Dever to Thompson, with but few exceptions, because of their dissatisfaction with the Democratic administration. This shows a remarkable degree of discrimination on the part of these voters, whether or not the ground for such a change was well-advised or not.

Last week we quoted the Chicago Journal of Commerce as to the municipal and civic neglect that has contributed to the excessive death rate among the Negroes of that city. The intense feeling and vicious tactics that characterized the recent campaign showed anything but a friendly attitude on the part of the Dever administration. It is not remarkable that under such conditions the bulk of the colored voters should turn to Thompson for relief. The Chicago Whip viewed the result "as the emphatic and decisive answer of the lawabiding citizens of the city of Chicago to the injection of the 'race question' into this election."

While the record of Thompson as a former Mayor may not have been such as to commend him to the hypercritical editors of the Evening Post, he probably stood for an improvement of the civic conditions from which the masses of the Negro population are suffering. Their support was therefore justified under those conditions, and the strictures of the Post are as undeserved as they are vicious.

Still, the equine riders of the night are no respecters of persons or papers.

Political—1927
Party Affiliation

BEN'S BEMOANINGS

Old Ben Davis, of Atlanta Independent fame, continues to bemoan the refusal of certain publishers of race journals throughout the country to join his press association. Each week he sets forth a long line of gush in an effort to have it appear that these publishers who refuse to be inveigled into the net designed to further his own selfish and vulgar interests, are suffering because of their refusal to do so. It is really amusing that the old "Georgia Peach" should continue in his rantings. They have about as much effect as the winds would have trying to blow over Kennesaw mountain.

The fact is, Old Ben is desirous of perfecting an association, perpetuating himself at its head, and then exploiting himself as a power among Negroes with a view of getting into the good graces of the Republican party. Party leaders know the old fellow and his lack of influence, and he will find himself still tugging in an effort to pull himself into power until his last breath is drawn, but no more will be accomplished than has been. When he goes over to Washington, he will be told as he has been told, "Don't take yourself so seriously. Go back home and be a good fellow." Ben says that they didn't tell him such in Washington, but they certainly did.

IS AIDE TO THOMPSON

Bishop A. J. Carey Accepts Post On Civil Service Commission Of Chicago

Bishop Archibald J. Carey, 4750 South Parkway, presiding Bishop of the 5th Episcopal District of the African Methodist Church, comprised of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming and Montana, was named a member of the Board of Civil Service Commissioners by Mayor William Hale Thompson Tuesday. The selection of Bishop Carey as the first colored citizen to ever occupy this important post was almost the first official act of Mayor Thompson, after he had been administered his oath of office by the retiring City Clerk, Chicago Common.

Former Senator Samuel A. Ettelson, who had declined to serve as corporation counsel, was prevailed upon to reconsider his decision and accepted again the post in which he had already served during the former terms of Mayor Thompson. Bonds for both Bishop Carey and Mr. Ettelson were approved Wednesday.

Bishop Carey Popular Choice

In the selection of Bishop Carey for the post of Civil Service Commissioner, Mayor Thompson is satisfied that he has made the selection of a man that will meet with the universal approval of the Chicago voters. Bishop Carey, as pastor of Quinn Chapel A. M. E. Church, 24th street and Wabash avenue, won many friends and did much to promote the cause of African Methodism in Chicago. He served with distinction at Bethel Institutional and as presiding bishop.

He has been a life-long friend of William Hale Thompson, having been one of those who supported the Mayor of Chicago when he (Thompson) was elected alderman of the 2nd ward many years ago.

Ettelson Served 2nd Ward

Mr. Ettleson also launched his political career on the south side, where he has many warm friends and admirers. He was formerly Senator from the 3rd Senatorial District, in which post he was succeeded by Senator Adelbert H. Roberts, the first colored Senator to be elected in Illinois.

Corporation Counsel Ettelson is a warm friend of the south side voters, whose interests he served for a long term and his appointment and acceptance is pointed out in connection with other things as proof positive that the present administration will keep faith, as it has always done in the past, with south side voters.

Other Appointments

While no definite announcement has been made except as to the offices named above, from reliable sources close to Mayor Thompson, it is said the following persons have been named on the slate of the present administration:

Republican

Chief of police—Michael Hughes.

City comptroller—Charles C. Fitzmorris.

Corporation counsel—Samuel A. Ettelson.

President of the board of local improvements—Michael J. Faherty.

Building commissioner—Chris Paschen.

Commissioner of public works—Richard W. Wolfe.

Deputy commissioner of public works—Edward H. Moore.

President of the civil service commission—Thomas J. Houston; as a commission member, Bishop A. J. Carey of the African M. E. church.

Chief of welfare bureau—Mrs. Anna L. Smith.

Boiler inspector—George S. Nye.

Member zoning commission—Mrs. Eva Holland Hamilton.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Star

APR 8 1927

NEGROES URGED TO UPHOLD G. O. P.

Perry W. Howard Addresses Race Congress—Thomas R. Clark Takes Issue.

Emphatically praising the present administration, Perry W. Howard, member of the Republican national committee, speaking before the delegates to the Twelfth Annual National Race Congress at the Mount Carmel Baptist Church last night, advised that all American negroes vote for President Coolidge if he is nominated in 1928.

Thomas R. Clark, local attorney, differed with Howard, saying that the negroes were in no better state today than shortly after their emancipation.

Hails Party Untrue.

Rev. William A. Byrd of Jersey City, supported the Republican administration, but said that he thought the party had not been true to the colored race. He said that fewer negroes have been given political and diplomatic appointments tan ever before.

Col. West A. Hamilton, editor of the Washington Sentinel, spoke on the "Negro Press and Politics." He said that it was the duty of the press to point the way, and that the negro press had done much to secure rights for the colored race.

Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, president of the National Training School for Girls, spoke on the colored woman and politics.

Minister Is Elected.

S. H. Hadley, attorney, speaking at yesterday morning's session, said that it devolved upon the church to teach the right principles in politics and the right use of the ballot.

The meeting closed last night with the election of officers for the ensuing year. Those elected were: Rev. W. H. Jernagin, president; J. U. King, vice president; G. A. Parker, executive secretary; H. T. Medford, recording secretary; W. A. Taylor, assistant secretary; G. T. Wilcher, treasurer; L. B. Brooks, organizer; Rev. H. B. Taylor, chaplain; J. H. Duckery, lecturer; George H. Mack, reporter; E. W. Watson, sergeant-at-arms; John R. Hawkins, treasurer defense fund; William A. Byrd, lecturer; J. Harvey Randolph, chairman executive board; L. Louis Taylor, G. A. Parker and Louis Mehlinger, legal department.

NEGRO WARDS GAVE THOMPSON 50,000 VOTES

New Mayor Of Chicago Owes Election To Colored Voters, Who Were Made Issue In The Campaign By the Democrats

CHICAGO, Apr. 11 (Staff Corespondence for The Associated Negro Press) "Mayor Dever will be re-elected, because the people understand the issue. This is a white man's city."

Thus saith the final statement of George Brennan, Democratic Boss of Chicago, and one time nominee for the United States Senate. The Democrats, under Brennan, made the Negro the chief issue of the Campaign for mayor, much to the chagrin of Mayor Dever, and embarrassment of several thousand negroes who had voted for a Democratic mayor once, and who might have, to some extent voted again. Brennan claims the act "political expediency."

The Associated Negro Press advised, in a recent story, concerning the wild and boisterous tactics of the Democrats in their eagerness to re-elect Mayor Dever. Up to the last minute, the bosses of the Democrats, resorted to the cheapest and foulest sort of propaganda possible, in order to prejudice white citizens against William Hale Thompson. It is difficult to recount all the things.

TREND OF NEGRO IN POLITICS DISCUSSED

By Marian D. Butler

William O. Walker, managing editor of The Washington Tribune, addressed the Political Study Club last Sunday afternoon on "The Trend of the Negro in Politics." The club met at the residence of Mrs. Lomax, of 1922 Fifteenth street northwest.

Mr. Walker declared that the ballot was the race's only hope for relief from economic oppression and urged all women to enter politics, where, if she holds true to her ideals, she will cleanse politics and greatly assist in raising the starnard of Negro leadership.

"The ballot offers the Negro his greatest weapon in his battle for economic freedom in America," declared Mr. Walker. Continuing he said, "Unfortunately he has not used it wisely. Because of this fact the race is finding that its political strength is getting weaker and weaker. At no time since emancipation has the Negro weilded such small influence in politics as he does today.

Grant's Administration

"During General Grant's administration, the Negro reached his zenith as a political power. From office holding of all kinds under Grant, the race can point only to a few small jobs more or less of an inconsequental nature under President Coolidge. Although the Republican party in the South for years has been largely composed of Negroes, the race has been given only one federal job in that section and got that only after a hard fight.

'All groups use the ballot to further their own interests except the Negro. We should learn a lesson from the Woman's Party or the Labor Party. These two groups have kept their identity intact, but at the same time has gotten the support of men of various political belief. The Negro alone puts all his eggs in one political basket.

Negroes Forsaking G. O. P.

"The unmistakable trend of the Negro in politics is away from the Republcan party. For the first time in the history of the race, the Negro split his ticket in the national election of 1924. During this campaign prominent Negroes were found in the Davis camp as well as the LaFollette camp. There is a great restlessness among the race and the young Negro apparently will not be swayed by sentiment but will demand the same recognition and influence for his vote as other groups."

One of the finals was to send letters to 10,000 Negroes to meet "Bill' Thompson at a big downtown hotel, and then someone was to holler "rape" and start a riot. This was frustrated, and the facts widely published in all dailies. Vicious cartoons, hired renegade Negroes, who rode through the streets with white women, displaying Thompson banners; bands going through the loop playing "Bye, Bye, Blackbird", and other things too numerous to mention, were used. Then, Brennan's final statement.

William Hale Thompson was elected Mayor by a plurality of about 85,000. There were more than 100,000 Negro voters in all parts of the city, according to same; at the lowest estimate there were 60,000. A change of 45,000 votes would have elected Mayor Dever again. Thompson got a plurality of more than 50,000 votes in the three largest Negro wards, the Second Third and Fourth wards. There are no less than five other wards with large Negro populations.

Some of the daily newspapers have said Thompson could have been elected without the Negro vote. This is rank folly, and no one knows the fact better than Bill Thompson. Thompson carried twenty-eight wards, and Dever twenty-two; there are fifty wards in Chicago. No other wards came any ways near approaching the pluralities given in the Negro wards.

It will be many years before any plitical party will have the nerve to even suggest the possibility of having political preference in Chicago by injecting the race issue. The Democratic Chairman, election night, declared: "We lost, because we injected an issue that should never been used."

Thompson Gets off With A Good Start As Mayor

William Hale Thompson of today is not the Thompson of yesterday-- eight years ago, he admits it himself. Powerful dailies like the Tribune and Daily News that opposed him all during his former administration, have editorially said they will give him a chance to prove this fact, and are willing to accept Thompson's slogan to " Throw away your hammer and get a horn."

Colored Chicago realizes that a somewhat measurable share of political spoils will go to the faithful, not stopping there, this vigorous and unafraid population of "big doers" is planning to keep up with general progressive advancement.

No exodus from the South is invited, or expected, but it is known that, even under normal conditions, the Negro population increases at a minimum rate of 10,000 a year. That will mean no less an increase than 60,000 in the next six years. To meet this situation, Colored Chicago is going ahead.

Then again, it is realized, that more than any other city in America, the name "Chicago" is magic. Thousands of people visit here every year for the sake of enjoyment and renewing family ties, as well as business reasons Chicagoans transact business all over America. Drop in any town, any day, anywhere, and you will find Chicago business men and women hard at work. The city is intensely cooperative in spirit, and what goes on in progress in other parts of America, always interests Negro citizens of Chicago. Chicagoans read, and produce reading, as no other city; Chicago invests and produces investments; Chicago affords pleasure of every description and all degrees, but Chicagoans do not feel that all the happiness of life is centered here, and hense they travel extensively everywhere. They get vision and ideas, and return to Chicago to put them into realities. That a new era of no less than eight years is before this great wonder city of the world, Chicago, many predict and few, if any there be to question.

Thompson at once and again, becomes a national figure. He is mentioned as a possible candidate for President. That makes four lively potential candidates for President for Illinois: Thompson, former Gov. Lowden, Senator Deneen and Vice President Dawes. That ought to put, or keep, Illinois on the political map.

It is announced that Thompson will oppose Gov. Small for re-election. This is early stuff, but it opens anew the question of "What will become of Ed Wright?" No political chieftain was ever left sitting holding the bag higher and dryer than has been Ed. Wright, in so short a time. He is a martyr to the cause of political manhood and independence. His admirers predict that he is too able a man to be kept down, and even now claim that he is not altogether out.

Aldermen Anderson and Jackson, former Alderman DePriest and Dan Jackson are now closest to the throne Whether they, individually or collectively, will succeed in driving the equal of Wright's political bargains and whether they can handle the high powered machine he built remains to be seen.

A DIRTY JAB

As the mayoralty race in Chicago is waxing into fever heat it is indeed regretable to observe how shamelessly but nevertheless skillfully the "color issue" and the race question is being injected in the campaign. William Hale Thompson is being assailed by innuendoes, by suggestion and by direct attack because when he was mayor of Chicago he was big enough and shrewd enough to give some scintilla of recognition to the black voters. In doing this Thompson played good polit , showed moral stamina and won many friends. Now there are those who are seeking to appeal to race prejudice in order to win votes for Mayor Dever, who is now seeking to succeed himself.

One Michael Igoe, who will this week celebrate Saint Patrick's day, in making a campaign speech for Mr. Dever on the exculsive north side of Chicago saw fit to exclaim that: "I congratulate you on the North Side because you do not have to contend with what we southsiders have to fight, and we want to be able to live as you do on the North Side. We are entitled to that at the hands of our own race." This is a heluva statement coming from Mike Igoe, promising young Democrat, an Irishman suffering from racial suppression himself, this is a startling statement coming from Igoe who should know how the white democratic vice-lords have imported their vice on the south side. A fair construction of Igoe's statement is that he objects to living near black people. He can get out and the southside will wear no mourning for his departure but he has done fairly well playing southside politics, he is a member of the legislature and the South Park Commission. It is too bad that he has had to suffer. He no doubt would object to the Jews on the North Side, the Poles and Italians on the West Side and there are those who will also find objection to him. He made an impassioned speech against the Klan at the last National Democratic convention in New York, and maybe his religion might not strike the fancy of the populace. At any rate the attempt of young Igoe to inject the racial issue in this campaign does not strike us as being manly, politically expedient or the part of good citizenship.

We black people in Chicago are beginning to stop rattling our chains and are going out to the polls in the great battle for civic and political liberty. We are not raising any religious issue, no residential question, we are casting no insinuatons upon any other oppressed people. Thompson is the choice of the black people because he gave us a measure of patronage in fair consonance to our votes. The argument that he opened vice and thereby gained favor is unt In fact *The Chicago Tribune* nestled Thompson closer to heart of the southside than he would now be by constantly ji him for his fair attitude. It was *The Tribune* that styled the Hall as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" when Thompson was mayor. It *The Tribune* that cemented the bond of friendship existing tween Thompson and the black voters.

The attempt to inject the race issue is not going to get Dever's adherents anywhere. The talk about vice under Thompson is not going to turn any voters to Dever when crime and vice has reached its nadir under Dever. Even on the south side the business of playing policy without serious interference has been developed to its acme. It is the desire of this newspaper for the campaign to be conducted without inference of racial and religious difference. It will be splendid judgment on the part of the Democrats to appreciate the fact that other elections will come and that maybe in the tangled maze of the future there may come a desire to get some of our votes. Igoe should bear this in mind.

One of the finals was to send letters to 10,000 Negroes to meet "Bill' Thompson at a big downtown hotel, and then someone was to holler "rape" and start a riot. This was frustrated, and the facts widely published in all dailies. Vicious cartoons hired renegade Negroes, who rode through the streets with white women, displaying Thompson banners; bands going through the loop playing "Bye, Bye, Blackbird", and other things too numerous to mention, were used. Then, Brennan's final statement.

William Hale Thompson was elected Mayor by a plurality of about 85,000. There were more than 100,000 Negro voters in all parts of the city, according to same; at the lowest estimate there were 60,000. A change of 45,000 votes would have elected Mayor Dever again. Thompson got a plurality of more than 50,000 votes in the three largest Negro wards, the Second Third and Fourth wards. There are no less than five other wards with large Negro populations.

Some of the daily newspapers have said Thompson could have been elected without the Negro vote. This is rank folly, and no one knows the fact better than Bill Thompson. Thompson carried twenty-eight wards, and Dever twenty-two; there are fifty wards in Chicago. No other wards came any ways near approaching the pluralities given in the Negro wards.

It will be many years before any plitical party will have the nerve to even suggest the possibility of having political preference in Chicago by injecting the race issue. The Democratic Chairman, election night, declared: "We lost, because we injected an issue that should never been used."

Thompson Gets off With A Good Start As Mayor

William Hale Thompson of today is not the Thompson of yesterday-- eight years ago, he admits it himself. Powerful dailies like the Tribune and Daily News that opposed him all during his former administration, have editorially said they will give him a chance to prove this fact, and are willing to accept Thompson's slogan to "Throw away your hammer and get a horn."

Colored Chicago realizes that a somewhat measurable share of political spoils will go to the faithful, not stopping there, this vigorous and unafraid population of "big doers" is planning to keep up with general progressive advancement.

No exodus from the South is invited, or expected, but it is known that, even under normal conditions, the Negro population increases at a minimum rate of 10,000 a year. That will mean no less an increase than 60,000 in the next six years. To meet this situation, Colored Chicago is going ahead.

Then again, it is realized, that more than any other city in America, the name "Chicago" is magic. Thousands of people visit here every year for the sake of enjoyment and renewing family ties, as well as business reasons Chicagoans transact business all over America. Drop in any town, any day, anywhere, and you will find Chicago business men and women hard at work. The city is intensely cooperative in spirit, and what goes on in progress in other parts of America, always interests Negro citizens of Chicago. Chicagoans read, and produce reading, as no other city; Chicago invests and produces investments; Chicago affords pleasure of every description and all degrees, but Chicagoans do not feel that all the happiness of life is centered here, and hense they travel extensively everywhere. They get vision and ideas, and return to Chicago to put them into realities. That a new era of no less than eight years is before this great wonder city of the world, Chicago, many predict and few, if any there be to question.

Thompson at once and again, becomes a national figure. He is mentioned as a possible candidate for President. That makes four lively potential candidates for President for Illinois: Thompson, former Gov. Lowden, Senator Deneen and Vice President Dawes. That ought to put, or keep, Illinois on the political map.

It is announced that Thompson will oppose Gov. Small for re-election. This is early stuff, but it opens anew the question of "What will become of Ed Wright?" No political chieftain was ever left sitting holding the bag higher and dryer than has been Ed. Wright, in so short a time. He is a martyr to the cause of political manhood and independence. His admirers predict that he is too able a man to be kept down and even now claim that he is not altogether out.

Aldermen Anderson and Jackson, former Alderman LePrilleaux and Dan Jackson are now closest to the throne Whether they, individually or collectively, will succeed in driving the equal of Wright's political bargains and whether they can handle the high powered machine he built remains to be seen.

A DIRTY JAB

As the mayoralty race in Chicago is waxing into fever heat it is indeed regretable to observe how shamelessly but nevertheless skillfully the "color issue" and the race question is being injected in the campaign. William Hale Thompson is being assailed by innuendoes, by suggestion and by direct attack because when he was mayor of Chicago he was big enough and shrewd enough to give some scintilla of recognition to the black voters. In doing this Thompson played good politics, showed moral stamina and won many friends. Now there are those who are seeking to appeal to race prejudice in order to win votes for Mayor Dever, who is now seeking to succeed himself.

One Michael Igoe, who will this week celebrate Saint Patrick's day, in making a campaign speech for Mr. Dever on the exculsive north side of Chicago saw fit to exclaim that: "I congratulate you on the North Side because you do not have to contend with what we southsiders have to fight, and we want to be able to live as you do on the North Side. We are entitled to that at the hands of our own race." This is a heluva statement coming from Mike Igoe, promising young Democrat, an Irishman suffering from racial suppression himself, this is a startling statement coming from Igoe who should know how the white democratic vice-lords have imported their vice on the south side. A fair construction of Igoe's statement is that he objects to living near black people. He can get out and the southside will wear no mourning for his departure but he has done fairly well playing southside politics, he is a member of the legislature and the South Park Commission. It is too bad that he has had to suffer. He no doubt would object to the Jews on the North Side, the Poles and Italians on the West Side and there are those who will also find objection to him. He made an impassioned speech against the Klan at the last National Democratic convention in New York, and maybe his religion might not strike the fancy of the populace. At any rate the attempt of young Igoe to inject the racial issue in this campaign does not strike us as being manly, politically expedient or the part of good citizenship.

We black people in Chicago are beginning to stop rattling our chains and are going out to the polls in the great battle for civic and political liberty. We are not raising any religious issue, no residential question, we are casting no insinuatons upon any other oppressed people. Thompson is the choice of the black people because he gave us a measure of patronage in fair consonance to our votes. The argument that he opened vice and thereby gained favor is unt In fact *The Chicago Tribune* nestled Thompson closer to heart of the southside than he would now be by constantly ji him for his fair attitude. It was *The Tribune* that styled the Hall as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" when Thompson was mayor. It *The Tribune* that cemented the bond of friendship existing tween Thompson and the black voters.

The attempt to inject the race issue is not going to get Dever's adherents anywhere. The talk about vice under Thompson is not going to turn any voters to Dever when crime and vice has reached its nadir under Dever. Even on the south side the business of playing policy without serious interference has been developed to its acme. It is the desire of this newspaper for the campaign to be conducted without inference of racial and religious difference. It will be splendid judgment on the part of the Democrats to appreciate the fact that other elections will come and that maybe in the tangled maze of the future there may come a desire to get some of our votes. Igoe should bear this in mind.

Political- 1927

Republican

Party Affiliation.

ELECTION DAY VANDALS RUN AMUCK; WRECK NEWS OFFICE

By LEE BROWN
(Staff Correspondent)

Louisville, Ky., Nov. 18.—(Special)—Angered because William Warley, editor and publisher of the Louisville News, a weekly paper here, dared to stand up for his own convictions, when he advocated the support of the Democratic ticket against the Republican ticket Tuesday at a city-wide election, vandals entered the newspaper plant, smashed the windows, broke down the doors, clogged his machinery with bullets and then made their escape before police could arrive.

The recent action of the mob has so aroused the ire of citizens here that every effort is being made to bring to justice those responsible for the trouble.

Republicans Carry State

The outbreak came soon after announcement was made that Flem D. Samson, Republican nominee for governor, had defeated J. C. W. Beckham, Democratic candidate, and William B. Harrison won over Joseph T. O'Neal. Harrison was supported by the Republican ticket in the mayoralty race.

The recent election went on record as having been the bitterest in the history of the city. Feeling ran high between members of both races and parties and in many cases it was only the quick action of police that prevented bloodshed.

Police, acting under orders of the Democratic heads, made wholesale arrests of our people. These men and women were herded to jail in an effort to prevent them from casting votes in the city and state election.

On Tuesday night, while the streets were crowded with thousands of men and women celebrating the victory of the Republicans, a mob of vandals, composed of members of our Race, broke into the office of the Louisville News and ransacked it before police could make their appearance on the scene.

Mob Spirit Prevails

The mob spirit prevailed, it is said, because Warley had advocated the support of the Democratic party through the columns of his paper. He had fought the Republicans from all angles and attempted in many ways to sway the votes of our people. All day he urged citizens to vote the Democratic ticket. He was unsuccessful, however, in his attempt as Mayor O'Neal, his candidate, was badly beaten by Harrison.

It was while Mr. Warley was at the polls Tuesday night that vandals invaded his plant. Damage was estimated at more than $10,000. Had he or any of the employees been in the plant at the time they would perhaps have been killed, for more than a hundred shots were fired into the building, it is said.

Not satisfied at wrecking the News office, the howling mob went about the streets firing revolvers and made attempts to ransack the business houses of every man who had advocated voting the Democratic ticket. Aside from Warley's place, the mob paid visits to the A. D. Porter undertaking parlors and the James Caldwell pressing shop and soft drink parlor. Police reserves prevented further trouble.

Citizens from all walks of life have scored the doings of this intoxicated crowd of men and boys, who attempted in their anxiety to wreak vengeance upon those who endeavored to enjoy their constitutional rights. The Louisville Leader, a Republican paper, condemned the outrage to the business places of Porter and Warley from the hands of thoughtless men, whose emotions were aroused beyond common sense and decency and the Leader knows that the intelligent persons all over the city and state condemn it, whether of the Democratic or Republican parties. The American Baptist, headed by Dean William H. Steward, has this to say: "Violence and the mob spirit are not in harmony with good government, the outbreaks last Tuesday evening after the election and the destruction of property simply because some man voted for or supported the Democratic candidates was a violation of law and contrary to the good of society. No one has a right to destroy private property and these outbreaks are harmful." The Daily papers, including The Herald-Post, condemned in editorials the actions of these men and boys.

MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZES WHITE REPUBLICANS

Jackson, Miss., Nov. 22.—(By A. N. P.)—The group of "Anglo-Saxon" Republicans in Mississippi headed by George L. Sheldon of Potitt, former governor of Nebraska, is making a serious and determined movement towards the establishment of a Republican party in Mississippi "not dominated and managed by Negroes," and as the first thing towards that goal is seeking to incorporate their organization under the laws of the state under the name of "The Republican Party of Mississippi."

Application for the charter was filed with the secretary of statt, Walker Wood, by Sheldon, and Charles Gordon, Greenville County lawler, but has been referred to the attorney general for an opinion which may be deferred. The unexpected delay came as a surpris to the leaders, but they are making plans to go ahead with the organization plans regardless of the outcome of their efforts to obtain a charter.

Sheldon has issued a call for a general conference to be held in Jackson,

MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZED WHITE G. O. P.

(Continued from page 1)

December 5, at which time plans of organization will be perfected, including settng n motion the machinery for the election of the party leaders and adoption of constitution and by-laws. The incorporation of the party was approved at the general conference held here last January, when afted declaring that there was no Republican party worthy of the name in Mississippi, resolutions were adopted setting forth the principles for which the new organization would stand. In these resolutions were the clauses declaring "that we recognize the fact that the qualified electors of the State of Mississippi are predominately Anglo-Saxon and that they must hold sacred the inheritance to rule and govern themselves, that they have attained through the sacrifices and struggles of their ancestors throughout the centuries of the past. It is our purpose to accept this situation as it exists and to act accordingly."

The white organization, according to report, will wage a fight against Perry W. Howard, the National Committeeman.

BOB CHURCH NAMES MAYOR OF MEMPHIS

Memphis, Tenn., Nov. 18.—(Special)—Organized labor functioned more effectively this year than ever before in the election of Watkins Overton, candidate for mayor, in Thursday's municipal election. Overton, running against the incumbent, by approximately 5,000 votes, with his entire ticket with him in the heat of the battle, the landslide settled the question here for all time of whether a candidate for public office could make promises and then sidestep the issue after he had gained his goal.

Victory Sets Record

More members of our Race participated in Thursday's election than ever before. They were displeased with Paine's administration and sought to put an end to it.

The election was a tribute to the superb machine-like organization of Robert R. Church, political leader here. There was not a hitch in any part of the combination and despite the propaganda used by Paine supporters in the closing moments, Church's entire ticket went over big.

Paine supporters used every known method to defeat Overton. The race question was an important issue.

What is said to have been one of the most dastardly attempts to intimidate voters here occurred Wednesday night when white vandals, supporters of Rowlette Paine, hurled a bomb into the basement of the New Prospect Baptist church, 375 Beale Ave. Through some miracle the one thousand or more persons present escaped without injury. The explosion put an end to the mammoth [illegible] made by [illegible] white voters. Upon one occasion the photo of Mr. Church apeared in a daily under the caption of "Will Southern White Men and Women Allow This Negro Man to Name the Next Mayor of the Great City of Memphis and Defeat a Southern White Woman for Office?"

Letters and telegrams of congratulations are being showered upon Mr. Church, Republican leader; his lieu-

BOB CHURCH NAMES MAYOR OF MEMPHIS

Continued from page 1)

tenant, George W. Lee, president of the West Tennessee Civic league, and Hon. M. S. Stewart, secretary of the league, for it was these men who were largely responsible for Overton's overwhelming victory. They exposed the Jim Crow tactics of Paine and urged our people not to support a man who refused to make good his promises.

Paine Tricks Voters

Paine, it is said, tricked our people after they voted for him four years ago. Despite the protests he built the offensive crematory in their midst. He further let it be known that during his term of office there would be no Race policemen, or firemen, nor would there be a removal of the restrictions governing the admission of members of the Race to white parks of the city.

As the campaign neared a finish Paine in one of his soap box speeches said:

"Shall candidates for office in this city run on their own merits and qualifications or shall they be compelled to obtain the indorsement of E. H. Crump, the white boss, and Bob Church, the Negro boss, in order to be elected to office in the city of Memphis?" Paine asked.

"We have the support of the majority of the decent white people of Memphis and will win in spite of the attempts of the machine to herd the Negro voters to the polls," he continued.

"Four years ago there were few if any in the city who would have dreamed that a Negro political leader, intoxicated with his succes in matters of federal patronage, would have the audacity to organize a Negro political club and publicly voice such demands. We have the opposition of this Negro political club. Our opponents have its indorsement. That club is a new thing and a dangerous thing in Memphis politics. Its existence means friction and not unity between the races. Its activities present an issue that is perfectly plain. The duty of Memphians is equally clear. It is to stop Bob Church and his Negro club with ballots now. It is the part of both wisdom and righteousness to face and not shrink from this issue. Meet it like men and victory for our ticket is assured."

Political 1927

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

Republican Candidate For Mayor In Meaningless Talk Tells Colored Audience He Was Once A Baptist And Negroes Have More Autos In 1927 Than They Had In 1917

COLORED SPEAKER ADMITS PARTY IS KU KLUX KLAN

Despite a band played all day Monday on every corner in the Colored section announceing a Republican rally at Odd Fellows' Hall, there were scarcely 500 Colored voters there when the meeting opened and very few more before it ended.

At the last minute—after 8 o'clock—a parade with the band, banners and red lights marched through the streets trying to get the voters from the byways and hedges to come to the feast. And such a parade it was, the make-up of it! Self-respecting Colored people must have been disgusted as they looked at the type of Republicans that made up that parade!

Not even a high-class bootlegger was in it. No well known citizen of standing, nothing but a bunch of scalawags, howling and yelling, "Come hear Harrison." And this is the type the Republican party caters to and expects decent, self-respecting, intelligent Colored people to follow. But if there were no big bootleggers in the parade, all the gang was there at the hall. A reporter for The News was there and he knows them all. They were there, so were the pool room owners, the game runners and a lot of the underworld. But they were there as a matter of business. They figure if the Republican party wins they can "go" and will have protection. But the reporter did not see any one clap at any of the "bull" shot by the speakers. They did not care about that stuff. They were there as a matter of business.

Of the other part of the audience hardly fifty people could be found who could be classed as representative citizens as regards intelligence. Of that fifty quite a few were men who are known as "independent" in their politics.

This picture is drawn so that the decent, self-respecting, intelligent Negro can see what the Republican party wants. It is also to the credit of the class just described that they were not there. For opening the meeting was that great leader, the Reverend Jim Moore. Nearly everybody knows the Reverend Jim—what he is and what he means to the race. Yet there he was, speaking for the Republican party and hobnobbing with Mr. W. H. Harrison, candidate for mayor, and Mr. Clarke Otte, also a candidate. And as the Rev. Jim clowned and spat and told Negroes of the Grand Old Party, his white associates grinned and giggled and applauded.

Rev. Jim is the type of Negro leadership the Republican party wanst. Rev. Jim admitted he was "organized," meaning, eveidently, he had had "hisn." At any rate, he did not say a thing worth while.

Then came Mr. Hundley Goodall, good old Goody. Brainy, brilliant, witty. Brainy is emphasized because the Honorable Hundley in his effort attached William Warley and declared "Mr. Warley has brains, but so has a calf." This is a sample of his brilliancy and as he made that point of withering sarcasm he stood on tiptoe and his voice thundered. So reference here is often made to Goodall's being brainy. Yes, the Honorable Hundley has brains, and so has a calf!

Like the calf, Hundley could not use his brains Monday night. He was trying to please the white folks who were on the platform with him and yet some modicum of self respect and regard for his race kept tugging at him and he could not say much for his lily-white Republican brethren. He finally got off on his left foot and went over the debate he had with Warley last week and worked himself up to a pitch where he cried even as Hezekiah, Zacariah, or perhaps it was Ananais: "May my right hand loose its cunning and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I ever say anything against the sacred and holy name of Abraham Lincoln." But the old figure was an anti-climax and even that audience failed to rise up at the old-time stuff.

Desperate, Hundley kept feeling around to get some real applause before his lily-white brothers. Then he cried: "I'd rather live under a Republican Ku-Klux-Klan, under people I know, then under some other Klan I do not know."

The lily-white brothers on the stand did not applaud this. They looked uneasy and jidgeted in their seats and were relieved when Hundley got off the Ku-Klux-Klan. Very few Negroes applauded that statement.

Then came Mr. W. H. Harrison, Jr., Republican candidate for mayor. Mr. Harrison made a slow, deliberate and premeditated speech. It seemed he had made up his mind not to lose his head and say anything that any foolish Negro could interpret as being a promise of anything.

He said he just ran down to get acquainted. He told of election laws passed by the Democrats, whereby they hoped to disfranchise the Negro, but repealed them when it was found they hurt the Democrats. He said the city was best governed by Republicans. He said he saw more patrols on the streets of the Negro districts registration day than he saw street cars. He said he was at Chickasaw Park at the Negro Republican picnic and he noted the fact Colored people have more automobiles in 1927 than they had in 1917. Turning the Right Reverend Jim Moore, he said: "I was once a Baptist and I remember those good old songs." He apparently started to quote one, but a rub across his eyes evidently failed to bring it to memory, so he "curved" off that subject.

This is a fair report of Mr. Harrison's speech. It was notable for the things HE DID NOT SAY.

He made no promises to his hearers as to what they might expect if he should be elected. His talk meant ABSOLUTELY nothing to a Negro audience. He did not even ask them to vote for him, evidently feeling he had them in his vest pocket. He did not say a word about his party excluding Colored people from the public parks—expressed no regret, promised no righting of that great wrong. He made no mention of 27 Negroes being killed by Republican police between 1917 and 1927, even though he remembered Negroes had more automobiles.

He did not dispute or deny the preceding speaker's admission that the Republican party was Ku-Klux-Klan. Perhaps it would have been well for a goodly number of the intelligent thinking Colored voters to have heard Mr. Harrison, for his talk was the best argument he and his party do not merit and ought not to receive the support of Colored people who care for themselves, their race and their city.

Mr. Clarke Otte spoke. He told of his own record as assistant prosecutor and how he had prosecuted white men who had assaulted Colored women. He did not tell, however, how James Mitchell, the white man who shot a Negro boy to death without excuse or reason, managed to be dismissed by a grand jury Mr. Otte could have made indict.

That is a long story. The News may tell it next week.

LILY WHITES IN MISSISSIPPI OUT FOR CONTROL

Seek To Wrest Republican Leadership From Negroes

By the Associated Negro Press

Natchez, Miss., Dec. 28.—Elaborate preparations are being made here to "read the Negro out of the Republican party," according to statements going the rounds here.

In keeping with the determination the following notice appeared in Natchez Democrat here Sunday:

"REPUBLICANS, NOTICE! IMPORTANT! IMPORTANT! All white Republican men and women of this (Seventh Congressional District) and others of the Caucasian race, desirous of affiliating with the new organized 'Republican Party in Mississippi' for which articles of incorporation have been filed, are requested to immediately send in their name and postoffice address to ganization. Signed, the undersigned, preparatory to a state-wide meeting at Jackson, Miss., to further perfect the or- Charles F. Zoller, organizer."

RECENT RESULTS SHOW BALLOT'S POWER!

In the autumnal elections held in several states and cities recently, the Negro voters played no small part not only in deciding some of the issues, electing some of the public officials and maintaining others in private life, but demonstrated in an unmistakable manner that the American voter is sovereign; that only by concerted political action can the Negro ever hope to do any collective bargaining, politically speaking.

Newspaper dispatches from Louisville, Kentucky, where a Republican mayoralty candidate defeated his Democratic opponent, who was seeking reelection to the municipal post, credited the losing candidate's manager with saying: "It (the election) was very close. **It is a question whether we can overcome 30,000 Negro voters.**"

The Republican gubernatorial candidate in the Blue Grass State also defeated his Democratic opponent, with something like a 8,000 to 10,000 majority; and again the victory of the Republican nominee was credited to the heavy Negro vote in Kentucky.

In New York City, with its reputed largest Negro population (Harlem) of any American city, two Negroes were elected as members of the city council of America's largest municipality; one of the candidates defeating a white opponent and the other winning over a Negro Democrat, who was a candidate for reelection to the aldermanic position.

Three Negroes were elected to the city council in Cleveland, Ohio.

These flattering results are encouraging signs and should stimulate Negroes in other sections of the country to greater political activity.

Songs of lamentation and resolutions have never won any political battle, nor made it possible for those engaging in such practices to come in possession of a larger share of their constitutional and inalienable rights.

With the outlawing and invalidating of the infamous and iniquitous "white man's primary" statue, which excluded and barred Negroes from participation in Democratic primary elections in Texas heretofore, the Negroes of Texas will be recreant to their holden duty if they fail to take advantage of this political emancipation and organize their forces for a definite and far-reaching course of both partisan action and political activity.

titled to it.

—o—

IT WAS FURTHER pointed out that no reason in politics or patriotism existed for continuing it. On the contrary, if some means could be found of sloughing off the Negro from the machine in the South, the Republican party could be made a white man's party in that section and eventually become a real competitor in States where otherwise it must always remain a sham and a shell. It was found that white Republican leaders in the South were in thorough accord with these views—that so far from opposing a move to reduce Southern convention representation, thereby decreasing the trading value of the Negro politicians and correspondingly diminishing their interest in politics, they were inclined to cooperate under cover.

—o—

A SUBCOMMITTEE of the National Committee was named to devise a plan for a "more equitable" basis of representation. In December, 1923, it reported to the full committee in Washington, recommending that, in future conventions, each State have four delegates-at-large and an additional delegate for every Congressional district that at the preceding election had cast more than 5,000 votes for the Republican Presidential candidate. What that meant, of course, was that the States of the solid South would have exactly four delegates each, and no more, thus reducing their representation to forty-four instead of 200 votes. The practical effect was the elimination of the Southern Negro leader as a factor in national politics.

—o—

WHITE LEADERS from the South fully apprised of the plan, went to the meeting prepared to have it "put over" on them, and quietly gratified that it should be. It seemed to them to open the door of hope for a real Republican party in the South. Imagine, then, their surprise to find the more important of the white leaders of the North, who had previously strongly favored the idea, strongly in arms against it. All the speeches assailing the subcommittee report came from Northern leaders, not one from the South. It was the weight and fire of Northern and Western opposition that forced a modification making a slight reduction in the South, but leaving it with 170 votes instead of the forty-four proposed.

—o—

THE REAL STORY of this was not printed at the time. It has not, in fact been printed since: and it seems now an incredible thing that leaders in the North should have insisted upon retaining for the Negro in the South his power in national conventions when white leaders from the South were anxious to take it from him. Yet the reason is simple enough. What happened was this: When the Negro politicians of the Henry Lincoln Johnson, of Georgia, type in the South grasped the idea of the subcommittee and sensed the attitude of the white party men in their States, they made their appeal to the Negro leaders in New York, with nearly 200,000 Negro voters: Pennsylvania, with 150,000; Illinois, with more than 100,000; Ohio, with 100,000; Indiana, with 40,000, and others where they held the balance of power.

—o—

THEY ASKED AID in preventing the Republican party from "disfranchising" the Negro in the South. And the Northern Negro leaders responded. In their States they "bore down" on their committeemen, many of whom were holding office of one sort or another. They threatened, if the plan went through, to punish in the primaries those responsible. In a word, they scared them into line and licked the effort to curtail Negro power in the national convention—the very thing it had been agreed was in the party's interests to do.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.

DEC 15 1927

The Great Game Of Politics

By FRANK R. KENT.

Keeping The South Solid.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14.

THE APPARENTLY unshakable De[mo]cratic control of eleven Southern States i[s] always more interesting in Presidential years than at any other time. It will perhaps be a revelation that in the last four years the largest contribution toward keeping the solid South solid has been made by Republican leaders of the North. That does not seem logical, but it is true. Here are some facts to prove it:

—o—

AFTER THE NASTY scandals about the Negro delegates from the South in the 1920 convention, certain clear-headed Republican managers got together and agreed the time had come to do something about their party in the South. It was conceded the undue weight of the Negro delegates in the convention was an absurdity as well as a cause of corruption, that it was calculated to taint nominations with suspicion and to lodge a party power in hands unfit for it as well as unen-

TRIBUNE
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

OCT 1 1927

NEGRO BLAMED FOR CITY LOSS

Republican Club Claims Element Has Hurt New Orleans

Predominance of negroes in Republican politics in Louisiana was blamed for the lack of interest on the part of the federal government at a meeting of the Pelican Republican club of Louisiana on Friday night.

The influence of negroes in the party was denounced as a deterrent to increasing the ranks of the Republican party in the state.

"By preventing an increase in the Republican party, this negro element removes from New Orleans the advantages it would enjoy with federal interest," said W. C. Harder, chairman of the club.

Situation Costly

"New Orleans does not deserve the discrimination that has been made against it. Such conditions must not be allowed to remain if New Orleans is to progress and if the port is to be actually the second port of the country.

"The situation in the Republican ranks here already has cost New Orleans its mint, the Missssippi river commission, transferred to St. Louis, the Algiers naval station, nothing in comparison to the position it ought occupy and the disregard of New Orleans as a military base, and accordingly the disuse of the Jackson barracks.

Comptroller Censured

"The improvements that federal interest may achieve for New Orleans can be obtained only when the situation in the Republican party has been remedied and white supremacy again asserted."

Walter Cohen, negro comptroller of customs, was censured for discriminating against white longshoremen by Dr. P. J. Fletchinger, secretary of the club, and Phil Butz, a member.

Dr. Fletchinger stressed the purpose of the club to assert white supremacy in the Republican ranks here and to do away with "a situation that has no right to exist below the Mason-Dixon line."

The following men were elected captains of their wards: W. A. Dermody, Eleventh ward; Louis Miller, Thirteenth ward; T. S. Stanley, Fourteenth ward; H. L. Guinn, Fourteenth ward; Ed Mathison, Sixteenth ward; Ed J. Gay, Fifteenth ward; Ed Warnken, Fifteenth ward; Alex Butler, Fifteenth ward; Robert Pubuc, Fifth ward; L. A. Gilly, Fourth ward; A. J. Schaffer, Third ward; C. Peyrefeete, Eighth ward; R. G. Stockton, Eighth ward; R. P. Jackson, Seventeenth ward, and Otho H. Williams, Seventeenth ward.

Political- 1927

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

G. O. P. LEADERS STILL RAINBOW CHASING

The Hon. William E. Hull, Republican Representative in Congress from Illinois, has been South, has tasted Southern hospitality, has listened to the alluring story of growing dissatisfaction with the Democratic party in the South and the "trend to the G. O. P. in Florida," and of course, other States of the South. Congressman Hull is just rainbow chasing precisely as Republican leaders have been doing for thirty years.

They have dropped their faithful and loyal allies, the Negro Republicans, and seek to convert white Democrats to the Republican fold. They have swapped a certainty of at least one or two congressmen from every Southern State and a chance of carrying States like North Carolina and Virginia occasionally for a Republican candidate for President, for the bare hope of enticing white Democrats away from their party into the Republican party.

Thirty years ago little comment was excited and practically no hostility manifested to the appointment of Negroes as post masters, collectors of Customs, collectors of Internal Revenue, and other representative positions throughout the South and subordinate positions of every kind were held in such offices everywhere during Republican administrations. Now not only are Negroes barred from the administrative positions, but the only positions now open to Negroes outside of the classified service (in which there is also mean and base discrimination) in the offices above mentioned in the disfranchising States are as janitors, elevators and other strictly menial jobs.

These patronage sops have been given Democrats in South Carolina, Mississippi and other States for more than twenty years and not even the Democratic officeholders have become Republicans.

Meantime Negroes, finding that the Republican party no longer stands for human rights and fairplay and justice to all of its citizens, have loosened their attachment to the party. They now allign themselves, whenever they have votes with those whom they can count upon as their friends, whether Democrats or Republicans.

The party can therefore continue its rainbow chasing for what the Negro cares. The nearer it approaches to the principles and policies of the Southern Democratic party thereby gaining Southern Democratic votes the more Negro votes it will lose in doubtful States.

RELIGION AND THE PRESIDENCY

Governor Al Smith of New York, in answer to a challenge, has issued his private declaration with faith. Governor Smith's letter meets the challenge four-square; and so far as the question of religion is concerned, we take it that the nataion will let the dear Governor alone. It was inevitable that this religious question should come up for discussion. If Governor Smith never had presidential ambitions, he may well entertain them now because the one serious objection to his candidacy for the presidency has been removed by the recent debate. Indeed the governor of New York may now consider himself a candidate for the presidency of these United States because his letter to the New York Lawyer has disclosed such fine qualities, and such a broad and comprehensive conception of democracy, and such a beautiful sense of patriotism that the country will probably draft Governor Smith and make him a presidential candidate regardless of his own personal ambitions.

We take it that the challenge was issued to Governor Smith for the purpose of disclosing to the Protestant world what might have been termed religious disqualifications of a presidential candidate. Protestants have for some time talked a great deal about the disqualifications of all Catholics for the presidency. It remained for Governor Al Smith of New York to settle the controversy in the public mind once and for all. Protestants have no ground for religious opposition to Governor Smith or to any other Catholic. They will have to seek a new excuse. Now we are wondering whether or not Catholics and Jews are not entitled to issue a challenge to some of the Protestant gentlemen for the sole purpose of determining how far their religious beliefs disqualify them for the presidency of the United States. What is fair for one ought to be fair for another.

Governor Smith has answered his challenge to the satisfaction of a majority of the citizens of this country as evidenced by voluntary responses from nearly every state in the Union. Now since this country likes to boast of fair play, freedom, liberty, democracy and other fine-spun virtues, we should like to have some outstanding Catholic challenge some of the Protestant leaders. They might include McAdoo, Jim Reed, Louden, Coolidge, Mellon, Hoover, Couzens and Henry Ford. We suspect that the answers would be highly amusing in spots, but since the spirit of challenge has been inaugurated, why not carry it to the limit and thrash out our religion and find out which way we are headed.

THOMPSON AS CHICAGO'S MAYOR MARKS NEW ERA OF NATIONAL THOUGHT

BRENNAN, DEMOCRATIC BOSS; SINKS IN POLITICAL PIT OF DISGRACE

CHICAGO, April 14—(Staff Correspondence for th eAssociated Negro Press) "Mayor Dever will be re-elected, because the people understand that issue. This is a white man's city."

Thus saith the final statement of George Brennan, Democratic Boss of Chicago, and one time nominee for the United States Senate. The Democrats, under Brennan, made the Negro the chief issue of the campaign for mayor, much to the chagrin of Mayor Dever, and embarrassment of several thousand Negroes who had voted for a Democratic mayor once, and who might have, to to some extent voted again. Brennan claims that the act "political expediency."

The Associated Negro Press advised, in a recent story, concerning the wild and loathsome tactics of the Democrats in their eagerness to re-elect Mayor Dever. Up to the last minute the bosses of the Democrats, resorted to the cheapest and foulest sort of propaganda possible, in order to prejudice white citizens against William Hale Thompson. It is difficult to recount all the things. One of the finals was to send letters to 10,000 Negroes to meet "Bill" Thompson at a big downtown hotel, and then someone was to holler "rape", and start a riot. This was frustrated, and the facts widely published in all dailies. Vicious cartoons, hired regenade Negroes, who rode through the streets with white women, displaying Thompson banners; bands going through the loop playing "Bye, Bye, Blackbirds", and other things too numerous to mention were used. Then, Brennan's final statement.

EDITOR MOORE'S STATEMENT UNFAIR

In the last issue of our esteemed contemporary, the New York Age, Brother Moore, in discussing, "Calvin Coolidge Again a Candidate," makes a statement unfair to the South, and not borne out by the facts, when he says: "President Coolidge may be renominated by the aid of such delegates from the South, as may be corralled by National Committeeman Davis, and ex-Secretary Slemp, but that fact cannot be expected to arouse any great enthusiasm among colored voters of the North." This statement is expressly unfair, in that it casts a reflection upon the integrity of southern delegates, and insinuates that they do not vote according to the dictates of an honest conscience, but like creatures of a commercialism that have largely corrupted the politics of our country.

Editor Moore is not by himself in thinking that southern delegates' political morality does not rise above the smell of a tainted dollar; and as a consequence, of which, in our approach to the point at issue, we shall not indulge in any abuse or invectives, but in plain reason, try to convince our brother of the error of his way, and to lead him to believe that there is no more commercialism among southern delegates than among northern delegates.

We learned long ago that there is more in appealing to the reason of men than to their temper. Then, our high personal regard for Editor Moore, and our respect for his ability as an editor, impells us to take high ground in discussing men and measures with him.

But, the facts do not bear out the statement that southern delegates are more corruptible than northern delegates. Neither are perfect, and both are human, and likely to error in common. There never has been a time when the Negro delegates to a Republican convention held the balance of power, and Editor Moore, and no other man, living or dead, can produce the proof to substantiate this generally misleading statement. Delegates at many conventions may have sold their votes, but if this indictment is true, it is as true of the northern delegates, as of the southern delegates. If the proposition is true, the southern delegate who sells his vote is just as worthy as the northern delegate who buys it. Dishonesty is not measures by quantity, but by quality. The man who receives stolen goods, in the eye of the law, is worse than the thief who steals the goods.

It is generally charged that the Negro delegate does the selling. This, too, is equally as false as the other proposition. There are never more than thirty Negro delegates in a Republican National Convention. When was the time, when a switch of thirty votes would have swung the result the other way?

Harrison was re-nominated largely by officeholders, and defeated at the polls by the voters. These officeholders were neither Negroes nor southern delegates, but delegates from all over the country. There were nine hundred delegates in the Minneapolis convention, and only thirty-eight Negroes, and less than half of them officeholders.

Who nominated McKinley over Reed in 1896 at St. Louis? There were no officeholders there. Did southern delegates do it? Out of nine hundred votes McKinley got seven hundred—and southern delegates, including Negroes, were less than two hundred.

In 1912, when Taft and Roosevelt split the party, did southern delegates, or Negroes organize the convention against "Teddy"? No, northern delegates turned the trick, although the feat was credited to the South. Illinois, Massachusetts, or Indiana could have elected McGovern over Root, just as easy as Georgia or Maryland elected Root. It was charged that Georgia defeated Roosevelt, when in fact, Georgia cast twenty-two votes for Root, and six for McGovern in the temporary organization.

All this propaganda about mercenary delegates in the South is purely camouflage to discredit the South and the Negro, and has no foundation in fact.

It was neither the South nor the Negro that defeated Lowden at Chicago in 1920 It was the scandal among white northern delegates that drove the governor to defeat.

We have attended five national conventions as a delegate; have met our own expenses, and nobody has ever approached us with a commercial proposition. In fact, nobody has ever sought to influence our vote at a convention, or elsewhere. We have no concrete knowledge that any delegate from the South has ever sold his vote. We have seen delegates from both the North and the South disregard their instructions, and vote differently.

We rise to inform Brother Moore that southern delegates, in keeping with their records, if for Coolidge, will be as honestly so as delegates from any other section of our country.

The Editor of the Atlanta Independent was for Mr. Coolidge in 1920, and in 1924, and will be for him in 1928, without the hope of reward, other than the consciousness that he has performed a sincere and patriotic duty, in contributing his mite to the renomination and election of a statesman, who will endeavor, to give all of the people, a safe, sound and common-sense government.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

DEC 7 1927

THE GRIEVANCE OF NEGRO REPUBLICANS

In all of the postmortems seeking to account for the Republican debacle in the recent elections, noth ing was heard until yesterday from the colored voter. It remained for the "Citizen" in an exclusive interview with a colored woman leader of national prominence to account for one of the factors in the steady decline of the Republican vote in this county.

The lady interviewed was Mrs. Lawton, a cultured colored woman who had charge in the Coolidge campaign of the Eastern division of the Negro women's vote of the United States. It appears from her story that something like thirty of the leading colored Republican men and women of this borough paid $3 each for a ticket which entitled them to participate in the so-called "Victory Dinner" given on Saturday night last in the Kismet Temple in honor of Mr. Story, the sole Republican Assembly candidate elected.

This dinner had been arranged by leading Republicans of the county and was attended by Mr. Livingston, the county leader; Senator Calder, Mr. Kracke and all the other big wigs of the local Republican organization.

According to Mrs. Lawton, at this dinner, held by the party of Abraham Lincoln, the "Jim Crow" line was drawn. Much to the indignation of the thirty colored men and women who paid their good money to attend this dinner, they were segregated in a corner of the room, separated from the white race. Mrs. Lawton did not remain for the conclusion of the dinner and left early as a protest against this humiliating treatment of her race.

Mrs. Lawton and the other colored guests emphasized the fact that they do not aspire to social equality, but they insist upon political equality The Republican organization, so the lady claims, has given little or no recognition to the work of the colored Republican leaders, men and women. She contrasted this treatment with the nomination by the New York County Republican organization of two colored Republicans for the office of Alderman, both of whom were elected.

There is grave danger that the incident at the Kismet Temple will seriously affectt he colored Republica nvote to the disadvantage of the Republican candidate for President next year. The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People no doubt will take up the matter and spread the tidings among the colored people in all sections of the country. There is really no valid excuse for the conduct of the managers of the dinner. These thirty colored men and women are leaders of their race, intellectually and otherwise. They are fitted to sit beside white people, even of the distinction of Mr. Livingston, Mr. Kracke and Senator Calder. President Roosevelt did not hesitate when he was in the White House to invite Booker Washington to luncheon and this certainly did not in the slightest decrease the President's popularity. The Republican party professes to be the protector of the Negro in all of his political rights but in practice it treats him almost as bad as he is treated by Southern Democrats.

Negroes In Escort For Governor

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 29.—(ANP)—During the recent inauguration of Governor Flem Sampson at Frankfort, four Negroes were selected by the Republican Committee to serve as special escort to the Governor along with a similar number of whites. They were Rev. G. F. David, Rev. J. W. Gibson, Lexington; Dr. James Bond, Louisville and Dr. E. E. Underwood, Frankfort, Ky.

Political - 1927 Republican

Party Affiliation

Chandler Owen Wants Seat Now Held By Martin Madden

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburg, Pa

First Illinois District to Be Scene of Hot Political Fight — Influential Men Supporting Well-Known Editor

12/17/27

CHICAGO, Ill., Dec. 15.—Political circles in general and the Negro group in particular are shouting approval over the announcement of the candidacy of Chandler Owen, nationally prominent citizen, editor and philosopher, for Congress from the First Congressional District of the State of Illinois on the Republican ticket. The announcement of Mr. Owen's candidacy has spread like wildfire over the big political strongholds here, and the enthusiasm is keen. Listed among Mr. Owen's supporters are Honorable Jessa Binga, president of the Binga State Bank; Dr. W. D. Cook, pastor of the Metropolitan Community Center Church; Attorney C. Francis Stradford, president of the Cook County Bar Association and chairman of the Chandler-Owen-for-Congress committee; Honorable A. Philip Randolph, general organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; William E. Woodard, of Woodard Photographic Studio; Dr. Clifford Doyle and Richard Nicholas. Other distinguished, prominent and powerful supporters are being listed.

In a special statement to The Pittsburgh Courier, Mr. Owen sets forth the following:

It is now a quarter of a century since a Negro sat in Congress. Every other racial and national group is and has been represented. This is true of the Jews, the Irish, the Italians, the Germans, notwithstanding the fact that some of these groups have had to face a prejudice almost as bitter and unyielding as the Negroes themselves.

It is generally conceded that the interests of any group can best be represented by one of its own members, and wherever there is not such representation, discrimination follows. When Negroes were in Congress the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were live letters, civil rights laws in interest of the freedmen and other enabling legislation were enacted. President Grant even used the army to protect Negroes in their rights of suffrage in the South and to guarantee education for their children. Negroes were admitted at West Point and were assigned to the diplomatic service. The very presence of these Negroes in Congress discouraged and foiled attempts at anti-Negro legislation. During this period, too, the Southern states refrained from such devices as the Jim-Crow car and the Grandfather clause.

Since Negro Congressmen have disappeared, however—thereby depriving us of a voice of official protest—every form of persecution and discrimination has been practiced. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are dead letters. Peonage, segregation, disfranchisement and lynching have become the order of the day. The doors of West Point and Annapolis are closed to Aframericans. Men of color are effectually barred from the diplomatic service. Racial separation is also established in most of the federal departments at Washington. Step by step, year by year, we have b en stripped of our rights until we are now in danger of losing our status as freemen.

It is clear, then, that if we are to retrench, if we are to regain the rights guaranteed us by the constitution and vouchsafed to all men by the decent opinion of mankind, if indeed we are to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship with other groups, we must have representation in Congress.

This steady march of hostile policies toward the Negro should be stopped now. The tendency is for unchecked injustice to gain momentum making our task more difficult with each oncoming year. That need is emphasized by the fact that any white man who would give proper representation to colored people would have to become obnoxious to his fellows and be socially ostracized. On the other hand, a Negro who diligently and vigilantly defended the rights of his race would become popular with those among whom he had to live and spend his life. Besides, unlike a white representative, he would always have a natural and inevitable spur to duty because when he is fighting wrong to Negroes, he would be fighting wrong to himself. Whereas, a white representative is not denied the right to eat in any restaurant of Washington; he is not refused accommodation in the fine hotels; he may assuage his esthetic tastes by going to a first-class theater—in short, he may enjoy all the privileges which are denied to his colored constituents. The Negro Congressman, however, would always have a personal stake in what he was doing.

Another reason for immediacy in sending a Negro to Congress is the likelihood of gerrymandering the district so as to make it impossible eventually to elect a colored man.

A very logical question to ask is, "What could a Negro Congressman do?" What functions would be performe in a body of 435 men? First, he could call for vigorous enforcement of statutes and laws already on the books. He could so dove-tail this demand as to embarrass the whole Congress because right now one-half of it is cabing for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment while the other half is threatening enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth. Of course, the call for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth at this time is a sheer pretext to scotch or kil the Southern demand to make the country dry. A Negro could put the teeth of honesty, good intention and sincerity behind his demand. It would be most difficult for the loud protesters on law enforcement to ignore such an official call.

A Negro Congressman could attack peonage and probably get a committee to make an investigation and report its recommendations. Nor is the opportunity for success slim here. Honest farmers who pay their labor legitimate wages are opposed to farmers who skin and steal black labor, because those dishonest farmers by virtue of such tactics can undersell their competitors. Organized labor, too, ever alert to conditions which pull down wages and undermine the standard of living, could be enlisted on the side of peonage abolition because the old question of slavery—the competition of wage labor against slave labor—would present itself. And it must be remembered that organized labor has always opposed convict labor, even where some wages were being paid, but wages so low as to eliminate fair wage competition.

There is a crying need for some man with all to gain and nothing to lose(and this would be a Negro Congressman) who would make a dogged demand for enforcing that part of the constitution (Section two of Fourteenth Amendment), which clearly states that when the right to vote is denied in any state "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced." All of the congressmen know that; yet term after term the Southern states have been allowed to send representatives to Congress on the basis of population, although from one-fourth to one-half of that population are never permitted to cast a vote. The appeal could be made to Northern and Western states whose white voters, too, are now disfranchised by the unfair representation made possible through the Southern rotten borough political system.

The Negro Congressman could shock lots of traditional situations from their settings. One of the chief banes of the Negro's long divorce from the national legislature has been the tendency of the whole race to accept serfdom conditions as fixed and permanent. The jim-crow car is a case in point. There is no renson why a start should not be made to break that down immediately. In the first place, large numbers of Negroes are traveling, they have considerable wealth and they desire to utilize the Pullman service. Under the law they are interstate passengers with the rights to travel in Pullman cars. A Negro Congressman should demand that these rights be enforced even if every Pullman train running into the South had to carry a United States marshal. Of course, this would not have to continue long inasmuch as the Federal government is seldom resisted when it is obvious that it means business. What about the expense of so manning those trains? Well, it would not be much as it would only apply to about 12 states constituting the American sink of Barbarism and its sewer of ignorance. Nevertheless, even if it did cost some money, the Federal government owes it to its citizens, and the Negroes amply pay for it with their taxes. It is the disgrace of America and a complete exposure of her hypocrisy that for 50 years or more she has not spent a red cent to enforce a large part of her constitution which is boldly and flagrantly violated by a small and disloyal part of her population. She spends millions of dollars to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, and it is more important and imperative to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guaranteeing the citizenship and suffrage to many of its most loyal citizens.

While calling attention to Federal laws which have become dead letters and demanding their enforcement by the administration, the Negro Congressman would supplement this work by fighting for the enactment of new bills. Foremost among these would be, not an anti-lynching bill (which ought to be driven through, too), but a force bill for the purpose of making effective the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Constitutional provisions do not enforce themselves; they require enabling legislation. Which means that a simple, workable statute has to be drafted and enacted, then an appropriation for putting the statute into effect, the selection of sympathetic men and the adoption of sound policies must follow.

The anti-lynching law should be pushed vigorously, but much of its need would have past when the Negro in those lynching states gets the right to vote, thereby enabling him to remove sheriffs when they fail to do their duty and to elect officials who will administer the law fairly and fully.

Another very important function of a Negro Congressman would be that of watch dog for the race. Because in addition to securing enforcement of the laws already on the statute books and enacting new enabling legislation he would constantly be called upon to scotch and kill anti-Negro laws and policies. Let us examine this. Practically every year Southern Congressmen introduce bills memorializing the Confederacy and asking indemnity for their slaves and property losses which resulted from the Civil war. Persistent demands secure results. Most of what the South lost on the military field in the Civil war it has regained on the propaganda field, and unless such bills are fought vigorously—a thing which is not being done now—eventually part of those demands will be granted. A Negro Congressman could with good grace and force ask that the amount of money requested by such states be used to enforce the laws now being trampled under foot by those very states. Moreover, he could point out that the losses they entailed necessitated much larger losses by this government when the South unsheathed the sword, sowed dissension and disunion, and tried to raise above the stars and stripes the stars and bars.

Another annual effort of southern Congressmen is the introduction of a jim-crow car law for the District of Columbia. It hurts the Southern gentlemen to see those cultured and refined Washington colored people with one civil right still left—the right to ride on any part of the street car they get to first. The example set by the Federal government is frequently copied and the South knows that a jim-crow law passed in Washington would give aid and comfort to lukewarm border states. This makes it very imperative that such a jim-crow law be fought in unreserved measure by a capable Negro Congressman.

Again, there is a law, especially dear to the hearts of the anti-Negro South, which repeated efforts are made to enact—I refer to a Federal anti-intermarriage law. The aim here of the Dixie gentleman is to strip from colored women every vestige of protection and leave them no rights which a white man is bound to respect. Without being concerned about whom anybody marries, it is absolutely necessary that the following principle be kept as the standard; that all sane, grown persons be permitted to marry other sane, grown persons who want to marry them and whom they desire to marry.

A very concrete case of vicious legislation which one man could frequently block and prohibit is the Stone Mountain coinage of half dollars. For the benefit of those who may have forgotten, or who may never have known, a bill actually fathered by the Ku Klux Klan was introduced, passed and signed by President Coolidge giving the Stone Mountain Association of Atlanta, Ga., an auxiliary of the Ku Klux Klan, the privilege to have struck from the mint two and a half million dollars in fifty cent pieces, with inscribed thereon certain generals of the Confederacy. Not only that; the association was permitted to carry on a virtual confidence game by selling these half dollar coins for one dollar, thereby spreading easily two and a half million dollars for the purpose of further spreading bigotry, inciting religious intolerance, arousing anti-Negro sentiment and otherwise poisoning the wells of public opinion by the miasmic breath of race hatred. This bill passed through Congress so quietly that it was not known to the Negro press until long after its enactment. I believe the coins were actually minted before the knowledge became current. Where were the Negro's representative? How loud were they protesting? Did they even so much as inform the Negro's constituents in order that they might appear to fight the bill—to hold mass meetings in protest, to bring pressure to bear on their so-called representatives, or to give them an opportunity to get their white friends of other districts to appeal to the sense of justice and fair play of their representatives?

Education is about the most important accommodative function of government. Equality of information will probably go farther toward keeping the races on equal footing than equality of wealth. This makes educational appropriations of supreme importance. It is quite the common thing to have appropriations for land grant colleges and other Federal institutions of education which discriminate very greatly with respect to the races in the South. A Negro Congressman could fight for equality of dispensing all Federal money, and when such money is not distributed on that basis, he could object with a fair chance of

success of either defeating the bill or changing its provisions. Only recently Comptroller McCarl refused to grant the appropriation to Georgia because of discrimination against Negroes in the expenditure. It is fortunate to have a man like Comptroller McCarl but provision must be made for such time as no Comptroller McCarl is to be found.

When we speak of a Negro for Congress we don't mean simply a Negro Congressman. We mean more. Merely a Negro in Congress will be of little value to the race. We must have a certain kind of Negro there. He must be educated in political science, economics, history, sociology, world politics. He must be able to hold his own in controversy. He cannot think of his duties merely as a good fellow who shakes hands, imbibes libations, consumes suppers, and attempts to appear learned by loquaciousness or dignified dullness. He must be sober and a man of integrity as well.

He must also have the world point of view. Here is the secret of his bargaining power for the race. Such a Congressman must understand imperialism, spheres of influence, foreign investment, dollar diplomacy, trade routes, war and its causes. Without such knowledge he would be unprepared to protect the interests of Negroes in Haiti, Africa, South America—for debauching the Negro away from home frequently paves the way for fresh aggressions against the black man at home.

Not only that, an American sugar producer who has to pay American standard wages, if he had no interests in Haiti, might be opposed to another sugar producer who, through robbery and labor stealing tactics, was able to undersell him by producing sugar in Haiti. Likewise, a rubber producer in America might be attracted to support a policy which opposed exploitation of Liberian natives in rubber production, particularly if the African rubber producer was his competitor. Organized labor could frequently be induced to demand identical wages and conditions for Negroes—not out of any particular love for Negroes necessarily—but because to lower the standards of Negro workers either lowers their own standard or prevents their raising it.

Finally, the Negro is such an integral part of America that no subject can be adequately dealt with which leaves him out of account. He is a tax payer because he is a producer. One tenth of the entire population, he is one seventh of the industrial population. One third of the population of the South, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart says he produces three fifths of the wealth of the South. Nor does one have to own property to pay taxes. Every Negro who rents, buys food, goes to a movie or theater, rides in an automobile, in a Pullman car or any other device for transportation, is compelled to pay the tax toll.

One of the outstanding problems of the country during the last year has been flood control, particularly of the Mississippi. Probably few persons know that 80 per cent of the persons distressed by the swollen father of waters were Negroes. Power control, affecting light and heat of homes and getting power to businesses, affects two million colored families. Housing is no less a problem of Negroes than of white people. Restricted immigration moves migrants of both races to the gaps left vacant by receding immigrants. It is notorious that prohibition got its effectual impetus in the South through the supposed need of limiting the consumption of alcohol in order to get more work out of Negroes. What is equally well known to students of the problem is that it has had no less effect upon the whites. Crime is a universal problem affecting all races—a large percentage of Negroes being convicted of petty crimes against a smaller percentage but larger number of whites convicted of major crimes. Foreign investments carry the money of white people chiefly as capital into other lands, but lands frequently inhabited by colored people and presenting the problem of cheap lands and cheap labor, with convenient raw materials. Railroad rates affect each race both from point of travel or shipment of goods.

We have heard much of late about farm legislation. Our millions of white farmers have problems akin to and usually identical with the problems of nearly a million Negro farmers. The Red Cross is called on for relief made necessary by flood, fire, tornado and famine, yet disaster knows no race nor color line, so the problem of relief is a problem of all. It is this universal view point, this conception of the Negro as an integral part of American citizenship demanding his rights as an American, not merely for the benefit of himself but for the best interests of all—which makes the presence of a Negro Congressman in the House of an importance to the whites second only to the Negroes. Peonage, for the Negroes has meant peonage for almost as many whites. Still more significant, but less notorious, is the fact that more white people are disfranchised in every Southern state than Negroes, because the Bourbon politicians are able to apply restrictions laid dowa for Negroes to their almost equally exploited white fellows.

Martin B. Madden

There are only two Congressional districts in the United States from which Negro Congressmen could be elected without the support of white voters. (This ought not be necessary, but the fact is that white men will not vote in large numbers for Negroes). One of these districts is in New York and the other in Chicago. The Chicago district is best organized and has the largest Negro vote of any district in the country. At the present time it is represented by Martin B. Madden, a white man. a Colored man should have been elected from this district eight years ago, except for a group of ante bellum Negro politicians who maintained several unsupportable reasons for opposing the innovation. Let us analyze those reasons here.

First, it is held by these politicians that the Negroes owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Madden. Asked to explain what they mean they tell you that he introduced some Negroes who were attending the Howard-Lincoln football game to the president. ("A smile from a lord is a breakfast for a fool.")) Another man will say, "He got me a commission in the army." (Of course, every Congressman was trying to get Negroes into the army, and the government had an officers' training camp at Des Moines which one thousand Negro officers attended.)

Far be it from me to dampen the spirit of gratitude among Negroes. All peoples at best are too short of this fine sentiment. Yet, as is frequently the case, those Negroes who raise this argumnt are perverted in thir judgment. The people who lift a man from obscurity to honor and prominence and good remuneration are not indebted to him; he is indebted to them. And certainly to elect a man like Madden to Congress for 22 consecutive years, leaves him under a heavy obligation and debt of gratitude to his Negro constituents.

Moreover, why should Negroes feel that they owe so much more to Madden than white men feel for their men of prominence? For example, no one would compare Madden with Lincoln, Jefferson, Roosevelt, Washington or Wilson. Most of these were high type statesmen beyond question. Still their white constituents and supporters agreed that two terms or eight years were sufficient honor. More than that, these men all had a certain sense of fitness which impelled them to withdraw of their own free will after two terms. And if Mr. Madden had the proper sense of propriety, he, too, would thank his constituents, withdraw gracefully, and leave the district free to select and elect a man of its own choosing without his interference.

It is sometimes argued that a white man has more influence in Congress than a Negro. Apart from this being a pure slave argument, it is not true. The presence of Negroes in the various state and municipal bodies belies this claim. The very completeness of the New York civil rights law was perfected by E. A. Johnson, whom the New York Negroes put in the legislature while the old school Negro and while politicians were arguing "The time ain't ripe." Hawkins, another Negro legislator of New York fathered the African-dodger bill. The Ohio civil rights law has been immeasurably strengthened by Harry Davis, its Negro legislator. The only time Pennsylvania ever had introduced a civil rights law for the protection of the Negro was when J. C. Asbury and Andrew Stevens were elected by Philadelphia Negroes. Illinois presents no exception to the rule. Here we have Jackson's riot bill, King's anti-Ku Klux Klan, defeated by a narrow margin, and most of the legislation in interest of Negroes fathered by some of our colored representatives. It was left for West Virginia representatives to get through an unheard-of bill last year. There those Negroes secured the enactment of a law which—in view of the separate schools of the state and the inability of Negroes to attend the University of West Virginia—required the State of West Virginia to pay the tuition of any colored state students who matriculate in Northern schools.

Contrast this record, if you please, with Madden's anti-Jim Crow car bill a few years ago. The so-called redoubtable and powerful Martin Madden got the nifty support of exactly twelve votes for his bill, notwithstanding that he is chairman of the powerful appropriations committee and has been in Congress for ages. Which argues one of two things, either that Madden hasn't so much influence or that he was not working sincerely or vigorously—that he is either weak or not genuinely interested in his Negro constituents.

Why did Madden introduce this so-called Jim Crow car bill, anyway?

About the same time that this bill was presented there was a general Negro renaissance of political courage and activity all over the country. Robert Owens, a Negro lawyer of St. Louis, had run against Congressman Dyer. A Negro had run in the Twenty-first Congressional district of New York against Martin Ansorge. A colored candidate had run against Madden in Chicago. Ashbie Hawkins, a colored lawyer of Baltimore, had run for United States Senator in Maryland. Senator Lodge was skating on thin ice in Massachusetts, and the divided Negro vote which was going to Walsh, who had voted straight on the race question, was worrying the lordly Senator Lodge. What happened? Well, all who were in trouble seemed to have gotten together. Senator Lodge threatened the introduction of a force bill. Dyer became intensely interested in a Federal anti-Lynching law. Martin Ansorge named a Negro to West Point. Madden introduced an anti-Jim Crow car bill. Senator France of Maryland introduced the same bill in the Senate.

Now all the while there had been Jim Crow cars in the country and Madden presumably knew about them. So did Senator France. Lodge had been in the Senate about 20 years without using his actually good ability and influence to secure enactment of a force bill, even though his party had been almost continuously in power and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had been shamelessly flouted and nullified by the South. Ansorge of New York had not been in Congress long, but it seems that he was the only one who had just learned that Negroes had long been shut out of West Point, although they wanted to go to their government school which they are taxed to maintain.

To a student of politics, or indeed a person of plain common sense and honesty, all of them, including Madden, seemed simply to be introducing bills and making speeches in order to frank them out to the voters in their districts, so that without postage or expense, they could make a campaign and hoodwink the unsuspecting and uninitiated Negro voters.

Another yard stick must be laid on Madden in order to get his full measure. It is a matter of common knowledge that if anyone is sincerely and effectively working in the Negro's interest, that person will be opposed by Southern Congressmen, lecturers, writers and public men. To illustrate, during the reconstruction period Congressman Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Charles Sumner were the target of all Southern representatives in both houses. There was no end of opposition to them in or out of Congress. So bitter was the opposition that United States Representative Preston S. Brooks from South Carolina, with his cane, struck Charles Sumner almost a mortal blow—one which left the fine abolition Senator of Massachusetts an invalid for life. Our own Clarence Darrow was almost run out of the South last year for making a speech in Alabama. Not so with Martin Madden. He is a boon companion of the Southern gentlemen. One never sees him denounced by them either in or out of Congress. The Southerners and other anti-Negro groups must know their man. And you better watch your alleged friends who are not opposed by your unquestioned enemies.

It is obvious then that Madden is not an asset to the Negroes, that he shows no particular strength in fighting for them, that his supposed fights for them are merely playing to the gallery as a sort of cheap campaign for re-election. It is also clear that the Negro politicians, while incompetent enough, are nevertheless able to see through that. Why, then, do they continue to support Madden? This; most of them are contemporaries. They are about the same age, they have been about the same length of time in politics, they are of a similar mental caliber, they hold about the same social position. Each one feels he would rather for Madden to be in Congress than some other Negro who might be boosted to a position above him. Here is the crux of this whole slave philosophy that "the time isn't ripe."

The time is rotten ripe for Negroes to return to Congress. It was ripe when they were there before. They had no such education or material wealth as we have today yet they gave a good account of themselves. They gave to the South its first free public school system—the greatest boon that section has ever enjoyed. The great masses of the voters who are honest, who are not job-holders and who have no axes to grind, must take a stand for racial representation. They must disregard all who would deny them a Negro in Congress now. In doing this they are not fighting white people; they are uniting with white citizens to fight against wrongs of both white and colored persons. They are taking their stand with the champion of the square deal, Theodore Roosevelt, who said the door of hope should not be closed to the deserving colored man. Let us remember Lowell's injunction: "They who would be free must themselves first strike the blow."

Party Affiliation

Goodall Glorifies Ku Klux Klan!

Thanks God They Are With Republicans

Cry Was Deperate Expression Made In Debate With Warley

Nearly 300 Colored Voters Crowd Elk's Rest To Hear Colored Men On Which Party Should Negro Support

Best of Order And Good Fellowship Prevailed Proving The Negro Is Coming To His Sinses

A most unique and remarkable meeting—a thing unprecedented in Louisville—was held last Wednesday night at the Elks' Rest. Nearly 300 men gathered there to hear Mr. Hundley Goodall and William Warley debate the question, "Which Party Should the Negro Support In This Election?'

There was no sign of bad feeling, no disorder, no hissing, nothing but good fellowship. Altho many had predicted Warley, perhaps, had the unpopular side, it must be said no evidence of it was shown and as a matter of fact Warley was interrupted many times by the applause of the listeners, many of whom wore Harrison buttons. After the speaking, scores of men shook his hand and said, "that's great." Mr. Goodall was roundly applauded and given the glad hand after the meeting.

All of which is a good sign. It is striking evidence the Negro is getting his eyes open and is not blindly falling for everything because it is labeled Republican.

Too much credit cannot be given Mr. T. H. Mason and Eli Forbes for bringing this meeting to pass. Mr. Mason is Exalted Ruler of Louisville Elks, but he made it plain in opening the meeting that the meeting was not an Elk affair. He said, the Elks as a lodge had nothing to do with this meeting. That he, T. H. Mason, was holding this meeting as a citizen, and all present were his personal guests and not Elks' guests.

The idea of such a meeting originated with Mr. Eli Forbes of the Paul Laurence Dunbar Club when he told Mr. Len Haley the Dunbar Club would challenge any man or club to a debate on "Which Party The Negro Should Support In This Election." Mr. Haley hiked over to The News office and issued the challenge to the Editor, who has been fighting the Republican Party. The Editor accepted the challenge as a representative of the Colored Fifth District Democratic Organization.

Mr. Mason declaring that it is high time Negroes were becoming broadminded and hearing both sides of the question, entered into the thing with his characteristic energy. He had 250 invitations printed inviting that many people and their friends to the Elks' Rest on Wednesday night to hear this debate. An dthey were there, every available space was taken, men stood in doorways, on tables, and the hall was crowded with men who could not see the speaker.

Six judges were chosen—three Republicans and three Democrats. Each speaker was given 25 minutes, and the meeting was called to order. Mr. Mason presided. He opened the meeting by singing "Pass Me Not O Gentle Savior," and followed that with prayer by Rev. Father Gilbert Walker of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. Mason then told the object of the meeting was to remind Colored people that after election they would be Colored right on, and there was no wisdom in them falling out over white men who were running for office and having gotten in would proceed to forget the Negro. He said he thought men of intelligence ought to hear both sides of the question. He said everybody knew his party affiliation, but that did not keep him from wanting to hear the other fellows' side. He made no appeal for order, as he saw ther was no need. He then introduced Mr. Hundley Goodall who argued the Negro ought to support the Republican ticket.

Mr. Goodal is considered a man brainy and of high intelligence. He launched right into the grand old party of Abraham Lincoln, he told how Lincoln had freed the Negro, while Democrats fought to keep him a slave. The applause He said all the laws aginst the Negro were put on the books by Democrats. He told a number of funny stories. He declared he ought to know the Negro should vote the Republican ticket because he had been with both parties at different times and knew whereof he spoke.

The News regrets very much that both speeches were extemporaneous and hence no record keept. It wants to do Mr. Goodall justice and would be glad to print his speech verbatim, but honestly, Mr. Goodall floundered about so badly this writer cannot give a coherent account of his address. Finally, however, he got down to the meat in the cocoanut. He played o nhis listeners with a denunciation of the raids and arrests of Negroes. He declared he was asked to speak in the east end the other night. He said when he appeared he asked the people gathered, "What argument can I make to get you to stay with the Republican party?" If these Democratic police billies, if this Democratic jail and workhouse doesn't convince you—then there's nothing I can say'

This sentence dramatically sprung by Mr. Goodall drew down the house and was long and loudly applauded. Mr. Goodal then told a couple of anecdotes wherein the Negro was the goat of the white man and sat down amidst a round of applause.

When the applause died down Mr. Mason in a few words, introduced Mr. Warley who was to take the Democratic side. Perhaps to his own surprise when he arose and before he had opened his mouth Mr. Warley was greeted with a round of applause. He thanked and congratulated Mr. Mason for arranging such a meeting, he congratulated Mr. Eli Forbes for his idea of such a meeting and he thanked the audience for being fair

enough to themselves to come out and hear both sides of a question.

He said he was sick, under the doctor's care and would rather had gone home earlier in the day than to bet. But he knew folks would have said he was afraid to meet the brilliant Hundley on the platform, and that he would say certain things in the paper but was afraid to say them in public speech.

He said he was shocked and disappointed at the sorry arguments made by his friend, Goodall. He said Abraham Lincoln freed the Negro as a matter of military expediency. The slave was a contraband of war and worked in the fields and fed the enemy, therefore it was good war tactics to free them. He said Abraham Lincoln's sole aim was to save the Union, and with that in mind he told the South they could keep their slaves if they would lay down their arms and stay in the Union, and he gave them until January 1, 1863 to accept or reject that proposition. He said thousands of Democrats fought in the Union army and the war was not to free the Negro at all—but he had incidentally and accidentally the beneficiary of the war and the Republicans deserved no credit for emancipation of the Negro.

But be that as it may be said. That was 1861 to 1865. This is 1927, in the city of Louisville and state of Kentucky, and we have to live and vote for present and future conditions. He then denounced the local Republican organization as a lily-white, Negro hating Ku Klux Klan bunch.

He said, after their victory in 1917 won for them by the Negro vote, the first thing they did after taking their seats was for one Alderman Ziesker to offer an ordinance to have jim crow street cars in Louisville. Of course it was stopped—more by the street car company than by Negro protests. But it showed the spirit of the party just put in power by Negro votes.

He said they were so lily white they would not let a Negro represent a Negro district, but had robbed him and Wilson Lovett, and right in 1927 had thrown Lee Brown down on a mere technicality.

Speaking of raids, he reminded his hearers of raids conducted by Republican police in which they not only arrested everybody, but took axes along and broke up pool tables, counters and the place in general.

He told how they drove Negro owners out of the money-making places and let white men have all the best places in the Negro districts. So bad did they get that Colored owners of these places wanted to raise $300 as a pot to pay The Louisville News to fight these same Republicans they are whooping up for now.

He said Les Mosley came to him one day so angry he was crying over a raw deal they had given him, told the editor his story and asked him to tell the world what the Republicans were trying to do to Negro owners of poolrooms and soft drink stands. The editor complied, and so pleased was Mosley he gave the editor a $20 bill. He reminded certain of his listeners howthey had paid the cop on his beat, the lieutenant, the Captain and then Republican League for protection, and then were subject to raids just the same. The speaker was roundly applauded for this exposure.

But the biggest erason of all the speaker said, as to why Negroes should vote for J. T. O'Neal and against W. H. Harrison, was the rotten, insulting rule excluding Colored people from public parks. He expiated on that. He declared 27 Negroes had been killed by Republican police in ten years—not in self defense but while running. He told about the boy at 8th and Walnut, shot to death while running, he told of Gassaway, killed in the police station after being arrested by th smallest cop on the force. He told of the man at 12th and Cedar, who jumped from his window and ran and was killed by the police.

He told of the mistreatment of Harvey Burns by Republicans frr whom he had worked.

He told of the Ku Klux Klan parade, forbidden by Mayor O'Neal and Col. J. H. Haager, and was attempted right on, broken up by the police—then a number of Republican police resigned because "they could not stand and see their fellow Klansmen beat up," showing the Republican organization is permeated with Ku Klux Klan spirit.

He gave so many evidences of Republican rotteness he got tired, himself. He said the Republican party, in Louisville, could not be cleaned from within when there are only two silent Colored men on a committee of sixty. He said it would have to be cleaned up from without and if the Negro would help defeat them this year by voting for Mayor O'Neal and his ticket, the Republicans would come back to the Negro, two years from now, on bended knees and gladly treat as a man and respect them.

Mr. Goodal said he ought to have a few minutes for rebuttal, and Mr. Warley agreed.

Evidently feeling he was whipped by common sense argument, Mr. Goodall lost his head and dramatically declared: "I thank God the Ku Klux Klan is for the Republican party. I would rather be under the Ku Klux Klan than the Cronan Clan." Then he proceeded to get a little evil, and said he could be bribed with a job. He said I never got a nickel from the Republicans in my life and I never had a job from the Republicans in my life." This being the only personal attack of the evening Mr. Mason allowed Warley a word. Warley said his name had been on the payroll a number of times—not because of any love for him, but to keep his mouth shut. He said he never kept his mouth shut whenever any Negro was wrong, and every time he talked too much they'd fire him to "cut down expenses."

He said if Mr. Goodall never received a nickel from the Republicans they evidently did not think he was worth a nickel and no job because he was not worth a job.

Mr. J. R. Ray, speaking for the judges said they would give no decision. He complimented both speakers and said each had made good points. He suggested another debate t a larger place. The meeting broke up with singinfi "Blest Be The Tie That Binds," and benediction by the Rev. Walker.

The debaters, the listeners, all were in high, good humor after the meeting and it was unanimously agreed there should be other debates.

Political 1927

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

"Brainy, Brilliant" Hundley Fails To Show Up For Debate----Why?

Warley Does All The Talking And Roasts Lilly White, Ku Klux Klan Republicans

Two Police Officers Take Up Collection At Zion Baptist Church

The much heralded debate scheduled for Thursday night at Zion Baptist Church between Hundley Goodall and William Warley turned out to be a one man affair.

The "brainy, brilliant" Hundley, who "thanks God the epublican party is Ku Klux Klan," did not show up. Mr. Goodall was to argue why Negroes should vote the Republican ticket. Warley was to argue Negroes ought to vote for J. T. O'Neal and the Democratic ticket. Hundley was not there; Warley was.

Messrs. W. B. Harrison and Clarke Otte were scheduled to speak at the same church Wednesday night. The crowd Thursday night was larger by far than the Wednesday night crowd.

10-15-27

Mr. T. H. Mason, well known in musical, fraternal and business circles presided and promoted the meeting. He said he arranged these meetings so that intelligent people could hear both sides of the question from a Negro point of view and so that Colored people would not be enemies because they differed in politics. Mr. Mason's idea and program are far different from those of Brent Nunnelly and Charley Ryan, who have been urging and begging Negroes to boycott each other and hate ach other because they differed in their party affiliations At nine o'clock, Mr. Goodall had not shown up, so Mr. Mason opened the meeting and with a short introduction, presented Mr. Willia mWarley.

Having no opponent to answer, Mr. Warley had to change his talk altogether. He praised Mr. Mason for his broadmindness in arranging the meeting and then without further ado he launched into a scathing denunciation of the Republican party, declaring it to be lily-white, Negro hating and Ku Klux Klan in spirit. He said Negroes had no right to expect anything from Democrats against whom they had voted year after year without rhyme or reason. He quoted a well knwn ignoramus as saying he would rather vote for a yellow dog on the Republican ticket than a real man on the Democratic ticket. He exposed the ignorance of such an expression and declared that thought put into action was the reason Negroes are hel din contempt and were disrespected by both parties.

He claimed he was opposed to the Republican party because the Negro had given them solid support for years. That form 1917 to 1925 they had voted 30,000 strong for the Republican party and yet had no voice in the choice of candidates—that known Negro Haters were put on the ticket and Negroes were not consulted about it. He told of Republican eflorts at jim crow street cars. He declared the jim crow park idea and order keeping Negroes out of public parks was an insult to the race and men from the wilds of Borneo would vote against a party that so insulted them. Warley was loudly applauded when he denounced Brent Nunnelly and Charles Ryan for telling Negroes to boycott Negroes and not associate with Negroes who were Democratic in their view. "Can you conceive," he cried, "of a black man talking to a white audience and telling them to hate other white people and to boycott them for the sake of Negroes? He declared Nunnely and Ryan ought have been hissed off the platform and driven from a Negro audience.

This bitter denunciation drew great applause and many listeners declared after the meeting it was the high spot of the speech. Warley declared he had registered Independent but would vote the straight Democratic ticket. He declared he would never register any party affiliation again, until the party he registers for included Colored men and women in their party councils and asked Negroes their desire about the personnel of the ticket. He said he had been for Mr. Clarke Otte until told Mr. Otte is now or was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. He reminded his hearers that Mr. Harry I. Fox, now Republican candidat for a judgeship, had as head of the military police, swooped down on Colored people at 10th and Chestnut streets during the war, with a hundred soldiers and beat every Negro they could catch. He told of Mr. Harrison Coleman, epublican candidate for County Attorney, speaking before a committee of Republicans on which were Drs. Merchant and Peters, Colored, declaring, "Yes, give the niggers a picnic at Chickasaw Park. That's the way to get the nigger vote." He said he was told this by a Col. man who was present. He would not talk of the 27 Negroes killed by Republican police because he saw in the audience Mr. Gazzaway, father of young Gazzaway, who was brutally murdered by police in the Clay and St. Catherine station. He did not want to revive the tragedy in the elder Gazzaway's mind so he avoided all reference to this outrage.

He declared he spoke not as a partisan but as a Negro, but urged his hearers to vote for J. T. O'Neal and the Democrat ic ticket as a rebuke to the alleged Republicans who are no more real Republicans than the Bolshevists of Russia. Voters backward about voting the Democratic ticket could at least help maintain Negro dignity and self respect by staying home and not voting at all, he said. Afte rthe speaking, Mr. Mason asked all who were goin gto vote the Republican ticket to hold up their hands. Quite a few hands went up, but equally as many went up when he asked for those "who were going to vote otherwise."

An amusing feature of the evening was the entrance of two police officers about the time Warley was finishing up.

Mr. Mason immediately called on them to take up collections. The officers were game, however, and went forward to the collection table, laid caps and sticks aside and stood by the table, leading off the collection with a dollar each.

Trend In Political Sentiment Of The Race For Republican Nomination Is For Lowden

12-17-27

Washington, D. C., Dec. 13.—The first trend in political sentiment among Negroes for candidates for the Republican presidential nomination is toward Governor Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois it was evidenced here last week while the Republican National Committee was in session.

Melvin J. Chisum, of Chicago, field secretary of the National Negro Press Association, and a recognized figure in Republican politics, was here for the meeting of the National Commitee, espousing the candidacy of the Illionis governor. Mr. Chisum has been selected to carry the cause of Governor Lowden before the Negro voters of the country because of his known ability as a harmonizer between the Northern and Southern Negro Republican, the leadership of the party being in the South, where the colored committee members hold sway and the voting power benig in the Northern states, which are without disfranchising laws.

Mr. Chisum has spent several years residence in the South and since leaving that section, in his capacity as representative of the Negro press has also traveled much in that part of the country. In Illinois he is considered a man on the inside of Republican poltics and his influence in Washington is not overlooked. He will be the outstanding representative of the Lowden interest in the South, and is expected to exert considerable influence in lining up the power of the party in that region for the Illinois governor.

Status Of Negro Upheld

The status of the Negro in the Republican party was upheld in a poll of the entire mmebership of the National Committee effected recently, Roscoe Conkling Simmons announced while here attending the committee meeting last week. Simmons, who is president of the Lincoln League, and a ranking character in the party, with the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, national committeeman from Georgia, during the meeting of the Republican National Committee here in 1920 defeated the proposal for the reduction of Southern representation in the national conventions because of the small Republican vote in the South which resuts from disfranchising laws in that section. Simmons and Johnson contended that to effect the proposed reduction would be tantamount to approving the South's attitude on Negro suffrage.

Last October, R. B. Creager, national committeeman from Texas, stated, according to the New Orleans press, that the Negro occupies only the place of "camp follower" in the Republican party. His statement was the cause of the recent poll to discover what part of the committee was in accord with his views. This poll showed an overwhelming disagreement with the Texas committeeman, a fact which indicates that contesting delegation will be named from the State in the Republican National Convention in June, opposed to Creager's lilywhiteism.

Creager Views Repudiated

Republican national committeemen from all sections of the country have indicated to Roscoe Simmons, head of the Lincoln League, their lack of sympathy with the views of Mr. Creager as published in the New Orleans press "to make the Republican party Southern in principles and ideals." Numerous committeemen from the South have indicated that they are in no way affiliated with the new Southern Republican League which met in the Lousiana city, and have maintained that the Republican party must not be held responsible for the views of an individual committeeman.

HANDLING LOWDEN INTERESTS AMONG RACE IN SOUTH



MELVIN J. CHISUM

Davis Confirmation Seen

Former Senator George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania, when asked for his reaction to the Creager pronouncement, said:

"You know me well enough to know how little I sympathize with or approve of efforts to arouse race antagonism. With respect to appreciation of men of the Negro race and justice to them, inside the Republican party and outside, you know where my record is, so that it is not necessary for me to more than refer to it."

Confirmation of Benjamin Jefferson Davis, of Atlanta, Republican national committeeman from Georgia, as successor to the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, was early forecast by the vigorous expression of members of the national committee on the questions raised in the Craeger speech, which showed that the Republican a program and on plans laid down by a committee upon which were national committee, as at present,

SENTIMENT OF RACE IS FOR LOWDEN

(Continued from Page 1)

constituted, occupies the same position on the Negro question that it has taken during the past four decades. This sentiment was expressed to Simmons by National Committeeman Joseph W. Tolbert, of South Carolina, who said:

"If I am anything at all I am a Lincoln Republican, and stand for the principles he stood for, and will ever stand."

Sentiment For Lowden

Governor Lowden is apparently the first choice of Negroes because of the lack of appeal of the other candidates.

The colored politicians fear Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover because of his close affiliation with the administration of the late President Woodrow Wilson, his general attitude in the Mississippi flood disaster, and the extremely friendly interest the South is manifesting in his candidacy.

Senator Charles Curtis, of Kansas, and Frank B. Willis, of Ohio, are regarded as fair to the race, but neither of them has succeeded in lining up any of the Negro political leaders with them. In the event that Governor Lowden should withdraw from the race for the nomination at any time, it is believed that his strength will be inherited by Vice President Charles G. Dawes.

Three of the four colored members of the Republican National Committee cling to the belief that President Coolidge will be drafted. They think that under that circumstance he will accept the nomination and be a candidate for re-election.

These members of the committee are Perry W. Howard, of Mississippi, and Benjamin Jefferson Davis and Mrs. George S. Williams, of Georgia.

The fourth colored member of the Republican National Committee will support the candidate, whose cause Vice Chairman Charles D. Hilles, of New Yory espouses. Since Charles Evans Hughes has declared that he is not a candidate and will not accept the nomination if it should be offered him, Mr. Hilles has been silent. It is believed, however, that he will go into the Lowden camp.

Davis Plays Shrewd Game

While Mr. Davis is declaring that the statement of President Coolidge to the members of the National Committee on December 6 adds nothing to his announcement of August 2 that he does not choose to run for President in 1928, political wiseacres see the Georgia committeeman playing a shrewd game in politics.

Roscoe Pickett, the Georgia state chairman, is supporting Governor Lowden. Albert S. Anderson, the Georgia vice chairman and an office holder under the Coolidge administration, favors Secretary Hoover. Mr. Davis himself is for President Coolidge.

The first choice of National Committeman Howard for the Republican nomination is President Coolidge. Likewise, his second choice is President Coolidge. He will very likely follow the lead of Chairman William M. Butler of the National Committee.

Meanwhile, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work is reported as inspiring a contesting delegation from Mississippi to the Republican national convention in Kansas City, Mo., on June 12 pledged to Secretary Hoover.

The report is that J. T. Spence, a white man, called on Secretary Work for aid in getting a political appointment under Mr. Howard in Mississippi. Secretary Work is said to have advised him to bring a contesting delegation to the national convention for Secretary Hoover and overthrow the rule of Mr. Howard in Mississippi Republican politics.

A reaction to the selection of Kansas City, Mo., as the meeting place for the next Republican national convention is setting in among colored Republicans. They complain that Kansas City is race prejudice-ridden. Negroes are not permitted to visit in white hotels. Segregation obtains in all public places. There are no suitable hotel accommodations for Negroes.

It took twenty ballots to select Kansas City as the meeting place. This is unprecedented. Only once before in the history of Republican politics has it been necessary to ballot for a convention city. That was in 1900 when Philadelphia was selected over Chicago on the tenth ballot.

Politicians attach much significance to the balloting. They interpret it to mean that Chairman Butler does not exert the influence over members of the committee that other chairmen exerted, especially in view of the fact that he is a close friend of the President and the strongest proponent of the draft idea.

Mr. Howard, Mr. Davis and Mrs. Williams voted with Chairman Butler for Kansas City. Mrs. Booze voted with vice chairman Hilles for San Francisco. It is rumored that very flattering financial offers were made to two colored members of the national committee to switch their voting from Kansas City to San Francisco. In one case, it is reported, the colored man who offered the bribe was bitterly denounced by the member to whom he made the offer.

Political-1927
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

POLITICAL READJUSTMENT IN THE SOUTH

Commenting on the complaint of Colonel Henry W. Anderson before the Institute of Politics of the University of Virginia that the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South had led to the disqualification of a large number of Southern whites and to political corruption, the Richmond Virginia-Pilot states: "All that can be asked of the Democratic South is to put an end to all discriminations, under the election laws, between white Democrats and white Republicans." In other words, let the election laws of the South be so worded and enforced that Southern white Democrats and Republican can vote and hold office, and let the Negro remain disfranchised.

The Southern Democrats, since the reconstruction, have frankly and forcibly counted the Negro out of the politcal equation, and they have paid the price in poor schools, backward legislation, sterile commercial life and low social conditions. On the other hand, through reconstruction laws and a desire to retain the Northern Negro vote, the Republican Party until recently, has taken a tolerant attitude toward the Negro, with the result that active race men such as Henry Lincoln Johnson, Ben Davis, Perry Howard, and others, while disfranchised at home were able to sit in Republican councils and force patry recognition for their group.

If this growing "Lily-whitism" bears fruit, it will owe much to Northern white Republican leaders. Taft, during his presidency, asserted that he would not appoint a Negro to an office in the South, if it offended Southern whites. While fighting to secure a third-term nomination Roosevelt refused to permit Negroes to sit in his "Bull Moose" convention. And Harding in his Birmingham speech, expressed the wish that he longed for the day when there would be two strong parties in the South and the Negro would cease to vote largely for the Republican Party.

The Negro in the Northern, Western and Border States will have to meet this challenge, as his brethren below the Mason and Dixon line are helpless politically. And to do this he will be forced to organize and vote more strongly in the cities and states where his vote has an appreciable effect on elections. Moreover, he will find it absolutely necessary to stop wearing party labels, and to vote for men and measures as these favorably affect his group welfare.

FRED. R. MOORE FOR ALDERMAN

Over in New York, Fred Moore, the editor of The Age, has been designated for alderman. If the colored people of the metropolis want a capable, reliable and representative member of the race to represent them they could not do better than elect Mr. Moore.

Mr. Moore has the confidence and respect of the members of the race wherever he is known and it would seem to us that the colored voters in News York should get back of his candidacy and see that he is elected. If it is true that a large number of the Negroes failed to register in the past now is the time for them to qualify to vote. If they will not register to vote for a man like Fred Moore there is no hope for them politically.

The eyes of the colored people of the Nation are on New York. The race has a candidate who is in every way qualified to properly represent it on the aldermanic board. Able, honest, aggressive, Fred Moore, should he be elected, will make an alderman of whom the race everywhere will be proud.

The duty of the Negroes of New York is clear. Will they see their duty and do it? We believe they will.

THE PASSING OF GEORGE M. BENSON

Elks throughout the country will be shocked at the unexpected death of George M. Benson, who passed to his final reward at Wilmington, Delaware. Not only was Mr. Benson prominent in Elk circles but he was a 32 degree Mason and stood high in the councils of that fraternity.

In Wilmington, Delaware, where he was born, he was looked upon as one of the race's most progressive citizens. Proud of his native city, and its people, he always was ready to do the things that would give it any prestige and prominence.

Mr. Benson was a gentle gentleman. He was kindly of heart, genial of disposition, generous and full of the milk of human kindness. He was loyal to his friends even to the point of personal sacrifice. His passing leaves a void in the civic, fraternal affairs of his native city that it will be hard to fill. Wilmington has lost a leading and substantial citizen.

"CONSISTENCY, THOU ART A JEWEL"

A number of white church conferences and conventions have been condemning the Republican party and commending the Democratic ticket to their members. The Long Run Association did that thing.

In a speech, the other night, one Mr. R. A. Hines, president of the Shawnee Republican Club, rebelled against such action. He declared he thought anyone who preached the gospel should keep out of politics. Many Colored people will agree with that sentiment—but why do not our Republican fellows be consistent. They are trying to buy up every Negro preacher in Louisville and the state. Negro preachers' names are ever so prominent in Republication headquarters. We note Messrs. Harrison and Otte are not above speaking in Negro churches and Negro pulpits. This is just one more case of Republican "Consistency." They cry out at white ministers, congregations and conventions, taking a stand for political morality and righteousness, but they want the Negro minister and christian to support them openly and their reward is Negro dives, joints, crapgames, vulgarity and criminality. For once we wish Negro perachers would emulate, or at least imitate, the example of the white ministry and take a high stand for morality and a clean city.

NEW YORK TIMES
OCT 6 1927

Federal Supervision of Kentucky Election Asked by Republicans, Fought by Democrats

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5.—Efforts by Kentucky Republican leaders to have the Government intervene in the local elections in that State next month caused resentment today among Southern Senators, who denounced the attempt as unwarranted and reminiscent of reconstruction days.

Charles G. Middleton, Chairman of the City and County Committee of Louisville, and William Marshall Bullitt, former Solicitor General of the United States, have been in conference with Attorney General Sargent, charging that the Democrats, who now are in power politically in Louisville, are intimidating the negroes, and asking that the Government enter the situation in some way, if possible.

Senator Glass of Virginia termed the suggestion "idiotic" and "preposterous," adding that the South would never permit such action. The Government, Senator Glass declared, had never participated in State elections since reconstruction days, and then only when Federal offices were concerned.

Senator Fletcher of Florida said: "It would be a gross outrage and would be harking back fifty years to the time when the Federal Government finally had to abandon its efforts to use troops in reconstruction days."

Kentucky is now engaged in a bitter campaign for the election of a Governor. J. C. W. Beckham, Democratic former Governor and United States Senator, is opposing Clem D. Sampson, Republican. The chief issue advocated by former Senator Beckham is the abolition of legalized race track betting in Kentucky, the home of horse racing.

Kentuckians here say that the negro vote nearly controls the election in Kentucky and does control it in Louisville, where the Democrats are now in power for the first time since 1917. Republicans charge that the Democratic Administration is using the city police force to threaten and intimidate the negroes to keep them away from the polls.

Mr. Middleton and Mr. Bullitt have not disclosed what course they are urging upon Attorney General Sargent, but there is a suggestion that they wish a large number of Federal marshals appointed before the elections.

THOSE DAYS HAVE GONE FOREVER - - - - - - - By Holloway



Negro Majority of Twenty-first A. D. Turns Down Charles W. B. Mitchell

Deputy Attorney General Supported by All White Committeemen and by Hawkins, Warner and Harris Factions for Re-election

Robert S. Conklin, white, Deputy Attorney General and leader of the Twenty-first Assembly District, was again re-elected as permanent chairman of the County Committee by an overwhelming majority at a stormy late afternoon session Thursday at the Manhattan Republican Club, Broadway and 138th street. U. S. Attorney Tuttle presided as temporary chairman.

The name of Charles W. B. Mitchell was placed in nomination by Harold C. Burton to run against Mr. Conklin who received 76 votes against Mr. Mitchell's 13. Fifty-one of the sixty-four Negroes voted for Mr. Conklin. There were 21 white votes for Mr. Conklin, which clearly indicated that he could have easily been defeated if only 33 Negro votes more had been placed against him.

Aaron Smith seconded the nomination of Mr. Conklin by Robert S. Hines. Mr. Smith stated that a review of the permanency of their personnel clearly indicated that they were very reluctant to make any changes. He extolled the virtues of Mr. Conklin and declared that his defeat would wreck the club, and that all records of its achievements would be blotted out.

Mrs. Richard E. Warner said of Mr. Conklin, "I have found him both pleasant and unpleasant, and at times he has even been uncouth; but I have never found him to be a liar!" Mrs. Warner then proceeded to stress the need of retaining Mr. Conklin in office.

Following this, Mr. Burton, after expressing his fearlessness of ever being jailed and having to call upon the deputy attorney general to get him out, proceeded to state his reason for opposing Mr. Conklin. He placed in nomination the name of Mr. Mitchell, and said: "I won't appeal to Mr. Conklin's Negroes to support Mr. Mitchell. And it is natural that I won't appeal to the whites, for their racial pride will give their votes to Mr. Conklin.

"But I would appeal to the fair-minded Negro who has some racial pride. I oppose Mr. Conklin because he is opposed to the wishes of the Negro people. I will not say that you all are crooks or that you will all accept bribes, but I do hope that you are decent and respectful enough, that you are not so white (meaning the Negroes present) as to forget your race."

Mr. Mitchell's nomination was seconded by Arthur E. Francis, who said:

"The Negro is in the majority in the Twenty-first Assembly District and I can see no reason for not having a Negro leader. The Negro is usually led by the white man.

"Some say that white people won't stand for Negro leadership. That is not so. It is only a matter of votes, and the Negro's vote is as good as the white man's vote.

"My second reason for opposing Mr. Conklin is that during the years he has held the leadership among colored people in this district he should have learned something of their problems, which he should have been able to solve if he had the political sagacity with which he has been accredited. Instead of learning something about us and our problems, he has, through a series of political maneuvers, contrived to debate this fact.

"He has instigated strife among us; he has created among us a number of factions and has kept these factions fighting each other and kept us from organizing. Why did he do this? Because he knew it would be dangerous for us to get together!

"Mr. Conklin, if he had been truly interested in our problems could have welded us together and prevented the loss of our aldermen and assemblymen.

"For these reasons, I hope you will support Mr. Mitchell.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I had proposed not to open my mouth," said Edgar M. Grey, who took the floor with an ominous air of grave portent. "We must be fair to ourselves if we expect others to be fair to us."

Having thus opened his address, Mr. Grey proceeded from a solemn calm to a vivid and electric storm of protest against the election of Mr. Conklin. Mr. Conklin arose to thank his supporters, and to express no bring about harmony among you and to bring together the discord-ill against his opponents. "For ty-five years," he said, "the ant elements.

time again that he was fighting black leadership, but he hasn't e a thing to bring about this rt. There has been nothing but ce for the past four years on part of that organization." after being placed in office n, Mr. Conklin arose to thank supporters, and to express no ill against his opponents. "For ty-five years," he said, "the test thing in my life has been

THOSE DAYS HAVE GONE FOREVER - - - - - - - By Holloway



Negro Majority of Twenty-first A. D. Turns Down Charles W. B. Mitchell

Deputy Attorney General Supported by All White Committeemen and by Hawkins, Warner and Harris Factions for Re-election

Robert S. Conklin, white, Deputy Attorney General and leader of the Twenty-first Assembly District, was again re-elected as permanent chairman of the County Committee by an overwhelming majority at a stormy late afternoon session Thursday at the Manhattan Republican Club, Broadway and 138th street. U. S. Attorney Tuttle presided as temporary chairman.

The name of Charles W. B. Mitchell was placed in nomination by Harold C. Burton to run against Mr. Conklin who received 76 votes against Mr. Mitchell's 13. Fifty-one of the sixty-four Negroes voted for Mr. Conklin. There were 21 white votes for Mr. Conklin, which clearly indicated that he could have easily been defeated if only 33 Negro votes more had been placed against him.

Aaron Smith seconded the nomination of Mr. Conklin by Robert S. Hines. Mr. Smith stated that a review of the permanency of their personnel clearly indicated that they were very reluctant to make any changes. He extolled the virtues of Mr. Conklin and declared that his defeat would wreck the club, and that all records of its achievements would be blotted out.

Mrs. Richard E. Warner said of Mr. Conklin, "I have found him both pleasant and unpleasant, and at times he has even been uncouth; but I have never found him to be a liar!" Mrs. Warner then proceeded to stress the need of retaining Mr. Conklin in office.

Following this, Mr. Burton, after expressing his fearlessness of ever being jailed and having to call upon the deputy attorney general to get him out, proceeded to state his reason for opposing Mr. Conklin. He placed in nomination the name of Mr. Mitchell, and said: "I won't appeal to Mr. Conklin's Negroes to support Mr. Mitchell. And it is natural that I won't appeal to the whites, for their racial pride will give their votes to Mr. Conklin.

"But I would appeal to the fair-minded Negro who has some racial pride. I oppose Mr. Conklin because he is opposed to the wishes of the Negro people. I will not say that you all are crooks or that you will all accept bribes, but I do hope that you are decent and respectful enough, that you are not so white (meaning the Negroes present) as to forget your race."

Mr. Mitchell's nomination was seconded by Arthur E. Francis, who said:

"The Negro is in the majority in the Twenty-first Assembly District and I can see no reason for not having a Negro leader. The Negro is usually led by the white man.

"Some say that white people won't stand for Negro leadership. That is not so. It is only a matter of votes, and the Negro's vote is as good as the white man's vote.

"My second reason for opposing Mr. Conklin is that during the years he has held the leadership among colored people in this district he should have learned something of their problems, which he should have been able to solve if he had the political sagacity with which he has been accredited. Instead of learning something about us and our problems, he has, through a series of political maneuvers, contrived to debate this fact.

"He has instigated strife among us; he has created among us a number of factions and has kept these factions fighting each other and kept us from organizing. Why did he do this? Because he knew if would be dangerous for us to get together!

"Mr. Conklin, if he had been truly interested in our problems could have welded us together and prevented the loss of our aldermen and assemblymen.

"For these reasons, I hope you will support Mr. Mitchell."

"Ladies and gentlemen, I had proposed not to open my mouth," said Edgar M. Grey, who took the floor with an ominous air of grave portent. "We must be fair to ourselves if we expect others to be fair to us."

Having thus opened his address, Mr. Grey proceeded from a solemn calm to a vivid and electric storm of protest against the election of

Political - 1927
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Memphis and Harlem

THE NEGRO VOTERS of Memphis, Tennessee, have done a big thing. Under the leadership of Robert R. Church and George W. Lee they mobilized their votes, held the balance of power and elected a mayor. In spite of the rabid appeals to race prejudice made by the opposing party the Negro vote carried the day.

THE TRIUMPH is significant for several reasons. First, it knocks to pieces the argument made by Southern advocates of disfranchisement that the Southern Negroes do not really want to vote. Secondly, instead of sitting down and complaining that they had no Negro policemen and firemen and no admission to the city parks and zoo, they got together and used their votes in an endeavor to get these things. Thirdly, their hard-won victory is a striking object lesson for the Negro voters of Harlem.

IN A LETTER to The World last Sunday a writer attempted to excuse the Negro voters of Harlem for their small registration figures. They were not given representation, he said, so why should they bother to register? The result in Memphis will show him why. In politics as in everything else people must work for their wages before they get them. No group of citizens need expect high offices before they have demonstrated their political power. If the Negroes of Harlem organized and used their power with the same determination as the Negroes of Memphis they would come near getting anything they wanted.

LILY WHITES OBTAIN MISSISSIPPI CHARTER.-SPREAD OF MOVE IS ON

Perry W. Howard, National Committeeman, and Mrs. M. Booze, National Committee Woman Affected

DOUBT PARTY'S ATTITUDE

Question Whether Group Is To Be Recognized Nationally. Voters Watching Results

Special to the St. Louis Argus.

MOBILE, Ala., Dec. 7.—Simultaneously with the meeting here Monday of Southern Republicans it was announced by Rush H. Knox, Attorney General of Mississippi, that the charter of incorporation for the Republican Party Counsel in Mississippi had been approved. The granting of this petition means it was said that the Negro will be eliminated from any participation in politcal affairs in Mississippi and that the lily white branch of the Republican party will reign supreme.

The application passed upon favorably by the Attorney General bore the names of a number of well-known white Mississippians, two outstanding leaders of the party being ex-Governor George R. Gheldon of Nebraska, now a planter at Pettit, and Charles U. Gordon of Greenville. Republicans of Mississippi are now confident that their plan will quickly spread to other southern states.

Hon. Perry W. Howard, is now the Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, and Mrs. Mary Booze, Republican National Committeewoman. D. A. Denslow of Greenville, acting as secretary at the meeting held here, said that there was no doubt in the minds of some as to whether the Republican Party Counsel in Mississippi as incorporated would be recognized nationally. This, he stated, is a matter of secondary importance. The first object, he said would be to make known the establishment of the organization and to gain in strength and numbers.

It is believed that when this is done no difficulty will be encountered in getting national recognition. The main purpose of the meeting held here was to receive the report of the committee of twenty-five, which was appointed to draft the plan of the new Mississippi organization, which it is stated will command the respect and confidence of the people of the state.

Citizens' Union of New York

THE Citizens' Union of New York City, a powerful civic organization, which asserts that it places no price upon race, religion, or party, has just proved itself true to this creed by endorsing six Socialists, six Republicans, and four Democrats for public service on the Board of Aldermen for the coming term.

Nor was the Citizens' Union's interracial promise ignored for its committee unanimously endorsed, in the Twenty-first district, our own race candidates, John C. Hawkins, Republican, prominent attorney and counsel for the U. S. Shipping Board, and Henri W. Shields, Democrat, who has served his district creditably in the State Legislature.

Of Mr. Hawkins, the Citizens' Union said: "He is endorsed for the office on the creditable record he made as a member of the State Legislature;" and of Mr. Shields, the Union said: "He is qualified by experience."

While it is recognized that the two-party political system, as set up in America, is the best means of carrying out the wishes of the people, yet it is both safe and sane, particularly in a great cosmopolitan city like New York, to have an influential group of politically-neutral citizens, familiar with the municipality's governmental and administrative needs and watchful of the officials to be charged with their consummation, to designate efficient men, regardless of race or party, to whom, by the ballot, the people may delegate the performance of acts of good government for all the people all the time.

Coolidge Will Receive Members of National Committee on Monday

President Announces He Will Receive Members of Republican National Committee Monday for Important Conference

Washington, Nov. 30.—Is President Coolidge going to close the door next Mondy to his renomination under any circumstances?

This is the question that the politicians are asking each other as a result of information emanating from the White House today. The President made it known that he will receive the members of the Republican National Committee next Monday and will have some remarks to make.

The press will not be admitted to the meeting but copies of his statement to the committeemen will be issued afterward, it was learned.

Important Announcement

All of these circumstances, in the opinion of the Republican leaders who are arriving in Washington in daily increasing numbers, point to a pronouncement of major importance by the President. There is as much speculation tonight on the character of the forthcoming Coolidge utterance as there has been for months on the interpretation of the President's "I do not choose to run" statement of August 2.—Atlanta Constitution.

A GOOD SIGN

Louisville is in the throes of a heated, bitter, political campaign. Being fair with ourselves and all others concerned, we think Republican speakers in this campaign are going the limit—a dangerous limit. They are resorting to things the rankest demagogue of 27 years ago would tremble to pull. The ridiculous appeals to prejudice and partianship appall all good citizens. They are desperate—dseperate to get back to the pie counter, to the grapes and graft. They do not care if they set Louisville on fire—they want to get back in office at any cost.

The News does not believe the self-respecting, patriotic, better class of white people are going to allow this disreputable bunch—this "inner circle of practical men," who call themselves Republicans to get back in power.

It would like to see 10,000 Colored citizens stand up and oppose them—for the wrongs they have done the Negro, if for no other reason.

The thing we want to call attention to, however, is the fact that with all this bitterness and with all this rank partianship the Negro is keeping his head. Negroes are not falling out with Negroes because they dare oppose and try to defeat the lily-white, Ku Klux Klan Republican party.

Time was if a Negro dared raise his voice against a Republican he would be ostracised, boycotted and possibly injured physically. But now, Negroes listen and often agree that the Negro who fights this rotten Republican party in Louisville and Kentucky is doing a racial service of great importance.

Even a Negro who is wedded to the Republican party of Lincoln and Roosevelt knows that the Republican of Louisville is as far different from them as night is from day. And even though he may votefor them to give them "one more trial" as they say! No Negro can find it in his heart to hate another Negro for fighting this lily-white, Ku Klux Klan bunch who label themselves Republicans.

All Negroes, whether they vote the Republican ticket or not, know that order saying Negroes could not enter the public parks of Louisville, for which they help to pay taxes, was an insult, a humiliation, a slap in the face to us all.

In the South, cert in parks have signs, "No Negroes and Dogs Allowed."

In the city of Louisville, Republicans elected by 30,000 Negro votes, say "No Negroes Allowed"—they admit dogs but exclude Negroes—how can any self-respecting Negro vote for such a bunch? Twenty-seven Negroes killed—All Negroes from the notorious brutality of the Republican Police force—shooting fleeing Negroes, beating up Colored women, raiding Negro places and letting white places alone—all Negroes know this? What kind of memories have they? What kind of men are they that they can forget and forgive in three short months?

And now the Republicans are Ku Klux Klan—admitted by their own speakers. Can any Negro vote for a Klansman or for a ticket controlled by and permeated with the Ku Klux spirit? What's the trouble in Gary, Indiana, where they shut Colored children out of the High School? Nothing but the Ku Klux Klan of Indiana and they are all Republican. Stuff about the Ku Klux Klan not being against the Negro is poppycock. The K. K. K. is un-American, it is dangerous and any party that takes it to its bosom—does not deserve the respect—far less the support of he Negro.

So hat is why there is no bitterness between Negroes this year. All Negroes know the Republican party is rank and rotten, not only as far as the Negro is concerned but as far as the community is concerned. And every Negro who stomachs them, who stands for them, who exposues their cause either does it because he has a purely selfish purpose or he is too dumb or ignorant or cowardly to protest with his vote.

We do not mean to use harsh words.We will not lose friendship with any Negro, however high or low, for any white man. But our rebels at the cowardice, at the dumbness, at the stupidity of our own people who will allow a rotten, lily-white, Ku Klux Klan bunch, simply because they call themselves "Republicans," kick, mistreat and humiliate them for ten years and then allow themselves to be flattered and slobbered over and placated in three months. At that it is a good sign that Negroes are remembering they are Negroes.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1927

SOUTHERN STATES REPUBLICAN LEAGUE

The Chicago Daily News sponsors the statement that the "Southern States Republican League" met at New Orleans recently and united on a program to destroy Negro leadership in that section. It is announced that the fight already begun on Walter Cohen is to be extended to Perry W. Howard and Ben J. Davis, national committeemen from Mississippi and Georgia, respectively, and Mrs. E. P. Booze and Mrs. Georgia Williams, their associate committeewomen.

If the publication in the Daily News is correct it means that the Lily White Republican party of the South has determined to eliminate the Negro fully and entirely from politics in that section.

And if that undertaking succeeds what are the national leaders of the Republican party going to do about it?

Does it not occur to national leaders that the Republican party through the Taft and Coolidge Administrations and through the attitude of its leaders have already exceeded the limit by failure to give proper and reasonable recognition to Negro Republicans in the matter of appointment to office in some State conventions and the national convention?

Because Democrats have disfranchised Negroes in all of the former seceding States except Tennessee and they, therefore, count for nothing in the political equation except for delegate purposes in the National Convention Republican leaders, no doubt, assume that it is safe and good politics to entirely exclude them from participation in Republican politics and, of course, from office holding. And what do Republicans expect to gain by abandoning Negro Republicans in the South? What disfranchising State do they hope to carry? Or from what Congressional Districts in those States do they hope to elect Congressmen? North Carolina, the most liberal of all those States, before Negroes were disfranchised by law and excluded from Republican Conventions by that party's rules, always kept in Congress from two to four Republicans. Since disfranchisement and exclusion, rarely one is sent and most often none. In Virginia the same conditions as North Carolina. Just before presidential elections there is always a shout about building up a "respectable" Republican party in Southern States, meaning a Lily White Republican party, and rainbow paintings as to the votes such a party will cast and on election day it never fails to turn out to be a fizzle.

On the other hand, if the National Republican party by approval join with Democrats in forging disfranchising shackles permanently upon the Negroes of the South there is a sufficient number of their race in Northern and Western States who will show their resentment by changing a half dozen or more of those States from doubtful to Democratic.

There will always be a plenty of nice white Republicans in the disfranchising States to make the squabble for getting to the federal pie counter interesting and entertaining but never enough to carry a single State.

Negroes are learning more politics day by day and have awaened to the realization that their political future lies in their local alignment rather than national.

A GOOD SIGN

Louisville is in the throes of a heated, bitter, political campaign. Being fair with ourselves and all others concerned, we think Republican speakers in this campaign are going the limit—a dangerous limit. They are resorting to things the rankest demagogue of 27 years ago would tremble to pull. The ridiculous appeals to prejudice and partianship appall all good citizens. They are desperate—dseperate to get back to the pie counter, to the grapes and graft. They do not care if they set Louisville on fire—they want to get back in office at any cost.

The News does not believe the self-respecting, patriotic, better class of white people are going to allow this disreputable bunch—this "inner circle of practical men," who call themselves Republicans to get back in power.

It would like to see 10,000 Colored citizens stand up and oppose them—for the wrongs they have done the Negro, if for no other reason.

The thing we want to call attention to, however, is the fact that with all this bitterness and with all this rank partianship the Negro is keeping his head. Negroes are not falling out with Negroes because they dare oppose and try to defeat the lily-white, Ku Klux Klan Republican party.

Time was if a Negro dared raise his voice against a Republican he would be ostracised, boycotted and possibly injured physically. But now, Negroes listen and often agree that the Negro who fights this rotten Republican party in Louisville and Kentucky is doing a racial service of great importance.

Even a Negro who is wedded to the Republican party of Lincoln and Roosevelt knows that the Republican of Louisville is as far different from them as night is from day. And even though he may votefor them to give them "one more trial" as they say! No Negro can find it in his heart to hate another Negro for fighting this lily-white, Ku Klux Klan bunch who label themselves Republicans.

All Negroes, whether they vote the Republican ticket or not, know that order saying Negroes could not enter the public parks of Louisville, for which they help to pay taxes, was an insult, a humiliation, a slap in the face to us all.

In the South, cert in parks have signs, "No Negroes and Dogs Allowed."

In the city of Louisville, Republicans elected by 30,000 Negro votes, say "No Negroes Allowed"—they admit dogs but exclude Negroes—how can any self-respecting Negro vote for such a bunch? Twenty-seven Negroes killed—All Negroes from the notorious brutality of the Republican Police force—shooting fleeing Negroes, beating up Colored women, raiding Negro places and letting white places alone—all Negroes know this? What kind of memories have they? What kind of men are they that they can forget and forgive in three short months?

And now the Republicans are Ku Klux Klan—admitted by their own speakers. Can any Negro vote for a Klansman or for a ticket controlled by and permeated with the Ku Klux spirit? What's the trouble in Gary, Indiana, where they shut Colored children out of the High School? Nothing but the Ku Klux Klan of Indiana and they are all Republican. Stuff about the Ku Klux Klan not being against the Negro is poppycock. The K. K. K. is un-American, it is dangerous and any party that takes it to its bosom—does not deserve the respect—far less the support of he Negro.

So hat is why there is no bitterness between Negroes this year. All Negroes know the Republican party is rank and rotten, not only as far as the Negro is concerned but as far as the community is concerned. And every Negro who stomachs them, who stands for them, who exposues their cause either does it because he has a purely selfish purpose or he is too dumb or ignorant or cowardly to protest with his vote.

We do not mean to use harsh words.We will not lose friendship with any Negro, however high or low, for any white man. But our rebels at the cowardice, at the dumbness, at the stupidity of our own people who will allow a rotten, lily-white, Ku Klux Klan bunch, simply because they call themselves "Republicans," kick, mistreat and humiliate them for ten years and then allow themselves to be flattered and slobbered over and placated in three months. At that it is a good sign that Negroes are remembering they are Negroes.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1927

SOUTHERN STATES REPUBLICAN LEAGUE

The Chicago Daily News sponsors the statement that the "Southern States Republican League" met at New Orleans recently and united on a program to destroy Negro leadership in that section. It is announced that the fight already begun on Walter Cohen is to be extended to Perry W. Howard and Ben J. Davis, national committeemen from Mississippi and Georgia, respectively, and Mrs. E. P. Booze and Mrs. Georgia Williams, their associate committeewomen.

If the publication in the Daily News is correct it means that the Lily White Republican party of the South has determined to eliminate the Negro fully and entirely from politics in that section.

And if that undertaking succeeds what are the national leaders of the Republican party going to do about it?

Does it not occur to national leaders that the Republican party through the Taft and Coolidge Administrations and through the attitude of its leaders have already exceeded the limit by failure to give proper and reasonable recognition to Negro Republicans in the matter of appointment to office in some State conventions and the national convention?

Because Democrats have disfranchised Negroes in all of the former seceding States except Tennessee and they, therefore, count for nothing in the political equation except for delegate purposes in the National Convention Republican leaders, no doubt, assume that it is safe and good politics to entirely exclude them from participation in Republican politics and, of course, from office holding. And what do Republicans expect to gain by abandoning Negro Republicans in the South? What disfranchising State do they hope to carry? Or from what Congressional Districts in those States do they hope to elect Congressmen? North Carolina, the most liberal of all those States, before Negroes were disfranchised by law and excluded from Republican Conventions by that party's rules, always kept in Congress from two to four Republicans. Since disfranchisement and exclusion, rarely one is sent and most often none. In Virginia the same conditions as North Carolina. Just before presidential elections there is always a shout about building up a "respectable" Republican party in Southern States, meaning a Lily White Republican party, and rainbow paintings as to the votes such a party will cast and on election day it never fails to turn out to be a fizzle.

On the other hand, if the National Republican party ders by approval join with Democrats in forging disnchising shackles permanently upon the Negroes of South there is a sufficient number of their race in rthern and Western States who will show their retment by changing a half dozen or more of those States m doubtful to Democratic.

Negroes are learning more politics day by day and have aened to the realization that their political future lies their local alignment rather than national.

There will always be a plenty of nice white Republicans in the disfranchising States to make the squabble for getting to the federal pie counter interesting and entertaining but never enough to carry a single State.

Political - 1927

Party Affiliation

Repub lican.

NEW YORK
EVE. WORLD

Apr 4 1927

ORDER OF TROOPS TO CHICAGO POLLS EXPECTED TO-DAY

City Is Already Bristling With Police Machine Guns and Armed Specials

CHICAGO, April 4.—The battle of machine guns mingles with the shouts of spell-binders as the city prepares for a battle of bullets and ballots to-morrow in the Mayoralty election.

Unless police have far over-estimated thhe extent of the probable violence, the Nation will read the results of this amazing election in the records of crime rather than of politics.

Yesterday thirty-five squads of motorized police lined up along the shore of Lake Michigan for their last machine gun practice before going on duty at the polls. In the Loop a few blocks away and in the outlying wards, henchmen of Mayor William E. Dever, Democratic candidate for re-election, and former Mayor William Hale Thompson, the Republican nominee, harangued crowds in halls and on street corners.

ALL READY FOR BATTLE

It was the wind-up of what Chicago fears may be its bloodiest election. Chief of Police Morgan A. Collins announced his men were ready for the worst. Mayor Dever and Thompson announced their men were ready also.

There will be thirty-five machine gun squads in action to-morrow in addition to more than 200 district squads. An officer, armed with a rifle, will be on duty at each of the troublesome polling places, Chief of Police Morgan A. Collins announced.

Possibility that national guardsmen may patrol Chicago streets on Mayoralty Election Day, to-morrow, to preserve order, looms to-day as a result of a conference of Adjutant General Carlos E. Black with guard officers and Sheriff Graydon. Troop orders are expected to go out to-day. Three infantry companies are believed to be held ready.

Should the guard be summoned the situation would be unique in Chicago history, for never before has an election been conducted under the protecting rifles of militia.

TROPS HELD READY.

Sheriff Garydon several days ago asked that Gov. Small hold himself in readiness to receive a call for troops because of what he term a serious situation. He charged that partisans of Mayor William E. Dever, Democratic candidate for re-election, were attempting to induce a race riot to harm the candidacy of Former Mayor William Hale Thompson, Republican.

Adjutant General Black, who issued a brief statement after meeting the sheriff and Major Gen. Roy D. Keehn, commanding the 33d Division, said he would remain in Chicago to study the situation at close hand.

"After a full discussion of the circumstances prompting Sheriff Graydon's request to Gov. Small for the National Guard to be held in readiness for the preservation of law and order in Chicago prior to and on election day, it was agreed by all that proper steps should be taken to meet any emergency that might arise," he said.

POLICE PERFECT PLANS

Meanwhile, police preparations for guarding fraud at the election were being completed. Acting on information that wholesale kidnapping of Judges and clerks were expected in certain wards, Chief of Police Morgan Collins called in Captains in charge of the trouble zones to outline plans to combat violence.

The first clash came last night when State Representative Lawrence O'Brien, head of a ward Democratic Club, claimed that a Thompson worker had threatened him with a pistol. William Damma was arrested and subsequently released. O'Brien later received telephone threats that he would be "knocked off" and his home bombed, a police guard was placed about his home.

"The situation is very tense," said Seriff Graydon when informed of the incident. "The city is one edge. I expect no trouble from the negro wards. It is in other districts that violence, if any, will occur.

NO LET-UP SUNDAY

There was no Over-Sunday lull in Chicago's bitterest political campaign. A mayoralty race usually is tucked away on the Saturday or Sunday night before the polls, but this time the fury of the fighting is carrying it through to the bitter finish. With prospects that a million votes will be cast, both of the principal candidates made predictions of victory by 150,000 votes. The third aspirant, John Dill Robertson, Independent Republican, was just as confident that he would win.

Considerable interest was caused by a story printed in the Herald and Examiner that Gov. Small had declined to come to Chicago to campaign for Dr. Robertson, protege of Fred Lundin, who is a friend of the Governor. The story quoted Gov. Small as saying that "any regularly nominated candidate of my party is entitled to my party support." Robertson said he had not asked the Governor to come to Chicago.

BOTH CHARGE FOUL PLAY

Charges and counter-charges of riot-provoking methods by the candidates, disfranchisement of voters, graft and intimidation have almost buried the campaign issues and the feud between Dever and Thompson has almost shut out the fact that there is a third candidate.

Dever supporters charge "Big Bill" Thompson has the backing of all the beer barons, gangsters and gunmen who have given Chicago the designation, "America's crime capital." Thompson men have accused the Democrats of inciting race hatreds with a view toward provoking a race war in the Negro wards.

The former Mayor's adherents also charged Dever with disfranchising more than 20,000 voters who would cast their ballots for the Republican candidate.

Thompson is backed by State's Attorney Robert E. Crowe, charged by two Democratic chieftains with using gangsters and hoodlums to foster the Thompson campaign. A Grand Jury was to convene to-day to investigate the charges.

At the same time Attorney General Oscar E. Carlstrom, friend of Crowe and Thompson, will go before a regular Grand Jury to complain against alleged Democratic irregularities.

Mob Stones University

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Several expensive windows were shattered and other damage done to Simmons University here Saturday, when white hoodlums stoned that institution during a democratic political meeting held on the opposite side of the street.

THOMPSON'S ELECTION, ITS REACTION

What was the significance of the Chicago mayoralty election to the Negro? Were there any gains or any losses to be compared and equalized?

Both of the leading candidates have in the past given political favors to the race in that city. Both are big men and the failure to divide the Negro vote must have been due to the approach and to the fact that one of the men was bigger and came cleaner with his campaign promises. The non-committal attitude of Mayor Dever in the beginning precluded the possibility of dividing the vote. In the face of fairer and closer dealing on the questions in which the race is interested, the administration lost its hold on that part of the Negro vote that it might have commanded, and, vexed by its failure, drove them in self-defense to the other extreme.

The victory for Mayor Thompson was indeed a triumph, not so much for the Negro as the mayor—enough so for both, however, to settle the question of doubt in regard to the factorial value of the Negro vote and establish the supremacy of the Republican machine.

The methods used in the contest raised another—an economic question of more serious aspects, which put the gain in the balance with threatening losses to be retrieved through difficulties that might become insuperable. This might have been expected in view of the political propaganda promulgated by the opposite political camp to stir up any type of strife or race issue to arouse the full voting strength of the opposition to a supreme effort.

Perhaps the tactics on neither side were calculated to leave a good feeling. The frightful pictures of menacing hordes of Negroes from the South to complicate the industrial situation and threaten the social equilibrium, and the noise and drum beat of partisan opposition to arouse the silent voter and keep the rabble in line until the voting was over, both had the effect of leaving an aftermath entirely foreign to a congenial situation.

The voter took the chance that had to be taken to win. The sacrifice, mayhaps, will prove greater than might have been expected or predicted in the beginning.

But, withal, it was the price of victory. Every victory must have its price and those who enjoy it must be willing to pay it. Employment for Negroes in a city like Chicago in times like these must be predicated on the economic and industrial possibilities.

A projected survey by agencies interested in Negro welfare finds the situation grossly affected by the aftermath of the campaign. These possibilities are not as hopeful as they might have been under a different situation as the survey is clearly making evident, and, the question of the gain is, in some respects, shadowed for the time by a darker, uglier problem which must present new difficulties for adjustment. It is certain that the Thompson victory will not cause any unusual influx of Negroes from the South. The Negro understands propaganda well enough not to be influenced by any such political mirages. The normal movement of emigrants North or South will not be appreciably increased or lessened by a state of things devoid of basic demands for industrial labor.

Other cities with large Negro populations will watch the outcome of this affair and appropriate the value of this lesson.

It is unfortunate that the methods used have had the effect to impair the fruit of what might have been a wonderful demonstration of the Negro's ability to be a functional part of his chosen community. It may require another proof of his ability to endure and work out a readjustment. If he should arise to that with steady aim and firm purpose, he will harvest the fruit of his efforts and get a firmer grip on his place.

The Negro in Politics.

Last week two events stood out clearly above the daily record of murders, divorces, accidents, foreign wars and such like happenings. One was the tenth anniversary of the entrance of the United States into the World War. Chiefly did this fact remind the people of what happened 10 years ago and the changes that have come upon the individual leaders in that great struggle during the short space of time that has since intervened. A few philosophized about the possible meaning of the anniversary in the unnumbered decades and centuries that are to be. But they were only a few. The other event was the election in Chicago, an occurrence that took the glaring spotlight for the moment and then retired quickly behind the scenes of onrushing happenings.

There was at least one feature of this selection of a mayor for a single American town that was just as significant and meaningful as the outlook for the future set up by a world clash of contending civilizations. That conflict of nations and that onset of conflicting municipal citizenship developed a common denominator of supreme importance. In both cases there was a clash of races, many sided on the one hand and with only two aspects on the other. But the national exploitation given to the featuring of the negro in Chicago politics, taken in connection with the manner in which that featuring was done, offers an object lesson for profound and sympathetic study.

Whichever side was responsible for making the negro an issue in the campaign, the fact remains that each of the two chief contenders was busy up to election day in trying to blame the other. It has been remarked that the acrimonious struggle waged around the vote of the colored brother did not serve to solidify the white vote. But the issue was confused and the waters muddied to such an extent by the major candidates in their efforts to put the onus on each other that there was no real opportunity for solidification. However much either or both of the leading candidates desired to be the beneficiary of the negro vote, neither was willing to assume the burden for its wholesale introduction.

From this phase of the matter it can logically be deduced that the negro as a political factor of first importance is almost as little welcomed in Chicago as such a thing would be in Mississippi. The facts in the Chicago election indicate that the majority of white Chicagoans view with as little sympathy and as great alarm the possibility of having to submit to colored officials as people elsewhere in the country do. It was not the mere casting of their ballots by the negroes, but the implication that those voters must draw an official reward for their services, which caused the turmoil.

We are dealing with conditions and not theories when we assert that neither Chicago nor any other town, north, south, east or west, would willingly accept for mayor or any other high official post one not of the Caucasian race. We say this not to create misunderstandings or to arouse animosities, but, to the contrary, to make the matter understandable and thus avert friction which must surely result from misconception or misinterpretation of prevailing sentiment. As a friend of the negro race we say that its best interests in this country will not be served by efforts to establish for itself any sort of political dominance in the country.

No one would attempt to controvert the fact that there is no legal barrier to the attainment by the colored race of full and complete political equality with the whites. Nor can it be denied that full political equality presupposes the holding of offices as well as the use of the ballot. But a calm analysis of the matter brings out the truth that there can be no complete political equality until social equality is also established. In other words people will not accept as their officials those whom they do not accept wholeheartedly on terms of intimate equality and association in the daily affairs of life.

Here then we get at the crux of the whole race problem. In the above truth is contained the explanation of why the racial problem will continue until the facts are honestly faced and courageously handled. There cannot be absolute and complete political equality until there is full social equality and the latter cannot be established until all racial lines are destroyed by intermarriage. But such a thing as racial intermarriage is absolutely unthinkable down here and to a large extent also, in all other sections of the country. So it must appear as if the ultimate aim of the movement inaugurated in Chicago is impossible of attainment.

But the colored race constitutes an integral part of the country just the same as the white. The two must live together and their existence must be harmonious. The Commercial Appeal has stood forth as the champion of complete justice for and equality of the colored man in his opportunities for self improvement, in the affairs of business, and in his standing before the courts. It has supported all efforts to give him an education, lead him to prosperity and make him happy and contented. And because it is interested in the material, moral and spiritual well-being of the colored people it cannot but reprobate the introduction of matters that are bound to create ill will and hatreds.

Recently Rev. Francis J. Grimke of Washington, D. C., made reply to Clarence Darrow, who has, among other things, set himself as the champion of full equality of the negro with the white race. In a recent speech urging the negroes of the country to demand their full civil and political rights Darrow took occasion to air his agnostic views. He questioned a belief in God and sneered at religion, thus setting forth in rather anarchic fashion beliefs that would be destructive of the rights he was insisting that his audience demand. To that speech Rev. Grimke made this cryptic reply:

> There are things of greater importance to the race, in its efforts to rise, than the recognition of its rights under the constitution.

And we commend this sage counsel to the earnest and honest consideration of the colored leaders and people.

TIMES
Georgetown, S.C.
SEP 2 1927

PARTIES WITHIN THE PRIMARY

Addressing the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia Henry W. Anderson, lawyer and Republican leader, who lives in Richmond, a citizen who commands respect, dilated on the necessity of a respectable Republican party in the South. He is reported to have said that the negro population should be disregarded, that the negroes would consult their own interests by abandoning the pretense to political activities and devoting themselves to improving their material conditions.

The story is old. Thirty years ago the late N. G. Gonzales emphasized the necessity of two parties in the South if progressive and independent thinking were to survie. Hundreds of editors have written thousands of editorials on the same suject.

The obstacle, of course, is that the negroes have no notion of giving up the hope of one day entering politics and getting office. For that one can hardly blame them. Political self-effacement has never characterized any race. The white people of the South know that, even with restricted suffrage laws, the admission to the polls of a considerable proportion of the negro population would surely result in corruption. Always, vicious white leaders are to be found in all parties and factions and they will not hesitate to use the negro votes, buying them with whiskey or money or poisoning them with appeals to their worst passions. That is the danger. Intelligent white men perceive it. Not for three decades have they feared a return of negro domination but they are not ready to invite the risk of negro contamination of the electorate. They are well aware that numbers of the whites are ignorant and easily mislead, but they are fearful of the creation of a condition that might be incomparably worse.

Two-party government is obviously indispensable to healthy government, which nothing could prove more fully than the dull, deep, stupid apathy that is now settled over South Carolina. There are no parties in this State and no party principles—only second rate men bellowing third rate speeches mostly about themselves. The prospect of solution or improvement of the tax laws or of any other in South Carolina, under existing conditions, is dim indeed.

A way out of the wilderness is plain. Two parties could be formed and could operate within the Democratic organization, accepting the primary as final. The ratification in the general election of the nomination of a ticket by the primary would be as practical and easy as is the ratification of the nomination of individual candidates who represent only themselves.

The plan already has been tried. It was eminently successful in 1892 and in the early years of that decade substantial two-party government was in operation in this state and leaders, legislators and the people though and acted upon issues, whether rightly or not.

The exisiting condition is perfectly satisfactory to the office holders of whom are of a caliber which no party or faction would dare to depend upon for leadership.—News and Courier.

Political - 1927

Republican.

Party Affiliation

PLAIN-DEALER
CLEVELAND, O.

MAY 25 1927

GONGWER IS FOR COLORED JUDGE

Steps Into Sacred G. O. P. Territory; Green is Reported Candidate.

W. B. Gongwer, Democratic county chairman whose utterances for publication are about as rare as freckles on a black cat, treated political quarters to somewhat of a thrill last night.

He announced flatly and enthusiastically (and for publication) that he favored election of a colored man to the municipal court, inasmuch as the colored population of Cleveland has increased to 45,000 or 50,000 since the war.

"A very large group of Cleveland voters are without representation on the municipal bench," he said. "I believe it only fair that some outstanding man should be chosen by the voters this fall."

Whether this has any connection with the report that petitions are in circulation for William R. Green, colored attorney, for municipal judge, has not been established. Green, who was indorsed by the Citizens League last year, was narrowly defeated in the Republican primary for the state senate, and still is presumed to be Republican.

The spectacle of Democrats out in the field working for a colored candidate for the municipal court would be worth watching from a political standpoint, for the Maschke Republican organization always has regarded the colored wards as sacred G. O. P. territory.

There have been defections from time to time, the most notable having been those in the last two years led by Dr. E. J. Gregg, but nevertheless the Republican organization depends for its balance of power on the strong vote in the Eleventh and Twelfth (and a few other) wards.

Several eastern and northern newspapers have recently sent special writers through the southern states to feel the public political pulse. The two main quests of these special scouts have seemed to be for indications of what support Governor Al Smith, of New York, can expect from the democrats of the south and what prospects there are for the republicans to make further breaches in the solid democratic south than they did in 1920 and 1924.



Those expert newspaper sleuths naturally found much floating political gossip to write about and their dispatches are loaded with stuff that seem "new discoveries" to them, but are shelfworn goods to the average southern press man and politician.

One needs to be well versed in southern political psychology in order to separate wheat from chaff in the current conversations of our people. They like to talk, to express positive views, and to indulge in big prophesies. But the substance of real political philosophy and progressive principles in their deliverances is extremely thin. They really have none of either.

presses the slightest surprise at or disesteem of his political prefcrence.

It is the rotten, repulsive and cruel record of the republican party when it dominated the south that stirs even yet the lurid memories and fierce resentments of southern people. Therefore any attempt to reorganize a republican party in any state of the south below Tennessee and Virginia means to the southern whites a scheme to rehabilitate, and depend for success upon, the voting power of the negro. Southerners know what that would mean and the twelve apostles revived and employed as republican spellbinders, could not convert them to a second sufferance of that order of regime

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

Republican Policies and Practices Created and Will Continue the Solid South.

Birmingham, Ala., News

OCT 6 1927

LEADERS DISCOUNT THOMPSON CHANCE FOR NEGROES' VOTE

Street And Others Say That Chicago Mayor's Strength Is Overestimated

The theory of Middle West Republican leaders that Mayor Williams "Big Bill" Thompson, of Chicago, through negro votes in the national Republican delegation can get the strength of the South in the G. O. P. convention for nomination for president in 1928, was considerably discounted Thursday by O. D. Street, national Republican committeeman for Alabama.

Despite the popularity of Mayor Thompson among negroes of Alabama and throughout the South, Mr. Street declared he did not believe they would rally to his support for nomination on the Republican ticket. Furthermore, the Alabama Republican committeeman does not consider the Chicago mayor a factor in the race for nomination of a man to oppose Gov. Smith or any other candidate the Democrats may nominate.

J. O. Diffay, Birmingham negro real estate dealer and recognized leader of his race in this section, said that although Mayor Thompson was much admired by the negroes in the state and over the South, he believed Gov. Smith, as the Democratic candidate, would poll practically as many negro votes as the Chicagoan would, should Smith become the nominee.

Dr. W. H. Wright, Birmingham negro fraternal leader, said information recently sent him from negro Republican leaders in New York indicated that Thompson probably would be a slight favorite over Gov. Smith, should the two oppose each other, among the more than 250,000 negroes of Harlem, Gotham's famous negro district.

ITEM
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NOV 20 1927

A "LILY WHITE" MOVE

"LILY WHITE" Republicans in Mississippi move for "complete elimination of the negro from any form of participation in political affairs, even in the Republican party." Similar moves in the past by the same parties have failed. But this attack has the merit of novelty if no other.

Some bright Republican discovered that the Republican party has never been incorporated in Mississippi. Could it be incorporated and, if so, could the incorporators control use of the name in Mississippi? The "Lily Whites" think so. Application for articles of incorporation for "The Republican Party in Mississippi" is duly made. The Attorney General considers it. The backers, including the most prominent and powerful white Republicans in the state, believe the charter will be granted and that they will absolutely control "Republican" activities in Mississippi.

A negro and a negress, Perry Howard and Mary Booze, Republican national committeemen, control federal patronage in the state. Charges of barter-and-sale of federal appointments have frequently been made against both. The "Lily Whites" hope by this maneuver, to throw both out of power, and to strengthen the party in the state.

THEY believe that they face their greatest opportunity next year, if the Democrats nominate Al Smith. They believe that in this event the G.O.P. will have an excellent chance of splitting the Solid South. We quote from the Jackson News:

> "The effort to incorporate the Republican party with white men at the helm has a far deeper significance than the mere desire of white leaders to wrest control from the negro.
>
> "Thousands of eminently respectable Democrats in Mississippi are declaring today that they will not vote for Smith in event he is nominated, and some go so far as to say that he could not carry the state in the event the Republicans nominate Hoover or Lowden.
>
> "These insurgent Democrats, however, would be very reluctant about going to the polls and voting for Negro candidates for Presidental electors. In fact, they would stay away from the polls rather than do so.
>
> "With a white Republican electoral ticket in the field, however, it might be different. The G.O.P. unquestionably would gain thousands of votes in Mississippi, cast by those citizens who are unalterable opposed to either a wet or a Catholic for President."

That contains a good many "ifs." But the Mississippi development can be awaited whatever its results.

Negro Lawyer Out For Republicans Meets Big Rebuff

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Nov. 10. — Should the Negro race, over ninety-five per cent of whom are workers, support the republican party representing the oil and steel magnates and the profiteers of America? Or should the Negro support a labor party?

There were the two outstanding questions that last Sunday's debate at the forum of the Philadelphia Council, American Negro Labor Congress precipitated. The debaters were: Edward G. Dickerson, Negro lawyer and Julian St. George White, secretary, Philadelphia branch, N. A. A. C. P., affirmative; and A. J. Carey, labor leader, and Thomas L. Dabney, organizer, Philadelphia Council, American Negro Labor Congress, negative.

The lawyer asserted that the workers are lazy and ignorant while envying the rich for their wealth; he declared that if the radicals are not satisfied with conditions in America they should go to some other country. The lawyer and his colleague, White, contended that the Negro must support some party in power, and since the "republican party has stood for equal rights for all," the Negro should support it.

The Answer.

A. J. Carey, in a penetrating speech interspersed with irony and sarcasm, showed how ridiculous it was for the Negro to support a party which has not only done nothing for the Negro within the last 30 years, but which, because of its relation to the business interests of America can never do anything fundamental for the Negro.

A party of the rich, Carey reiterated, cannot represent the interests of Negro workers. Carey pointed out that the republicans refused to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, altho they had a majority in both houses of congress when the bill was considered.

Segregation.

Both Dabney and Carey showed that the Negro is suffering from many injustices and discriminations in the very states where the republican party has complete control of the government. In Philadelphia under republican rule Negro children are segregated in the schools and the policy of segregation is being extended gradually to all the schools. In Washington with the republicans in power the segregation of Negro government employes begun by the democrats, is being extended by the republicans. In Gary, Indiana, New Jersey and other northern sections where the republican party has control the segregation of Negro children in the public schools aided by the nefarious and lawless Ku Klux Klan is spreading while the republican party takes no action whatsoever.

During the debate Carey styled lawyer Dickerson and such Negro leaders as bedfellows of Rockefeller, who at present has his armed thugs and hired gunmen murdering Colorado miners in cold blood because they dare to strike for a living wage! And Negro miners are striking there.

Not one person who participated in the discussion defended the republican party.

Daily Worker

HERALD
LEXINGTON, KY.

JUN 19 1927

The Record of the Republican Organization in Pennsylvania and Kentucky

The more the record of municipal elections in Louisville as revealed by the decision of the chancellors of Louisville and the court of appeals is studied the more remarkable it seems. Briefly summarized, the record as written in the courts is that in the municipal election of 1923 the Republican organization perpetrated such gross fraud and corruption that the Democrats filed a contest in which specific charges were made. The Republican organization combatted these charges and exhausted every resource to retain the offices. They succeeded in retaining them for nearly eighteen months. The court of appeals in an unanimous decision that was clear and definite declared that because of the corruption practiced by the Republican organization there was no election. Even then the Republican organization filed a petition for rehearing with the apparent hope and purpose of preventing the issual of a mandate until after the summer recess of the court of appeals. They were not successful in the accomplishment of this purpose and the court of appeals issued a mandate compelling the Republican officers to give up the offices which they held under fraudulent certificates.

* * * *

The Republicans then nominated for mayor Mr. Will, who had been one of the beneficiaries of the fraudulent election of 1923. Before the election of 1925 there were predictions made that the same methods that were used by the Republicans in 1923 would be followed again and that in the negro precincts in which there were some thirty thousand voters the same gross frauds would be committed that had been committed in 1923. The election was held, these predictions were verified. And as a result of those frauds on the face of the returns the Republican candidates had a majority of some 2,500 to 3,000. There are approximately 30,000 negro votes in Louisville which were counted if not cast for the Republican candidates. So that even on the basis of the returns registered there was a majority of over 25,000 white citizens who voted for the Democratic nominee.

After the election the Democrats instituted a contest. The Republican organization fought to retain the offices. No effort was made by the Republican officials who had taken office as a result of that election to expose, prosecute or punish any of those guilty of the crimes. The same methods of delay were pursued. The chancellors of Louisville held in favor of the Republican office holders upon the ground that though there had been a conspiracy formed by an inner circle of "practical men" in the Republican organization and that conspiracy operated by stuffing ballot boxes and committing other crimes, it had not been proven mathematically that there had been enough fraudulent votes cast or counted to overthrow the returns made by the election officers.

The court of appeals, as seemed inevitable if there was to be even a pretense of honest elections, overruled the chancellors and for the second time in two years set aside the election in the metropolis of the state because of frauds by the Republican organization.

* * * *

It is true, as stated by the apologists of the election thieves in Louisville, that no man has been convicted of those crimes. Not until after he decision of the chancellors giving judicial ffirmation to the charges made by the Democratic organization and a formal demand by the governor that the commonwealth's attorney of that district take action was there any investigation by the grand jury. Over a year had elapsed since the crimes were committed. The commonwealth's attorney did not attempt to have the criminals prosecuted until the governor formally and publicly demanded that he do so. And even after the decision of the chancellors the commonwealth's attorney announced that he saw no need for the investigation by the grand jury.

The apologists for the election thieves in Louisville attempt to minimize their crimes and express sympathy with the beneficiaries of those crimes who were turned out of offices to which they were not elected because of those crimes. But, so far as we have seen, there is no more condemnation now by the Republican leaders of the repetition of the election crimes of 1925 than there was of the theft of 1923. And the swag has been immense. Office holders who obtained office because of the stolen election of 1925 have held those offices for eighteen months. They have drawn the salaries, exercised the power. And their only punishment is the deprivation of offices to which they were never entitled.

* * * *

Why will the same "practical men" not keep on stealing elections? If they succeed there is a possibility of their getting the offices and no contest being made. It required a large amount of money and involved tremendous labor for the Democrats to prosecute the contests in Louisville in 1923 and in 1925. Not only did they not receive any assistance from the public officials who held office as a result of the stolen election, but all the power of the city administration and all the influence of the Republican organization was exerted to defeat their contests and have the beneficiaries of the fraudulent elections retain the offices. The judges of Louisville decided in favor of the beneficiaries of the fraud. And only by the decision of the court of appeals was the contest made successful.

Judging by the past, the very worst that can happen to the inner circle of "practical men" of the Republican organization who stole two elections in succession is to have them for whom they stole retain the offices for a year or eighteen months. Nobody is punished, no condemnation is expressed by Republican leaders or associates of the inner circle of "practical men." No effort is made to purge the Republican organization of the crooks. A beneficiary of one fraudulent election is nominated for the highest office at the next municipal election. And instead of being required to restore the salary he received is now being urged by Repub-

of the Republican primary in Pennsylvania revealed to the country. As mary in Pennsylvania, a fact of vital importance to the conduct of the government of the Republican leaders in Pennsylvania and Illinois. The Republican leaders to run again. Every effort is made by Republican leaders to have the criminals prosecuted until the governor formally and publicly demanded that he do so. And even after the decision of the chancellors the commonwealth's attorney announced that he saw no need for the investigation by the grand jury.

The whole nation is paying a high price because of the rottenness in the Republican primary in Pennsylvania. As mary in Pennsylvania revealed to the country. Every effort is made by Republican leaders to have the criminals prosecuted until the governor formally and publicly demanded that he do so. And even after the decision of the chancellors the commonwealth's attorney announced that he saw no need for the investigation by the grand jury.

The apologists for the election thieves in Louisville attempt to minimize their crimes and express sympathy with the beneficiaries of those crimes who were turned out of offices to which they were not elected because of those crimes. But, so far as we have seen, there is no more condemnation now by the Republican leaders of the repetition of the election crimes of 1925 than there was of the theft of 1923. And the swag has been immense. Office holders who obtained office because of the stolen election of 1925 have held those offices for eighteen months. They have drawn the salaries, exercised the power. And their only punishment is the deprivation of offices to which they were never entitled.

* * * *

Why will the same "practical men" not keep on stealing elections? If they succeed there is a possibility of their getting the offices and no contest being made. It required a large amount of money and involved tremendous labor for the Democrats to prosecute the contests in Louisville in 1923 and in 1925. Not only did they not receive any assistance from the public officials who held office as a result of the stolen election, but all the power of the city administration and all the influence of the Republican organization was exerted to defeat their contests and have the beneficiaries of the fraudulent elections retain the offices. The judges of Louisville decided in favor of the beneficiaries of the fraud. And only by the decision of the court of appeals was the contest made successful.

Judging by the past, the very worst that can happen to the inner circle of "practical men" of the Republican organization who stole two elections in succession is to have them for whom they stole retain the offices for a year or eighteen months. Nobody is punished, no condemnation is expressed by Republican leaders or associates of the inner circle of "practical men." No effort is made to purge the Republican organization of the crooks. A beneficiary of one fraudulent election is nominated for the highest office at the next municipal election. And instead of being required to restore the salary he received is now being urged by Repub-

The whole nation is paying a high price because of the rottenness in the Republican primary in Pennsylvania. As mary in Pennsylvania revealed to the country. Every effort is made by Republican leaders to have the criminals prosecuted until the governor formally and publicly demanded that he do so. And even after the decision of the chancellors the commonwealth's attorney announced that he saw no need for the investigation by the grand jury.

The apologists for the election thieves in Louisville attempt to minimize their crimes and express sympathy with the beneficiaries of those crimes who were turned out of offices to which they were not elected because of those crimes. But, so far as we have seen, there is no more condemnation now by the Republican leaders of the repetition of the election crimes of 1925 than there was of the theft of 1923. And the swag has been immense. Office holders who obtained office because of the stolen election of 1925 have held those offices for eighteen months. They have drawn the salaries, exercised the power. And their only punishment is the deprivation of offices to which they were never entitled.

* * * *

Why will the same "practical men" not keep on stealing elections? If they succeed there is a possibility of their getting the offices and no contest being made. It required a large amount of money and involved tremendous labor for the Democrats to prosecute the contests in Louisville in 1923 and in 1925. Not only did they not receive any assistance from the public officials who held office as a result of the stolen election, but all the power of the city administration and all the influence of the Republican organization was exerted to defeat their contests and have the beneficiaries of the fraudulent elections retain the offices. The judges of Louisville decided in favor of the beneficiaries of the fraud. And only by the decision of the court of appeals was the contest made successful.

Judging by the past, the very worst that can happen to the inner circle of "practical men" of the Republican organization who stole two elections in succession is to have them for whom they stole retain the offices for a year or eighteen months. Nobody is punished, no condemnation is expressed by Republican leaders or associates of the inner circle of "practical men." No effort is made to purge the Republican organization of the crooks. A beneficiary of one fraudulent election is nominated for the highest office at the next municipal election. And instead of being required to restore the salary he received is now being urged by Repub-

marles in Pennsylvania and Illinois. The Reed passage. The emergency appropriation bill scandals. There is much prating about the republican leaders in the senate, including theembracing tens of millions of dollars for essen- "grand old party," much mouthing about "fortwo senators from Kentucky, engaged in a fil-tial projects of the government did not pass be- ward looking citizens" who want to make the ouster to prevent the continued investigation cause Republican leaders in the senate did not future safe for the youth, high protestations of dare to have the facts about the Republican pri- devotion to civic improvement.

Negro Lawyer Out For Republicans Meets Big Rebuff

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Nov. 10. — Should the Negro race, over ninety-five per cent of whom are workers, support the republican party representing the oil and steel magnates and the profiteers of America? Or should the Negro support a labor party?

There were the two outstanding questions that last Sunday's debate at the forum of the Philadelphia Council, American Negro Labor Congress precipitated. The debaters were: Edward G. Dickerson, Negro lawyer and Julian St. George White, secretary, Philadelphia branch, N. A. A. C. P., affirmative; and A. J. Carey, labor leader, and Thomas L. Dabney, organizer, Philadelphia Council, American Negro Labor Congress, negative.

The lawyer asserted that the workers are lazy and ignorant while envying the rich for their wealth; he declared that if the radicals are not satisfied with conditions in America they should go to some other country. The lawyer and his colleague, White, contended that the Negro must support some party in power, and since the "republican party has stood for equal rights for all," the Negro should support it.

The Answer.

A. J. Carey, in a penetrating speech interspersed with irony and sarcasm, showed how ridiculous it was for the Negro to support a party which has not only done nothing for the Negro within the last 30 years, but which, because of its relation to the business interests of America can never do anything fundamental for the Negro.

A party of the rich, Carey reiterated, cannot represent the interests of Negro workers. Carey pointed out that the republicans refused to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, altho they had a majority in both houses of congress when the bill was considered.

Segregation.

Both Dabney and Carey showed that the Negro is suffering from many injustices and discriminations in the very states where the republican party has complete control of the government. In Philadelphia under republican rule Negro children are segregated in the schools and the policy of segregation is being extended gradually to all the schools. In Washington with the republicans in power the segregation of Negro government employes begun by the democrats, is being extended by the republicans. In Gary, Indiana, New Jersey and other northern sections where the republican party has control the segregation of Negro children in the public schools aided by the nefarious and lawless Ku Klux Klan is spreading while the republican party takes no action whatsoever.

During the debate Carey styled lawyer Dickerson and such Negro leaders as bedfellows of Rockefeller, who at present has his armed thugs and hired gunmen murdering Colorado miners in cold blood because they dare to strike for a living wage! And Negro miners are striking there.

Not one person who participated in the discussion defended the republican party.

Daily Worker

HERALD
LEXINGTON, KY.

JUN 19 1927

The [illegible] of the Republican Organization of Pennsylvania and Kentucky

The more the record of municipal elections in Louisville as revealed by the decision of the chancellors of Louisville and the court of appeals is studied the more remarkable it seems. Briefly summarized, the record as written in the courts is that in the municipal election of 1923 the Republican organization perpetrated such gross fraud and corruption that the Democrats filed a contest in which specific charges were made. The Republican organization combatted these charges and exhausted every resource to retain the offices. They succeeded in retaining them for nearly eighteen months. The court of appeals in an unanimous decision that was clear and definite declared that because of the corruption practiced by the Republican organization there was no election. Even then the Republican organization filed a petition for rehearing with the apparent hope and purpose of preventing the issual of a mandate until after the summer recess of the court of appeals. They were not successful in the accomplishment of this purpose and the court of appeals issued a mandate compelling the Republican officers to give up the offices which they held under fraudulent certificates.

* * * *

The Republicans then nominated for mayor Mr. Will, who had been one of the beneficiaries of the fraudulent election of 1923. Before the election of 1925 there were predictions made that the same methods that were used by the Republicans in 1923 would be followed again and that in the negro precincts in which there were some thirty thousand voters the same gross frauds would be committed that had been committed in 1923. The election was held, these predictions were verified. And as a result of those frauds on the face of the returns the Republican candidates had a majority of some 2,500 to 3,000. There are approximately 30,000 negro votes in Louisville which were counted if not cast for the Republican candidates. So that even on the basis of the returns registered there was a majority of over 25,000 white citizens who voted for the Democratic nominee.

After the election the Democrats instituted a contest. The Republican organization fought to retain the offices. No effort was made by the Republican officials who had taken office as a result of that election to expose, prosecute or punish any of those guilty of the crimes. The same methods of delay were pursued. The chancellors of Louisville held in favor of the Republican office holders upon the ground that though there had been a conspiracy formed by an inner circle of "practical men" in the Republican organization and that conspiracy operated by stuffing ballot boxes and committing other crimes, it had not been proven mathematically that there had been enough fraudulent votes cast or counted to overthrow the returns made by the election officers.

The court of appeals, as seemed inevitable if there was to be even a pretense of honest elections, overruled the chancellors and for the second time in two years set aside the election in the metropolis of the state because of frauds by the Republican organization.

* * * *

It is true, as stated by the apologists of the election thieves in Louisville, that no man has been convicted of those crimes. Not until after he decision of the chancellors giving judicial ffirmation to the charges made by the Democratic organization and a formal demand by the governor that the commonwealth's attorney of that district take action was there any investigation by the grand jury. Over a year had elapsed since the crimes were committed. The commonwealth's attorney did not attempt to have the criminals prosecuted until the governor formally and publicly demanded that he do so. And even after the decision of the chancellors the commonwealth's attorney announced that he saw no need for the investigation by the grand jury.

The apologists for the election thieves in Louisville attempt to minimize their crimes and express sympathy with the beneficiaries of those crimes who were turned out of offices to which they were not elected because of those crimes. But, so far as we have seen, there is no more condemnation now by the Republican leaders of the repetition of the election crimes of 1925 than there was of the theft of 1923. And the swag has been immense. Office holders who obtained office because of the stolen election of 1925 have held those offices for eighteen months. They have drawn the salaries, exercised the power. And their only punishment is the deprivation of offices to which they were never entitled.

* * * *

Why will the same "practical men" not keep on stealing elections? If they succeed there is a possibility of their getting the offices and no contest being made. It required a large amount of money and involved tremendous labor for the Democrats to prosecute the contests in Louisville in 1923 and in 1925. Not only did they not receive any assistance from the public officials who held office as a result of the stolen election, but all the power of the city administration and all the influence of the Republican organization was exerted to defeat their contests and have the beneficiaries of the fraudulent elections retain the offices. The judges of Louisville decided in favor of the beneficiaries of the fraud. And only by the decision of the court of appeals was the contest made successful.

Judging by the past, the very worst that can happen to the inner circle of "practical men" of the Republican organization who stole two elections in succession is to have them for whom they stole retain the offices for a year or eighteen months. Nobody is punished, no condemnation is expressed by Republican leaders or associates of the inner circle of "practical men." No effort is made to purge the Republican organization of the crooks. A beneficiary of one fraudulent election is nominated for the highest office at the next municipal election. And instead of being required to restore the salary he received is now being urged by Repub-

of the Republican primary in Pennsylvania. As mary in Pennsylvania revealed to the country.

lican leaders to run again.

The whole nation is paying a high price be- result of that filibuster, bills of vital impor- cause of the rottenness in the Republican pri- tance to the conduct of the government fail- marles in Pennsylvania and Illinois. The Re- of passage. The emergency appropriation b publican leaders in the senate, including the embracing tens of millions of dollars for esse two senators from Kentucky, engaged in a fili- tial projects of the government did not pass buster to prevent the continued investigation cause Republican leaders in the senate did n dare to have the facts about the Republican pri- devotion to civic improvement.

Political— 1927

Alabama.

Suffrage

Less Than 2,000 Voters Have Paid Poll Tax For Yea

Advertiser

Less than 2,000 voters of Montgomery, out of an estimated 8,500 who pay poll tax, had paid their poll tax in the office of the tax collector Wednesday night. Only five days remain in which the tax may be paid.

Officials said that the slack might be caused by the failure of numerous voters of the county to pay their tax because there will not be an election in which the county is directly interested within the year. City voters, however, must pay their tax to be eligible to vote in the city elections in May.

REGISTRATION LAW AMENDED TO EXTEND BOARD'S SESSIONS

Amended Law Provides Voters Shall Register From October 1 to December 31, Except in Jefferson

Sweeping changes in the law covering the time of registration of voters in Alabama, are effected through amendments to the law, enacted by the present legislature.

Advertiser

The amended law, which has been signed by Governor Bibb Graves, provides that during the period from October 1 to December 31, next, and each two years thereafter, the boards of registrars of the several counties, except Jefferson, shall register voters during 30 working days. In Jefferson the period is 75 days. Also that, beginning on the fourth Monday in January immediately following, the boards of registrars shall meet for ten days at the county court houses for the registration of voters, for the period of 10 working days.

9-14-27

Montgomery

Formerly, boards of registrars met in each county, every two years, for a period of 40 days, during the months of January, February and March. Boards of revenue or courts of county commissioners were authorized to issue an order, on off years, for the opening of registration books during the month of July for 10 working days.

Under the amended law, boards of revenue may issue an order for the opening of the registration books for a period of 10 days in the month of January on odd years. This latter provision does not apply to Jefferson county, where the board of registration is to meet on the second Monday in December, 1928; second Monday in February, 1929; second Monday in April, 1929; second Monday in June, 1929; second Monday in August, 1929, and every two years thereafter, and remain in session six days at each of such sessions for the purpose of registering voters.

Boards of registrars are to meet in every county on the first Monday in January, 1928, and every two years thereafter, for the purging of the registration list, and remain in session one week.

NEGROES REGISTER MOORE DECLARES

Charges Blacks' Votes Sought; Says Police Department 'Asylum For Decrepit'

Charging that the court house machinery of the "ring" controlling Montgomery politics has registered many negro voters in order to increase their power, J. Johnston Moore, candidate for mayor in opposition to Mayor W. A. Gunter, addressed a large audience in the pavilion at Oak Park last night.

Mr. Moore drew a word picture of the scene in the Gunter rally in the city auditorium. He told of the flower of southern chivalry seated in the pit. He eloquently referred to the Anglo Saxon heroes of the south who fought for a prosperity based on the distress of the negro race.

"I never registered a darkey in the city," the candidate for mayor shouted, "I never want one to vote for me."

Mr. Moore declared the great wrongs present in Montgomery might be righted if Montgomery had the courageous spirit of publicity it should have.

He pictured Montgomery as a sink hole of vice. The policemen of the city, he said, are unable to see the bootleggers, gamblers and other members of the underworld who are growing rich on their misgotten gains.

The police force, which he characterized as an asylum for decrepit men, were unable to see the large number of slot machines which were taking $10,000 a week from the pockets of Montgomery citizens, he said.

He drew another graphic word picture of poor men and callow youths leaving the machines, fleeced of their week's pay by a 70 to 30 per cent chance of losing.

The underworld in Montgomery has grown enormously since he was for associate commissioner four years ago, he declared.

Mr. Moore also stated that he had been told that employes of the city are coerced to vote the right way by threats of having their jobs taken from them.

He concluded his address with a plea for votes, stating that such a ballot would be for the building of a better citizenship in this "great, fine city of Montgomery."

At the conclusion of his address an extemporaneous and unintroduced speaker declared that Mr. Moore was a gentleman, a representative of an old Lowndes county family and a 100 per cent American. He asked for votes from the audience of 100 per cent Americans before him before inviting them to attend an informal reception for Mr. Moore at the Gay-Teague hotel at 7:30 o'clock Friday night.

PAY POLL TAX, REGISTER

Repeat

It should not be necessary to dwell at length on the advantages that come to any race group with the privilege to vote. Yet we must emphasize it for the benefit of those short-sighted people who feel that the time and money necessary to qualify is wasted because they can not see the immediate effects. It is a characteristic weakness of the group to expect to plant this morning and reap this evening; to expect immediate returns from any expenditure of time and money and, moreover, to expect both the harvest and the returns to be personal and to come much in the same form as the outlay. The world of success is not built that way. The growth of power and influence comes through the vision to project future situations, the sturdiness to work for an end in view and the patience to wait, work and follow up small advantages. It might seem of little consequence to many Negroes to have a small but appreciable voting strength; but the only means of making it appreciably larger and effective lies in the constant addition of individuals to the list and a regular exercise of the function even though the influence is, at the outset, negligible. Every group of citizens whether it is the naturalized foreigner or the native American, lays stress on suffrage privileges while the Negro avoids the responsibility that goes with it and keeps up a line of complaining about bad treatment.

All privileges carry responsibilities and those who avoid the responsibility can neither reasonably expect the benefits to accrue from them.

Birmingham should have a large bloc of Negro voters but that will be impossible as long as the duty of paying poll tax is avoided.

The books of the county are now open for registration. To vote one must pay his poll tax.

To avoid registration on account of the poll tax requirement is voluntarily voiding the effects of one's citizenship in a manner to silence his voice on the issues that affect his life and well being.

We feel that it is timely to urge every eligible Negro to qualify and be able to vote on the questions both national and local, which must be settled by the proper use of the ballot.

The progress and the protection of the group demands more qualified voters. The obstacles in the way of qualifying are not so great that a determined effort will not bring success.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser

MAY 13 1927

NEGROES REGISTER MOORE DECLARES

Charges Blacks' Votes Sought; Says Police Department 'Asylum For Decrepit'

Charging that the court house machinery of the "ring" controlling Montgomery politics has registered many negro voters in order to increase their power, J. Johnston Moore, candidate for mayor in opposition to Mayor W. A. Gunter, addressed a large audience in the pavilion at Oak Park last night.

Mr. Moore drew a word picture of the scene in the Gunter rally in the city auditorium. He told of the flower of southern chivalry seated in the pit. He eloquently referred to the Anglo Saxon heroes of the south who fought for a prosperity based on the distress of the negro race.

"I never registered a darkey in the city," the candidate for mayor shouted, "I never want one to vote for me."

Mr. Moore declared the great wrongs present in Montgomery might be righted if Montgomery had the courageous spirit of publicity it should have.

He pictured Montgomery as a sink hole of vice. The policemen of the city, he said, are unable to see the bootleggers, gamblers and other members of the underworld who are growing rich on their misgotten gains.

The police force, which he characterized as an asylum for decrepit men, were unable to see the large number of slot machines which were taking $10,000 a week from the pockets of Montgomery citizens, he said.

He drew another graphic word picture of poor men and callow youths leaving the machines, fleeced of their week's pay by a 70 to 30 per cent chance of losing.

The underworld in Montgomery has grown enormously since he was for associate commissioner four years ago, he declared.

Mr. Moore also stated that he had been told that employes of the city are coerced to vote the right way by threats of having their jobs taken from them.

He concluded his address with a plea for votes, stating that such a ballot would be for the building of a better citizenship in this "great, fine city of Montgomery."

At the conclusion of his address an extemporaneous and unintroduced speaker declared that Mr. Moore was a gentleman, a representative of an old Lowndes county family and a 100 per cent American. He asked for votes from the audience of 100 per cent Americans before him before inviting them to attend an informal reception for Mr. Moore at the Gay-Teague hotel at 7:30 o'clock Friday night.

Political-1927

California.

Suffrage

ELECTION TO DECIDE STATUS OF NEGRO IN CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles, Cal., April 30—(ANP Negroes throughout the state of California are watching with keen interest the progress of the Los Angeles political campaign which will come to a close with the May elections. This interest is due largely to the belief that the election will not only have a bearing on the status of the Negro in Los Angeles, but all over the State of California. Express.

The aldermanic election will serve to settle for at least a time, whether Negroes in Los Angeles shall enjoy the recreational privileges accorded other citizens or whether they will have to use swimming pools, parks, et cetera on "certain days" or have separate recreational facilities. Under the present regime Negroes can only use the swimming pools on Monday and in one district there is a "Jim Crow pool" from which white people are courteously asked not to patronize.

The Negro voters in the wards most densely populated by Colored people, are determined to elect men to the city council who will fight against these injustices and so clearly have they demonstrated this candidates in these districts have made an issue out of it.

Political-1927

Florida.

Suffrage

RACE VOTERS IN FLA. TAKE PART IN PRIMARY

Afro-Americans

5-7-27

Baltimore Md

PENSACOLA, FLA.—That the Texas Primary decision has begun to bear fruit was shown last week, when 50 voters marched to the polls in Pensacola, Fla., and cast their ballots in a Democratic primary election without opposition.

As a result M. Langford, candidate heading the ticket in opposition to the present city administration, received a larger majority. This is the first time in the history of Florida that race voters have participated in a Democratic primary, and leaders there see in it the opening wedge to a larger participation in municipal and state politics.

Fort Myers, Fla.

New

SEP 7 1927

SPEAKERS ORGI BLACKS TO CAS1 BALLOT TODAY

Wingate, Stroup and R. A Henderson, Sr., Plead For Support in Safety Hill

A desperate last minute effor to foment opposition to Commissioners Frank Kellow and A. B Cutter was made last night in a Safety Hill lodge hall when Commissioner L. A. Wingate, Ex-Chief of Police L. M. Stroup and R. A. Henderson, sr., delivered impassioned speeches urging a score or so of negroes present to organize and join the recallers at the polls today.

"No one will know how you vote," pleaded Wingate. "Organize a committee. Tell the other people you meet about the things which have been going on. Teach the people that can't write how to write "yes" so they can vote against these two men. Come to the polls. You don't need to be afraid.

"Then after you have recalled these men, elect two men who will stand with me. The three of us will rescind the work that has been done and start a new paving program without a Walker and Elder to bring Mexicans here, and that will give us a chance to give you people something to do."

Wingate's reference to what he would do after the recall had carried was in direct contradiction to the statement he made at a city commission meeting yesterday afternoon when he announced he would resign if Kellow and Cutter were recalled.

Mr. Henderson made the opening speech. He told the negroes that he knew when the commissioners went on their paving inspection trip through the south that the taxpayers would eventually have to pay for it through a contract such as that signed with the Southern Paving Co.

Stroup Joins Plea

Ex-Chief Stroup told them rooms at the Bradford and Franklin Arms hotels were no place for the commissioners to make paving contracts and urged them to vote against men who would stoop to such things.

While the anti-commission advocates were attempting to arouse Safety Hill last night, Commissioners Kellow and Cutter retired to bed early, firmly convinced that they would not be recalled at the polls today. Unbiased political observers questioned yesterday were agreed that the two-thirds vote needed to recall the commissioners was an impossibility and that a heavy vote would likely result in a majority being cast in their favor.

Of the 1,571 qualified voters on the city's poll list more than 1,000 are expected to cast ballots at the city hall between 8 o'clock this morning and 6:44 p. m. when the sun officially sets. All those in line waiting their turn to vote at that time will be permitted to cast their ballots.

Orderly handling of the expected crowd has been arranged by Chief of Police Enos and City Manager Staley. Night Sergeant Scott, an experienced election officer, will be stationed at the polls to keep the voters from crowding. Outside, Officers Smith and Coleman will guide the voters into the building and keep the line orderly.

Wingate Apologizes

Elmer Hough, mayor of a day, witnessed his first skirmish between the opposing forces at his first full commission meeting yesterday afternoon when Commissioner Kellow challenged Commissioner Wingate on a published statement by the latter hinting at graft or bribery. Commissioner Wingate retired from the fray through the back door of the city hall without answering Kellow's questions. Last night Wingate wrote an open letter of apology to Kellow as follows:

"In my letter published in full today regarding the full details of the paving proposition, among other things, I said: "I hope I shall ever remain weak enough, and humble enough, to want the city government operated on strictly business principles, by officials who are absolutely incorruptible; officials who would be incapable of accepting a bribe," etc., and in this connection I wish to say that if the impression was left with anyone that I meant to convey the idea that either Major Cutter or Frank Kellow, had, or even would, accept a bribe, it was a wrong impression, because I was dealing in generalities solely.

"During our association together as commissioners of Fort Myers, nothing has ever come under my observation that caused me to think either of these gentlemen had accepted bribes, or that they would even do so if the opportunity should present itself."

Daytona Beach, Fla., Journal

NOV 13 1927

RE-CHECK SHOWS NEGRO VOTE 500

Dollars Not Poll Tax Receipts Counted

That unprecedented negro vote of more than a thousand as predicted by politicians Friday on the face of poll tax payments was cut squarely in two yesterday afternoon when a check up was made on the number of negro voters who have been qualified during the last 30 days. It turns out that instead of more than 1,000 negro voters being qualified more than $1,000 has been paid in poll tax receipts by or for negro voters. The poll tax for each person is two dollars but in the final rush to get all the available negroes qualified the checkers Friday counted dollars instead of poll tax receipts.

But at that the negro vote will be the heaviest in the history of Daytona Beach as fully 500 negroes have paid their poll tax or have been loaned money with which to pay it. Political leaders last night estimated that the white vote would be heavier than in the last city election as there has been a heavy rush to pay poll taxes during the last 48 hours. One candidate for mayor, who is probably the closest student of local political affairs among the candidates, said last night he believed the total vote would run between 2,000 and 2,500. Estimates up to Friday had placed the total vote at around 1,500.

All of which indicates that the people of Daytona Beach are sitting up and taking notice of this election and intend to have a voice in the selection of the next mayor and commissioners.

Daytona Beach, Fla., Journal

NOV 11 1927

NEGRO VOTES TO EXCEED 1000 IN CITY ELECTION?

Indications Are They May Outnumber White Citizens

Will the negro vote in the city election December 6 outnumber the white vote?

This question forced itself into the political situation today and immediately all mayoralty candidates began to "view with alarm."

According to a check up on the number of negro voters whose poll tax has been paid this week or whose tax will be paid before Saturday night, more than 1,000 negroes will be qualified to vote in the city election. This is fully 400 more than ever have been qualified for any previous city election and the situation was causing no little excitement and concern in political circles today. Rumors were immediately rife that" "floaters" and repeaters were being qualified.

Of course it may develop that there is a large duplication of work and that the same voters have been qualified twice. Political lieutenants of various candidates have been active in getting negro voters qualified and the final check on poll tax lists may reveal a heavy duplication. However political workers in close touch with the situation say there has been very little duplication.

"Unless the white voters get extremely busy today and tomorrow and pay their poll tax the negroes will outnumber and outvote the white people in this election," a politician said today. "I doubt if more than a thousand white voters are qualified to cast ballots in the election and of course some of them will not go to the polls. I can see danger of an unusual situation in this election—an election in which the negroes outnumber and outvote the whites. There are plenty of white citizens. We should have at least 3,000 white votes in this election but my guess is there won't be more than a thousand white citizens to go to the polls."

Political - Suffrage

General

"Public Mind Has Become Adjusted to Denial of Negro's Constitutional Rights ---Negro Himself Has Grown Callous Regarding Them"

Amsterdam News 2-9-27

THE public mind had become adjusted to the denial of the Negro's constitutional rights. The political conscience of the nation had become reconciled to defeat of the intension of the Civil War amendments. The Negro himself had grown callous to his guaranteed rights vouchsafed to him two generations ago. No appeal seemed to arouse him from his political lethargy. The President occasionally sermonizes on what the nation should do as a matter of abstract ethics. No urgent recommendation for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments has come from the White House during the past thirty years. No statesman has arisen on the floor of either House of Congress with firm advocacy of these amendments during the present century. The settled policy has been to suppress the Negro vote in the South and to manipulate it in the North, so that it could have no serious effect on the general political equation. The whole issue had practically passed out of the political consciousness. But unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of politicians. Recent happenings have brought the question again into public focus.



DEAN KELLY MILLER.

I. The Presidential election is now approaching. The basis of the campaign of 1928 must be laid in 1927. Politicians are getting anxious. "To run or not to run" is the question now brooding in the Presidential mind. If decided in the affirmative, the Southern Negro delegates will be given the necessary consideration to secure their support, and no more. Did not Mr. Harding ignore the declared policy of his party and reverse his own avowal not to appoint Negroes to office in the South out of consideration of the exigencies of his own renomination?

The Negro is but a pawn in the game. All he can do is to stand by and await the next move. However, we shall probably be spared the nausea of Negro politicians going up and down the land, proclaiming to the race that its deliverance is contingent alone upon the success of the Republican party and its nominated politician.

* * *

II. A Senator from Georgia has pushed through Congress a resolution forbidding assessment of office holders as a penal offense. The obvious object was to eliminate the two Negro members from the National Committee of the Republican party, which would effectively remove the race from functioning in Federal politics.

A motion is now pending to investigate past conduct in this respect, with the intention and expectation of eliminating Ben Davis and Perry Howard, the only vestige of Negro authority carrying with it political control. Democrats and Republicans alike get behind closed doors and join in the glad refrain, "Bye, Bye Blackbird."

III. The enactment has called renewed attention to the failure of the antecedent Civil War amendments. "Why do you insist upon my obeying the Eighteenth Amendment," says New York to Mississippi, "when you persist in violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth with impunity?"

The North and the South have exchanged places. The North is now insisting upon the rights of the people of the States to determine their own type of conduct, while the South maintains the supremacy of Federal law. The involved moral inconsistency is too obvious to escape public notice and comment.

Both sections revere the Constitution in spots. One section says to the other: "If you let me ignore the portions of the Constitution which I do not like, I will keep quiet on those portions which you ignore. But if you do insist upon my obeying the amendments which are distasteful to me, then you must not expect me to continue to acquiesce in your annulling the sections which are disagreeable to you."

This is a pretty moral mess for a high-minded nation to indulge in. Amid the din we hear the feeble, almost pathetic voice of our Chief Magistrate chosen to carry out the decrees of a brave and honest people:—"You ought to obey the law because it is the law." But the people pay no heed to impotent moralizing.

The other day, on the floor of the Senate, the Senator from the great State of New York stated that every Senator knew fully well that the Eighteenth Amendment was ignored and that most of them indulged in its violation. Why did he not also say that every member of Congress is fully aware that the Fourteenth Amendment is flagrantly violated and that a goodly proportion of senators and representatives are beneficiaries of that annulment?

The Fourteenth Amendment declares that, if any State shall disfranchise male citizens over twenty-one, on any account, its representation in Congress shall be reduced in that proportion. It further declares that Congress shall have power to enforce this act. And yet for forty years neither the President nor Congress has taken any step to enforce this part of the Constitution.

Congress has just voted thirty million dollars to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, but the past twenty Congresses have no provided one cent for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, whose violation is more palpable than that of the Eighteenth. If consistency is a jewel, American statesmen should be decorated with brass. They have not only lost moral perception, but all sense of humor.

How the European nations must hold their sides with laughter at the predicament of the American nation, when it would pose as the moral monitor of mankind?

The Negro is the passive beneficiary of all of this. Every high thinker in the world agrees that a nation which violates its own law is sounding the death knell of its own doom. President Coolidge tells us over and over again that overriding of the Constitution, in any of its parts or provisions, will soon lead to the overthrow of all government.

Though, like blind Cassandra, the people ignore his prophecy, yet they feel deep down in their hearts that his admonition is true and his speech is right. We cannot anticipate the continuance of this moral anarchy in perpetuity. Every thinker, statesman and moralist tells us that it must end. This knot of lawlessness cannot be untangled without giving the Negro his full status under the law.

All things come to him who waits. All of the protests of all of the Negroes, from the time of Wade Hampton to that of Senator Blease, have gained the race but little political advantages. But the unfolding of the moral law will effect that political consummation so devoutly to be wished.

* * *

IV. The lavish use of money in the primaries has become a heated political issue. It also carries with it moral consideration. Here again the South and the North have exchanged sides. The Democratic party that has stood so stoutly for State rights now insists on the power of the Federal Senate to override the clearly expressed will of the individual State.

As the New York Times puts it—the North says to the South: "If you do not allow us to buy our elections, we will not allow you to steal yours." If the South would keep quiet on the corrupt use of money in Northern elections it could go on suppressing the Negro vote til doomsday, so far as the North would dare to interfere. But when one lives in glass houses he must not throw stones.

So has the Pennsylvania senator has put the South on warning. If it dares to interfere with the Keystone State as to its method of conducting elections, then the great and grand old party will institute inquiry into well-known Southern methods. Moral honors are about even. The South has no money to lavish on elections as the North has. The North has no hordes of Negro voters to suppress such as the South has. But when white politicians fall out, Negroes get their dues. He again becomes the beneficiary of the political mammon of unrighteousness.

* * *

V. Occasionally cases arise involving the rights of the Negro under the Constitution. In every instance where the clearly stated issue of political rights has been involved, the court has upheld the fundamental purpose of the Constitution.

The "grandfather clauses" in the several revised Constitutions of the Southern States were negatived by unanimous concurrence of the nine judges of that judicial arbiter, Chief Justice White, a Louisiana Democrat, who himself had been a beneficiary of its annulment, delivered the opinion that those provisions were in contravention of the Fifteenth Amendment, and were, therefore, null and void.

I doubt whether this great decision caused a single additional Negro to avail himself of the suffrage. But it upheld the sanction of the Constitution, banishing all race distinction in the right of franchise.

It is well to keep open the door of hope, althocgh not a single individual goes through. A case now before the Supreme Court involves the right of Negroes to enter a Democratic primary. If this case can be clearly shown to involve Federal features, the decision can be easily anticipated. Although it is difficult to see just what concrete political advantage will come to the Negro by forcing his way into a Democratic primary in Texas, yet all affirmative decisions accumulate in the same direction and insure to the Negro's ultimate political advantage.

* * *

VI. The Nineteenth Amendment, conferring the suffrage upon women, has not only doubled the Negro's political potentiality, but has reinforced his claims by broadening the basis of the franchise and bringing it over into closer harmony with the democratic principle.

* * *

All of these forces are working to bring about racial equality in the demand of political rights. The Negro may have great passive effect in bringing about the desired result. Let him stand firmly by the principle of political righteousness.

If political exigencies require the Republican party to glaze his political helplessness is the prove if the whole nation enters into a conspiracy of silence on lynching and lawlessness, he should cry out but the louder; if both political parties should agree to ignore the Eighteenth Amendment, yet he should uphold it.

His only weapon of defense in

Political - Suffrage

General

"Public Mind Has Become Adjusted to Denial of Negro's Constitutional Rights ---Negro Himself Has Grown Callous Regarding Them"

Amsterdam News 2-9-27

THE public mind had become adjusted to the denial of the Negro's constitutional rights. The political conscience of the nation had become reconciled to defeat of the intension of the Civil War amendments. The Negro himself had grown callous to his guaranteed rights vouchsafed to him two generations ago. No appeal seemed to arouse him from his political lethargy. The President occasionally sermonizes on what the nation should do as a matter of abstract ethics. No urgent recommendation for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments has come from the White House during the past thirty years. No statesman has arisen on the floor of either House of Congress with firm advocacy of these amendments during the present century. The settled policy has been to suppress the Negro vote in the South and to manipulate it in the North, so that it could have no serious effect on the general political equation. The whole issue had practically passed out of the political consciousness. But unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of politicians. Recent happenings have brought the question again into public focus.



DEAN KELLY MILLER.

I. The Presidential election is now approaching. The basis of the campaign of 1928 must be laid in 1927. Politicians are getting anxious. "To run or not to run" is the question now brooding in the Presidential mind. If decided in the affirmative, the Southern Negro delegates will be given the necessary consideration to secure their support, and no more. Did not Mr. Harding ignore the declared policy of his party and reverse his own avowal not to appoint Negroes to office in the South out of consideration of the exigencies of his own renomination?

The Negro is but a pawn in the game. All he can do is to stand by and await the next move. However, we shall probably be spared the nausea of Negro politicians going up and down the land, proclaiming to the race that its deliverance is contingent alone upon the success of the Republican party and its nominated politician.

* * *

II. A Senator from Georgia has pushed through Congress a resolution forbidding assessment of office holders as a penal offense. The obvious object was to eliminate the two Negro members from the National Committee of the Republican party, which would effectively remove the race from functioning in Federal politics.

A motion is now pending to investigate past conduct in this respect, with the intention and expectation of eliminating Ben Davis and Perry Howard, the only vestige of Negro authority carrying with it political control. Democrats and Republicans alike get behind closed doors and join in the glad refrain, "Bye, Bye Blackbird."

III. The enactment has called renewed attention to the failure of the antecedent Civil War amendments. "Why do you insist upon my obeying the Eighteenth Amendment," says New York to Mississippi, "when you persist in violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth with impunity?"

The North and the South have exchanged places. The North is now insisting upon the rights of the people of the States to determine their own type of conduct, while the South maintains the supremacy of Federal law. The involved moral inconsistency is too obvious to escape public notice and comment.

Both sections revere the Constitution in spots. One section says to the other: "If you let me ignore the portions of the Constitution which I do not like, I will keep quiet on those portions which you ignore. But if you do insist upon my obeying the amendments which are distasteful to me, then you must not expect me to continue to acquiesce in your annulling the sections which are disagreeable to you."

This is a pretty moral mess for a high-minded nation to indulge in. Amid the din we hear the feeble, almost pathetic voice of our Chief Magistrate chosen to carry out the decrees of a brave and honest people:—"You ought to obey the law because it is the law." But the people pay no heed to impotent moralizing.

The other day, on the floor of the Senate, the Senator from the great State of New York stated that every Senator knew fully well that the Eighteenth Amendment was ignored and that most of them indulged in its violation. Why did he not also say that every member of Congress is fully aware that the Fourteenth Amendment is flagrantly violated and that a goodly proportion of senators and representatives are beneficiaries of that annulment?

The Fourteenth Amendment declares that, if any State shall disfranchise male citizens over twenty-one, on any account, its representation in Congress shall be reduced in that proportion. It further declares that Congress shall have power to enforce this act. And yet for forty years neither the President nor Congress has taken any step to enforce this part of the Constitution.

Congress has just voted thirty million dollars to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, but the past twenty Congresses have no provided one cent for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, whose violation is more palpable than that of the Eighteenth. If consistency is a jewel, American statesmen should be decorated with brass. They have not only lost moral perception, but all sense of humor.

How the European nations must hold their sides with laughter at the predicament of the American nation, when it would pose as the moral monitor of mankind?

The Negro is the passive beneficiary of all of this. Every high thinker in the world agrees that a nation which violates its own law is sounding the death knell of its own doom. President Coolidge tells us over and over again that overriding of the Constitution, in any of its parts or provisions, will soon lead to the overthrow of all government.

Though, like blind Cassandra, the people ignore his prophecy, yet they feel deep down in their hearts that his admonition is true and his speech is right. We cannot anticipate the continuance of this moral anarchy in perpetuity. Every thinker, statesman and moralist tells us that it must end. This knot of lawlessness cannot be untangled without giving the Negro his full status under the law.

All things come to him who waits. All of the protests of all of the Negroes, from the time of Wade Hampton to that of Senator Blease, have gained the race but little political advantages. But the unfolding of the moral law will effect that political consummation so devoutly to be wished.

* * *

IV. The lavish use of money in the primaries has become a heated political issue. It also carries with it moral consideration. Here again the South and the North have exchanged sides. The Democratic party that has stood so stoutly for State rights now insists on the power of the Federal Senate to override the clearly expressed will of the individual State.

As the New York Times puts it—the North says to the South: "If you do not allow us to buy our elections, we will not allow you to steal yours." If the South would keep quiet on the corrupt use of money in Northern elections it could go on suppressing the Negro vote til doomsday, so far as the North would dare to interfere. But when one lives in glass houses he must not throw stones.

So has the Pennsylvania senator has put the South on warning. If it dares to interfere with the Keystone State as to its method of conducting elections. then the great and grand old party will institute inquiry into well-known Southern methods.

Moral honors are about even. The South has no money to lavish on elections as the North has. The North has no hordes of Negro voters to suppress such as the South has. But when white politicians fall out, Negroes get their dues. He again becomes the beneficiary of the political mammon of unrighteousness.

* * *

V. Occasionally cases arise involving the rights of the Negro under the Constitution. In every instance where the clearly stated issue of political rights has been involved, the court has upheld the fundamental purpose of the Constitution.

The "grandfather clauses" in the several revised Constitutions of the Southern States were negatived by unanimous concurrence of the nine judges of that judicial arbiter, Chief Justice White, a Louisiana Democrat, who himself had been a beneficiary of its annulment, delivered the opinion that those provisions were in contravention of the Fifteenth Amendment, and were, therefore, null and void.

I doubt whether this great decision caused a single additional Negro to avail himself of the suffrage. But it upheld the sanction of the Constitution, banishing all race distinction in the right of franchise.

It is well to keep open the door of hope, althocgh not a single individual goes through. A case now before the Supreme Court involves the right of Negroes to enter a Democratic primary. If this case can be clearly shown to involve Federal features, the decision can be easily anticipated. Although it is difficult to see just what concrete political advantage will come to the Negro by forcing his way into a Democratic primary in Texas, yet all affirmative decisions accumulate in the same direction and insure to the Negro's ultimate political advantage.

* * *

VI. The Nineteenth Amendment, conferring the suffrage upon women, has not only doubled the Negro's political potentiality, but has reinforced his claims by broadening the basis of

All of these forces are working to bring about racial equality in the demand of political rights. The Negro may have great passive effect in bringing about the desired result. Let him stand firmly by the principle of political righteousness.

If political exigencies require the Republican party to glaze

SENATORS TO FORCE ISSUE, IS BELIEF

Question Again Flares Up and Senators Reed, Pa., and Moses, N. H., Demand Complete Probe.

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C., Mar. 3.—The question of investigating disfranchisement in the South flared up in the Senate when Senator James A. Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, asked for unanimous consent for a session Tuesday night to consider his resolution extending the life of the committee investigating campaign expenditures and authorizing the opening of ballot boxes in the Pennsylvania senatorial election.

Senator David A. Reed, Republican, of Pennsylvania, objected. "We are tired in Pennsylvania," he said, "of being signaled out for investigation; and if the resolution passes I intend to do my best to compel that investigation to be extended to the states in the South where less than 1 per cent of the voters have voted for United States Senator."

When Senator James Reed declared that the investigation being conducted by him is "for the purpose of determining the character of elections that are being held in the United States," Senator George H. Moses, Republican, of New Hampshire, joined in the debate.

Under questioning the Democratic Senator stated that his committee would conduct an investigation in any state upon a specific charge by a Senator of any violation of the Constitution under cover of state statutes with a statement of facts and the names of witnesses.

Senator Moses wanted to know that if he should submit to the chairman of the committee a statement that the election returns in a given state showed not only "zero" precincts but "zero" counties would it be sufficient grounds for an investigation.

When Senator Reed replied that he did not know whether it would or not, Senator Moses asked him the following hypothetical question:

"Suppose I were able to bring to you, as I think I can, a graduate of a normal school, though a man of color, who had gone to the courthouse in a given county, had entered at the central entrance and had turned to the left into the office of the county superintendent of schools, had there passed an examination which entitled him to a certificate as a teacher in schools up to and including the eighth grade.

"The statute of that state provides that in order to vote a man must have certain educational qualifications, such as being able to read and write, or he must pay taxes on property amounting to a certain number of hundreds of dollars. This man comes out of the office on the left of the entrance; he has in his hand a certificate entitling him to teach school up to and including the eighth grade. He goes right across the hall on the right, this time to the office of the county clerk. He presents the certificate and asks to be registered as a voter, but is denied that right. Would that constitute a basis for the Senator from Missouri as chairman of this committee, to investigate the conditions in that case?"

Senator Reed parried. He finally declared that if it were shown that commonly and generally and to an extent that might affect the result in an election citizens had been wrongfully deprived of their right to vote, it would afford a case where a Senate committee could possibly go into the state.

Election Laws of South Discussed in U. S. Senate

The Negro Year Book

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER.

Washingtonn, D. C., Jan. 6.—The question of disfranchisement in the South flared up on the floor of the Senate Monday afternoon when Senators T. H. Caraway, of Arkansas, and Earle B. Mayfield, of Texas, Democrats, assailed Senator David A. Reed, Republican, of Pennsylvania, for his remarks in the course of an Emancipation Day address before the United Colored Societies of Allegheny County in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Senator Reed charged that scarcely more than 5 per cent of the population is permitted to vote in the South. With regard to the case of Colonel Frank L. Smith, of Illinois, appointed by Governor Small to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator William B. McKinley, Senator Reed threatened that the Southern Democratic Senators attack Smith, Republicans will have a lot to tell them. It was these remarks that riled the two Southern Democratic Senators.

In his remarks Senator Caraway did not deny that Negroes are effectively disfranchised in his state. He did say, however, that it is not done by legislative enactment. "There is not a scratch of the pen on the statute books—not a word—that limits the franchise," he declared. "Every Negro has a right to vote if he wants to vote, and I do not doubt but if the same inducement were offered him in Arkansas to vote that seems to be the persuading cause in Pennsylvania, he would exercise the right of franchise and vote."

Senator Caraway charged that

SOUTHERN ELECTION LAWS DISCUSSED IN THE SEN TE

(Continued from Page 1)

the only time he ever saw the police force used to suppress the political activities of colored persons in his state was in 1920 at the instance of "lily-white" Republicans. "They were trying to hold a convention of about 15 or 20 office holders in the Capital Hotel in Little Rock," he said. "Their black brothers wanted to participate in that political convention and the white Republicans did not want them to do so. Since there were more Negroes than white people they called upon the police to keep their Negro brothers away from them while they got together to distribute the federal patronage." He added that "there were just about offices enough to go around among the white people, and if the Negroes got any of them some white man would have to go to work."

In his harangue Senator Caraway argued that there was no particular stimulus for the Negro to vote in Arkansas because there is no market for votes in that state. He quoted Senator George H Moses, Republican, of New Hampshire, who previously to the holidays suggested that an inquiry b made to ascertain whether or not the Negro is exercising his constitutional privileges in the South. Senator Caraway wanted to show that the Negro will not vote unless he is paid.

Senator Mayfield entered a denial to the charge made by Senator Reed that there were 12 counties in the State of Texas in which the polls were not even opened in the last election.

"Our election laws," said Senator Mayfield, "are not written along racial lines. We have no 'grandfather' clause in our state constitution, and we have no statutes regulating the qualifications of a vote at the general election that do not apply with equal force to all alike. If the Negro does not vote in Texas at the general election, it is because he does not want to vote and not because of our election laws."

Neither Senator Caraway nor Senator Mayfield made any comment whatever upon the Democratic white primary system in force in both Arkansas and Texas. Under the rules of the Democratic Party in these states only white Democrats are permitted to participate in the Democratic primaries. Nomination in the primaries in these states is equivalent to election. Having been excluded from the primary, there is no occasion for the Negro to vote in the general election.

A special Senate judiciary subcommittee met Wednesday to draft a resolution authorizing an investigation of charges that federal offices were sold to the highbidders in Southern States. This subcommittee also considered the question of initiating a separate inquiry into charges that Negroes are disfranchised in Southern States.

This subcommittee is composed of Senator George W. Norris, Republican, of Nebraska; Senator Richard P. Ernst, Republican, of Kentucky, and Senator William H. King, Democrat ,of Utah.

Following the meeting of the Senate judiciary committee Monday morning, there were indications that both inquiries would be favorably reported to the Senate.

Senator Ernst wants the two proposed investigations combined. Senator Norris is opposed to this procedure. In an interview, Senator Norris said:

"I have no objection whatever to any investigation that Congress may decide to make regarding the disfranchisement of voters in various sections of the country. I do not believe, however, that we ought to couple such an investigation with the alleged sale of federal offices.

'There are some indications that those who are asking for an investigation of one of these subjects are doing so in order to suppress any investigation of the other subject. If any investigation is made of either one of these alleged practices, it ought to be thorough and complete, with the object of getting at the real truth, and I do not want to take any action that would enable either side to prevent a full exposure of any wrong-doing that may be discovered."

Political 1927

General.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

DEC 29 1927

THE DRYS AND APPORTIONMENT.

Under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution Representatives in Congress are apportioned to States according to the number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. Children are included. Negroes are included. Taxed Indians are included. Aliens are included. It is a delightful bit of irony for the dry Representatives in Congress who owe their strength largely to the negro population in Dixie, where negroes are prevented from voting by force or fraud or law juggling, or all three, to descant on the "unfairness" of alien representation in certain States of the North, especially in New York City, and move for a constitutional amendment "to make citizenship and not population the basis for apportionment."

Yet this is the idea that is championed by the Christian Advocate, and a resolution providing for such an amendment has actually been introduced by Representative Gales H. Stalker of Elmira. It is argued that in the Thirteenth Congress District of Manhattan, represented by Christopher D. Sullivan, only 8,900 votes were cast by all parties in 1916, and only 17,641 in the 1926 election, whereas by contrast Representative Hope of Kansas had a district in which the total vote was 76,000. Roughly, the Drys figure that 7,500,000 aliens were "made use of" in the present apportionment. Gleefully they predict that some thirty wet members would vanish from Congress if their plan were to go through.

Of course, it is a reasonably good wager that the scheme will come to nothing, yet it is a fair exponent of the Klannish sentiments of the dry leaders who are urging it. Aliens, though still strangers within our gates, are human beings. Without votes they still affect elections indirectly, their favor is sought by candidates, and to that extent they are represented. The districts where they are numerous always have sympathetic Congressmen. As for the submerged negroes on whom the apportionment advantages of the Drys depend, they are not often represented by sympathetic Congressmen.

White in Appeal to Seventieth Congress

Negro Leaders Meet in Washington Under Auspices of Elks

12-14-27

Leaders of fraternal, religious, welfare, and civil rights organizations of negroes throughout the United States, meeting in conference in Washington under the auspices of the Elks, have united in an appeal to the Congress of the United States, to leaders of American thought and to the American people, for enforcement of the entire Constitution.

The appeal drafted by William Pickens, vice-chairman of the Washington Conference, was signed by representatives of the following organizations as well as by many individuals: The Elks, by J. Finley Wilson; The National Equal Rights League and Races Congress, by W. H. Jernagin; the National Association of Republican Colored Women, by Nannie H. Burroughs; The National Association of Colored Womens Clubs, by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune; the Shrines, by Caesar R. Blake; the True Reformers and the A. M. E. Church, by John R. Hawkins.

The appeal deplores "the dangerous policies of those time-serving political leaders of any party or section who are disposed to compromise with the sentiment that certain of our laws and constitutional provisions cannot be enforced because of the fact that minority, even a powerful minority, is opposed to such laws and provisions." The appeal states that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth Amendments are as vital to the Constitution and "should be as honestly enforced as the Fifth or Sixth."

The appeal continues: "In the last analysis white people and black people have a common interest in the sacredness and the security of the ballot and of all constitutional rights."

Besides its meetings, participated in by Negro leaders from every part of the United States, the conference called upon Republican National headquarters and met in a banquet cementing the program in which all Negro organizations of the country are now co-operating.

GLASS AND BORAH ANSWER WET CHARGE ON NEGRO FRANCHISE

N.Y. Times

Virginian Denies Analogy Between Keeping Negroes From Polls and Ignoring Dry Law.

11-15-27

HOLDS OBLIGATION DIFFERS

No Such Law as the Volstead Act Passed to Enforce 15th Amendment.

BORAH FOR ENFORCING ALL

He Proposes a Republican Plank for Maintaining Entire Constitution.

By RICHARD V. OULAHAN.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15.—Smoldering embers of controversy over non-enforcement of two amendments to the Federal Constitution burst into flame today when Senator Glass of Viginia and Senator Borah of Idaho, the first a Democrat and the other a Republican, answered charges that while they were demanding strict enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment they either defended non-enforcement or failed to demand enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that there should be no discrimination against citizens of the United States because of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Senator Glass added his contribution to the fire by denying that there was any analogy between advocacy of non-enforcement or so-called nullification, of the prohibition amendment and the Volstead law and failure of Southern States to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. He contended that as no Federal statute similar in principle to the Volstead act had been enacted so as to place concurrent responsibility on the States and the Federal Government for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment, the same obligation for prohibition enforcement imposed by the Volstead act did not exist.

Assails Fifteenth Amendment.

He mentioned that the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge sought in vain to have Congress enact a law which would have permitted the Federal Government to supervise State elections, and contended that there was not the slightest prospect that any such law could be enacted now.

While Senator Borah did not cover this phase of Senator Glass's argument in his written contribution to the discussion, it is known that he is in general agreement with Senator Glass concerning it.

Senator Glass berated the Fifteenth Amendment as an attempt, made at the point of the bayonet, to impose negro sovereignty on the South and expressed doubt that it was constitutionally adopted.

Senator Borah met the wet criticism by expressing willingness to have the Republican national platform contain a demand for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, if there was included also a demand for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. He assumed, he said, that this is what is sought by his critics and concluded that there was no difference between them.

Glass Writes to Stayton.

Senator Glass's contribution was in the form of a letter to Captain William H. Stayton, head of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, who inferred in a communication to Mr. Glass that the latter was guilty of inconsistency in advocating prohibition enforcement in States by Federal officers while opposing, as he did recently, a suggestion that Federal agents be sent to supervise the State elections in Kentucky Nov. 8.

Senator Borah, who was criticized by Senator Walter E. Edge of New Jersey, a Republican opponent of prohibition, for his strict-enforcement speech before the Women's Law Enforcement League in New York Saturday night, wrote a letter to Mr. Edge today in which he ex consistent and even hypocritical in failing to demand that negroes in Southern States shall be given the right to exercise the voting franchise accorded them by their constitutional emancipation, and the declaration of the Fifteenth Amendment that they shall not be discriminated against in any way. Judging by appearances, plans are in the making by certain groups of wets to keep the fires of controversy active into next year's Presidential campaign.

Borah's Letter to Senator Edge.

Senator Borah's letter to Senator Edge, written today, reads as follows:

United States Senate,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
Nov. 15, 1927.

Hon. Walter E. Edge, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

My dear Senator Edge: I have just read in THE NEW YORK TIMES your interview touching my remarks in New York Saturday night. In this interview you are quoted as saying "Doesn't the same argument hold to all law violation, and especially from a constitutional standpoint, in regard to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?" I agree with you entirely.

Further you say: "Why confine a platform pledge to protect the safety of the Constitution and compel law enforcement to the Eighteenth Amendment?" I have no desire, Senator Edge, to confine the platform pledge to the Eighteenth Amendment. If you, or any one else, desire to include the teenth and Fifteenth Amend ts, you will find full coopera upon the part of those who in favor of incorporating the e to the Eighteenth Amend t. I venture to say that there ot a supporter of the Eigh th Amendment, North or h, but will be pleased to co ate with you in including the teenth and Fifteenth Amend ts.

o not in this letter express my s as to whether there is any tion of these amendments. if it is believed, or charged, there is, then let's include specifically. I think it would magnificent thing if this dis on of the Eighteenth Amend leads to a more settled deter tion to uphold and maintain Constitution as a whole.

assume from your interview at you are entirely satisfied to have a specific declaration in favor of upholding and maintaining the Eighteenth Amendment, if there is included in the platform at the same time a similar declaration with reference to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

If this be true, there are no differences to adjust between you and me.

Very sincerely,
WILLIAM E. BORAH.

Captain Stayton drew Senator Glass's fire by sending to the latter a newspaper editorial accusing Mr. Glass of inconsistency in his prohibition enforcement advocacy, and his expressed objection to sending Federal agents to supervise the Kentucky elections. Captain Stayton asked for Senator Glass's views and got them in language that minced no words.

Calls Analogy "Simply Stupid."

The letter of Senator Glass, which was in answer to one in which Mr. Stayton had asked him to answer an editorial in The New York World, reads in part as follows:

"The attempt to draw an analogy between the attitude of the South on the question of negro suffrage and the position of persons intent upon nullifying the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution is simply stupid.

"If one were to impute literal truth to the alleged analogy, the conclusive answer would be that the South's resistance to the Fifteenth Amendment was intended to avert the wretched consequences of the unspeakable crime involved in the adoption of the amendment.

"It was done in the passions of war, and constituted an attempt to destroy white civilization in nearly one-third of the nation and erect on its ruins an Ethiopian state, ignorant, profligate, corrupt, controlled by manumitted slaves, not one per cent. of them semi-literate and these led by a band of white miscreants, execrated figures in the nightmare of reconstruction.

"On the other hand, resistance to the enforcement of th Eighteenth Amendment and the statute enacted in pursuance thereof is not designed to avert crime, but to facilitate it. In effect, it amounts to condonation. It is intended to stimulate defiance of both the Constitution and the law.

"I do not mean to imply that it is not perfectly legitimate for any person or group of persons to propose and strive for the repeal or modification of the Eighteenth Amendment and the statutory law on the subject of prohibition. I do mean to condemn the mockery of the law and the applause which flagitious violation is receiving in certain quarters.

Says Courts Upheld the South.

"Not only is there no Federal statute providing for the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment which the people of any Southern State 'deride, detest and spit upon,' as I once heard a United States Senator passionately boast about the Prohibition amendment, but there is no constitutional or statutory law in the code of a single Southern State that violates th terms of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. This has been put to the test again and again in actions before the Supreme Court of the United States.

"And the white people of Virginia, within the limitations of the Federal Constitution, have complete control of their State affairs, without the least fear of disturbance by the blacks and with just as little fear of threats by negropholist newspapers and politicians favoring the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. I think this is true of every other Southern State, which, within the restrictions of the Federal Constitution, has legislated against the characteristics and habits of those who are too ignorant, too simple and too co
administer Governm

"The prohibition st
pealed or modified, v
itations of the Constitut
jority vote of any
minded. Until these t
have been done, criminals
law have no defense and t
ogists no excuse.

"And when a public man prote
against sending Federal satraps to supervise State elections, for which there is no sanction of law, it is rather silly to suggest that such a proceeding would have a precedent and parallel in sending prohibition agents, under full sanction of law, to suppress the traffic in liquor. There is no semblance of analogy. And it might as well be understood that no State is going to abandon its lawful fight against illicit liquors under this threat of unlawful Federal control of elections."

Says Washington Cannot Act.

Senator Borah has long held the belief, and has stated it in the Senate, that the framers of the Fifteenth Amendment did not cover the situation which the most rabid advocates of the amendment desired. Briefly, his position is that as long as the State does not enact laws depriving the negro of vote because of race, color or previous condition of servitude, the Federal Government can do nothing under the amendment to prevent interference by an individual with the negro's right of exercising the franchise.

As Mr. Borah views it, the Congress which framed the Fifteenth Amendment decided that the States, instead of the Federal Government, should define the right to vote, and did this against the opposition of James G. Blaine, Oliver P. Morton and others who wanted the national Government to define the right.

It has been pointed out, also, by Mr. Borah that where the State has enacted discriminatory laws, such as the "Grandfather clause" and the Texas White primary law, the United States Supreme Court has ruled these illegal, but he knows of no State law that violates the Fifteenth Amendment.

Senator Borah said in the Senate years ago that it was a tremendous mistake to enfranchise the negro so rapidly and allow him to exercise power so soon. He quoted Charles Sumner as agreeing with this view, but confessing that politics demanded it.

Political - 1927

General.

Suffrage

SOUTH FACES QUIZ ON WHY IT BARS NEGRO AT POLLS

Fight on Smith and Vare to Involve Dixie.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 6.—[Special.]—Resumption of the fight to exclude Senators-elect Frank L. Smith of Illinois and William S. Vare of Pennsylvania when the next congress convenes is almost certain to bring the senate face to face with an organized demand for an investigation into the disfranchisement of Negroes in the south—a veritable political hornets' nest.



FRANK L. SMITH.
[Moffett Photo.]

Such an investigation was proposed in the closing days of the last congress by Senator Richard P. Ernst [Rep., Ky.], who urged in a minority report that it be made simultaneously with an inquiry into alleged barter and sale of federal offices in the south which was recommended by the senate judiciary committee.

Senator George W. Norris [Rep., Neb.], chairman of the judiciary committee, while agreeing that both investigations were desirable, asserted that they should be made by separate committees and intimated that the Ernst amendment to the judiciary committee patronage resolution was designed to block the patronage investigation by depriving it of southern votes.

Foiled by Filibuster.

Senate action on both the proposed investigations was frustrated by the filibuster, under leadership of Senator David Reed [Rep., Pa.], which defeated a resolution authorizing continuance of the "slush fund" inquiry during the summer recess.

During the filibuster, Senator Reed compared the 19 so-called "zero" districts in Philadelphia county in the Vare election with numerous counties in southern states in which no votes were counted for President Coolidge in the 1924 election. He cited especially fourteen counties in Texas in which no election was held in 1912, because, he charged, with Negroes barred from participation in Democratic primaries the results of the latter were accepted as the results of the election.

He insisted that if the slush fund continuing resolution was to be voted on the committee should also be directed "to go into these southern states and find out what has happened to the voters there, what has caused this complete suppression of the colored vote." The amendment was not actually offered, however, and the senate again escaped recording itself for or against the proposed investigation.

Here Are Blease's Views.

What is generally accepted as the prevailing southern attitude on the right of Negroes to vote was expressed during the discussion by Senator Cole L. Blease [Dem., S. C.], who vigorously denied the right of the senate to question primaries in Pennsylvania, Illinois, or any other state, and predicted that if the resolution continuing the slush fund inquiry applied to any state south of the Potomac river, "no single Democrat senator living south of the Potomac would vote for it."

"I want to say to the senator from Pennsylvania in all frankness," asserted Senator Blease, "that I do not see any use of people getting under a bushel and hiding their lights and trying to deny the truth. I do not see any use in southern senators getting up here and apologizing for our position. I, as a representative of the south, do not expect to make any apology. We keep the colored man from voting in South Carolina by that constitution. We do not allow him to vote in Democrat white primaries, and we never expect to let him vote in them, no matter what may be done here.

"I do not know and I do not care," Senator Blease responded when a southern colleague asked from the floor if the constitution and laws of South Carolina by which disfranchisement of the Negro is accomplished have been upheld by the courts.

Follow Primary Law.

"They are on the statute books and in the constitution and the white people of South Carolina have been following them, and they are going to continue to follow them. If that be defiance make the most of it."

The probability that the question will be revived next fall has caused considerable discussion of the means by which disfranchisement of the Negro has been accomplished in the south and its effect upon southern politics.

By 1876 native southern conservative groups had everywhere regained from northern carpetbaggers control of their states and after the Hayes-Tilden compromise, withdrawing the federal troops which supported the carpetbaggers, began to consolidate their opposition to Negro suffrage. White suppremacy was regained as much by legislative and judicial repeal of the federal reconstruction code as by fraud, corruption, intimidation and violence. By successive decisions the federal courts weakened and finally destroyed the effectiveness of the 15th amendment and the federal civil rights act in rulings holding that violations of the right to vote as granted by the states must be on grounds of discrimination based on race, color or previous condition of servitude. Uniformly, disfranchisement in the south is never avowedly on the grounds of race, color or previous condition.

Must Sue in State Courts.

The courts further held that the constitutional prohibition operates only against states and individual offenders against franchise rights on whatever grounds must be sued in state courts. Finally, disfranchisement has been held not to be a tort, and the federal courts have refused to entertain actions in equity arising out of a denial of the franchise. All that now remains of the federal election laws enacted during the reconstruction period are two sections of the first enforcing act to the 15th amendment; the one merely restating the guarantee of the amendment itself, the other permitting the punishment by state law of any crimes incidental to offenses against the act itself.

Thus encouraged, the south began to use statutory and administrative expedients to reduce effectively the Negro vote. These began as early as 1870, and they still are relied on in many states. They include "gerrymanders" against black belt counties or Negro wards in cities and centralization of local government in the hands of the state executives, always Democrats; disfranchisement for the petty crimes natural in an inferior economic class; long residence requirements which bear with the same unequal weight on the landless, propertyless, and hence migratory Negro; certification of registration long in advance of election time, with the requirement that the certificates and tax receipts be shown at the polling place; poll taxes, complicated ballots, with a time limit for marking; wide discretionary powers to challenge and to withdraw ballots cast in excess of registration. The so-called "grandfather" clauses in state constitutions by which Negroes formerly were excluded from the polls have now expired and been declared unconstitutional in addition.

Frightened from Polls.

It will be easily seen how these devices lend themselves to discrimatory use. It is quite generally conceded that they have been used, and that where they were not effective Negroes were frightened away from the polls if they did not vote right, or bribed not to vote wrong. Where these elaborate descriptions, coupled with the white south's unconcealed hostility to Negro suffrage, do not operate to keep the black citizen away from the polls they have been used by the administrative officials—registration and election boards—for discrimative purposes. The Negro applicant for registration finds it hard to satisfy his examiners that he properly understands even a simple clause of the state or federal clause, that his character testimonials are sufficient and in order, that his previous employments have been as he has sworn to them, that he has properly established his local residence, and that he has never been convicted of chicken stealing or quarreling with his wife. The white citizen meets no such difficulties.

In the primaries of the democratic party which for lack of organized opposition are the decisive elections through the south, the Negro has no standing whatever. This disfranchisement is accomplished in fact without contravention of the fifteenth amendment's prohibition of racial discrimination.

Elections Not Sharply Contested.

As a result of Democratic supremacy, general elections in the south are not sharply contested, and few voters turn out for them. All interest centers in the primary. This was increasingly true when Negro domination ceased to be a real issue.

The general and undiscriminating disfranchisement of Negroes caused discontent with the worthiest class of Negro citizens. Thus the national association for the advancement of colored people has recently started a campaign for $1,000,000 to fight suffrage and other discriminations. Negro emigration northward has already caused the more far seeing southern leaders to express concern for the future, and this is likely to be more keenly felt as the south continues its phenomenally rapid industrialization. The removal of the outstanding causes of discontent among the Negroes, therefore, may become more and more important from the southern white point of view.

No Guarantee of Stability.

Although there is a general feeling in the south that present political conditions will not change there is nothing in the current situation nor the political history of the south that offers any guarantee of stability. Students point out that industrialization in the south will bring political problems in the face of which present suffrage regulations and party alignments may be severely strained. The one party system may remain unchanged in form or it may give way to a new bipartisan politic.

In either case, the south must some day bear the shock of a conflict of interests which increasingly tempts the southern industrials to cast his lot with Republicanism and the small farmer and the poor white to engage in such agrarian insurgent movements as swept the south in the early nineties. The danger of the present suffrage and party system is that when a new political break comes in the south, the peculiar franchise laws the south has developed for the regulation of Negro suffrage may be found equally effective in suppressing the political opposition of whites, and the way thus may be paved for such outbreaks as featured the reconstruction and popu- revolts of the past.

INDEPENDENT

Boston Mass

SEP 10 1927

Will the Negro Suffrage Issue Seat Vare?

WHEN the "most august deliberative body in the world" settles down to business at the opening of the next Congress, the country will be treated to some of the most engaging political manœuvres set in motion for a number of years. At the outset — with party lines drawn taut — the contest over the seating of Senators-elect Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois should be tremendously amusing to the student of practical politics. Furthermore, the very real question as to whether the Federal Government shall dictate the manner in which States conduct primary elections will be thrashed out.



Hints of what may be expected were uncovered in the closing days of the last session, and it is not an overbold venture to suggest — as a result of those hints — that many Democrats may not be so enthusiastic as one would suppose to press the issue against the would-be Senators from Pennsylvania and Illinois. The reasons are plain: If the Democrats insist on branding Vare and Smith with the mark of fraud, it is quite certain that the Republicans will set in motion sweeping investigations into the unconstitutional disfranchisement of negroes throughout the South — not the laws of the Southern States, mind, but the practices of white Southerners. Indeed, it has been broadly stated that if Vare and Smith are denied their seats, full many a Democratic Senator from Dixie chosen in elections at which many citizens were denied the right to vote may find his own chair trembling under fulminations of fraud. In short, the precedent which the Senate would establish by tampering with primary election affairs in two Northern States would open the way for similar meddlings south of Mason and Dixon's line.

In the final days of the last session, the Senate Judiciary Committee reported a resolution for a recess investigation of the barter and sale of Federal offices in the South. These practices were fully reported in THE INDEPENDENT in a series of articles by Samuel Taylor Moore, and from any standard of ethical judgment were certainly meat for investigation. Senator Ernst, Republican, of Kentucky at once countered with another resolution calling for examination of charges that "in some of the States where such practices [sale of offices] are reported, there is a denial to many citizens of their right to vote . . ."

Action on both of these resolutions was prevented by a filibuster under the leadership of Senator Reed (Republican) of Pennsylvania. In the course of his speech making Senator Reed declared that unless Vare and Smith were seated in the next session, the right of various Democratic Senators to hold their seats would be challenged on the grounds that they were chosen at elections in which the vote of a part of the electorate had been suppressed. His remarks were so effective as to prompt several Southern Senators to announce their conviction that practices in primaries were not a proper subject for Congressional investigation.

Stalwart among the Southern gentlemen who do not wish to meddle with Northern primaries is Senator Cole Blease of South Carolina. He opposed the Smith-Vare investigation from the outset. This fiery Solon declared frankly that laws of his State prohibited Republican negroes from voting at Democratic primaries. Asked if the laws had been upheld by court decisions, he shot back the retort, "I do not know, and I do not care. They are on the statute books and in the constitution [of his State], and the white people of South Carolina have been following them, and they are going to continue to follow them. If that be defiance, make the most of it." And perhaps the Senate will.

Another weapon which Republicans of the Old Guard hold over the heads of their Democratic colleagues in this connection is the threat of reapportionment. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution reads:

> When the right to vote at any election [general] . . . is denied to any male . . . citizens of the United States . . . the basis of representation [in the State where the offense is committed] . . . shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of said male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens . . . in such State.

Three years ago Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts introduced a resolution calling upon the Committee of the Census, which was then considering reapportionment, to study the disfranchisement of negroes in the South with a view to reducing Southern representations if suffrage suppression were established. When the whole matter of reapportionment was sidetracked, the investigation went by the boards.

It is natural that sober-minded Senators and Congressmen will do their utmost to prevent a sectional struggle in Congress over the negro question. But there is little doubt that the issue will be forced if Vare and Smith are not seated. We should regret a general muckraking campaign, but we nevertheless feel that the methods of electing representatives who shall legislate for the whole nation is the business of the nation and not alone that of the separate States. In other words, the Senate should have full rights to investigate Senatorial primaries regardless of how the States may howl.

ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION

The conference of fraternities which recently met in Washington, has petitioned Congress to provide means to enforce all amendments to the Federal Constitution. This petition takes a stronger ground than other petitions that have been placed before our National lawmakers, in that it demands the enforcement of the 18th amendment as well as the 14th and 15th. This action may cause the wet-drinking, dry-voting South to rub its eyes and realize that it has no monopoly on making the nation bone dry.

The petitioners deplore the flagrant violation of certain amendments, because they are unpopular with certain groups. They call attention to the fact that if a law is unpopular, the people have their remedies in amendment and repeal. But they know as well as Congress knows, that the South has used our Federal Constitution and the 14th and 15th amendments to suit its whims and conveniences. Otherwise, the political "rotten boroughs" of which the petitioners write, would not exist.

The petition utters the well known truth, that as the rights and privileges of black Americans are filched and violated, those of white Americans will be curbed and destroyed. As it has been found to be convenient to jim crow, lynch, segregate and disfranchise Negroes in the South, it is now being found to be convenient to indulge in the same practices on white men. As one Southerner roughly put it: "A voteless Nigger means eventually a voteless white man down here."

Perhaps, at bottom, as the petition states, the most dangerous fact underlying a violation of the black man's rights is the creating of a state of mind which cannot discriminate but which will continue to discriminate. The habit of thinking that one can oppress his fellows with impunity deadens the sense of justice toward the oppressed on the one hand and widens a desire to extend the oppression to others who do not think or who are not built like the oppressor.

Congress should know that Negroes resent the unjust attitude and practices of their white fellow citizens, and the petition should not only be placed before the Senate and the House of Representatives, but it should be followed up by personal appeals by Negroes individually and collectively throughout the country. We must not depend too much upon the support of our friends; the most effective help we will get will be the help we give ourselves. As Benjamin Franklin puts it: "The best way to get a job done is to do it yourself."

General.

Political - 19-7

Suffrage

PRESS

Lawrenceburg Ind.

DEC 8 1927

And This Did Not Happen in Indiana

Six members of the Louisville, Ky., police force, two of them Captains, are under indictment by the Grand Jury, for attacks on colored citizens of that city made on last election day. The attack having been made for the purpose of intimidating colored voters, and driving them away from the polls. Hundreds of colored folks were lodged in jail upon all sorts of trumped up charges, and one unfortunate colored man, was lost in the city jail, and kept there sixteen days without water, if we are to believe the newspaper reports.

The Grand Jury made a report of conditions as connected with the police department, and the action of police on election day, and reported that conditions were deplorable. That the police, when questioned before the Grand Jury, about their treatmnt of colored voters, made false statements. That nineteen colored voters were crowded in two jail cells on election day, and were denied food and water. This situation prevailed under the Democratic reglme, which had charge of the city administration of Louisville, since a recent decision of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky ousted the Republican administration last August. And this did not happen in Indiana.

In Memphis, Tenn., on the Wednesday night before election, a bomb was exploded in a building in which hundreds of colored folks were assembled for the purpose of receiving instructions as to voting. As a result, thousands of colored people cowered in their homes in fear and terror on Nov. 8, election day, with the result that the Democratic candidates were elected by a large majority. And this did not happen in Indiana.

We wonder what constitutes corruption in office? We have no respect whatever for the vote buyer, and the briber. We know that in the past these things were common, and men who are now glamored over with respectability, were often seen in years gone by with one arm around a floating voter, while the other reached into a side pocket. The continuance of these things today, largely constitutes the corruption about which we hear so much lately. But they were just as rotten, corrupt, and illegal then, as they are now. And this did happen in Indiana.

But how about this newly arisen Mexican brand of corruption? The kind that locks men up in jail, and denies human beings food and drink, all done in order to prevent them from voting or exercising the right guaranteed to them both by the State and National Constitutions. What of the terrorism and horror of bombing a building where hundreds of men, women and children had gathered? Is not this corruption? Indeed we think it is akin to the brand of corruption now reeking in Mexico, which stands political opponents before a firing squad.

Nor has Indiana been entirely free from this form of corruption. A few years ago in Indianapolis, Indiana, under the infamous administration of Joe Bell if we are to believe what we hear, egro voters attempting to vote, were clubbed over their heads with police clubs, to prevent them from voting. This occurred not only in one precinct, but in many throughout the city, so the elements of accident is eliminated, and the facts stand out, that it must have been done upon orders of the administration. Was not this corruption? And it happened in Indiana, but not under Republican rule. Those that live in glass houses should not throw stones. Let us clean up Indiana regardless of politics, and any man who in the past, has been engaged in buying votes or by bribing, or anything else that is illegal and unlawful, let him be tabooed and driven out of the political camps of both parties. We don't want them in the Republican party, and we know that they are not wanted in the Democratic party. The best place for all those who have ever engaged in such corrupt acts and practices is at home, until such times as the voting public know that a complete change of life has taken place.

Political - 1927

General

Suffrage

THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM

Since the formation of the government of the United States founded upon the principle set forth in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created free and equal and endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the pendulum has swung towards justice, liberty and equality of rights.

During many periods in the life of the Republic it has seemed to swing backwards or to come to a stand still but in time its movement showed a direction towards enlightened justice. Herald Common-Wealth

The United States Supreme Court has just handed down a unanimous decision that laws (or regulations) which bar Negroes from voting in primary elections are in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and therefore illegal and void. This decision bearing upon Negro suffrage is the most important and far reaching happening affecting the Negro group since the adoption of the War Amendments. 3-12-27

The decision will not immediately restore the ballot to the Negro where disfranchisement prevails. It does, however, reaffirm the provisions of the 14th Amendment and firmly gives noticethat the 14th and 15th Amendments are parts of the fundamental law of the land and is a promise that if not obeyed, in time, they will be enforced.

The Bourbons of the South who never learn, nor ever forget anything, true to their tradition will for many years endeavor to evade the Court's decision and thereby postpone the day of the arrival of a common understanding and mutual co-operation between the races for the upbuilding and advancement of that section.

The Negro is no longer tied to the tail of the dead body of any politiical party. In some States political repulsion forces him to align himself with the Republican party. The "white primary" has effectively eliminated him from politics in those States where it prevails being adopted and approved even by the Republican party in those States, and he is therefore ready now for a re-alignment acknowledging no party as his political guardian or a haven of refuge in time of trouble.

The Republican party, nationally, by its utter refusal for the past thirty years to exhibit the slightest concern in regard to Negro disfranchisement and the exploitation, restriction of other rights and oppression which inevitably follows deprivation of suffrage rights in a democratic government has lost its traditionary hold upon the Negro. His interest as a voter is centered more vitally in what Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Lowden, Mr. Borah, Republicans, or Mr. Al Smith. Mr. James Reed, Democrats, will do for him now rather than what the great Lincoln, Gen. Grant, or McKinley did thirty and sixty years ago.

Negroes of the South know that without the ballot they are at the mercy of the demagogue and that they can never attain the full stature of freemen as long as the privilege of voting is denied them, and every year thousands leave the South to seek homes where these privileges are not denied.

It is to be hoped that the progressive men of the South will meet the Court's decision in the spirit in which it was rendered. being concurred in by two Southern justices.

NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT FAILS TO INTEREST REPUBLICANS

Senator Ernst of Kentucky, weeks ago, offered a resolution in the Senate to include in the Senate resolution authorizing an inquiry into the sale of federal offices in the South, the power to investigate disfranchisement in certain States. When the resolution was introduced we took the ground that although Senator Ernst may be sincere in his efforts he would not have the support of his Republican colleagues in the South. Herald Common-Wealth

The Judiciary Committee in charge of the resolution reported it two weeks ago unfavorably, the vote being 9 to 3 against investigation. This of course means the end of the disfranchisement investigation Republicans not wanting it. 2-13-27

Negro disfranchisement in all but three States of the South is an accomplished fact. Fully two million men and women in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi and Texas are disfranchised, totally without political influence, are completely subjected to the wills of the whites who possess the vote and the lawless and criminal among whom, because of the power exercised by their votes and the helpless and defenceless condition of the Negro because he is deprived of his vote, lynch burn, murder, outrage, exploit the labor of, and oppress the voteless Negro. As a group the disfranchised Negroes are industrious law-abiding and peaceable. They are good citizens and tax-payers to the Federal, State and Municipal governments. Tens of thousands of them are wealthy, hundreds of thousands are educated, are home owners, ambitious and progressive These attributes of citizenship, however, count for nothng wit hthe Democrats who disfranchise them, nor with he Republican leaders who approve of it and who contribute to its permanency by also disfranchising them in Republican party conventions, both State and national, and reducing their representation in National Conventions and refusing them admittance in the conventions in some States. Baltimore Sun

Being disfranchised and therefore unable to add party garner a greater number of votes? elect more congressmen? secure more electoral votes by enforcing the strength to the Republican party through the election of Constitution? by standing upon the principles of human Congressmen or presidential electors their condition excites neither interest nor concern in the minds of Republican leaders who believe that it will pay more in votes by the friendly endorsement of Negro disfranchisement than to antagonize disfranchising Democrats and restore the vote to Negro Republicans.

With the Southern Democrats Negro disfranchisement is a question of principle, the principle that the Negro is inferior to the white man, has no rights that the white man is bound to respect, and disfranchisement is the carrying out of that principle; with the Republicans disfranchisement is a question of votes. Can the Republican

Political - 1927

General

Suffrage

THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM

Since the formation of the government of the United States founded upon the principle set forth in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created free and equal and endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the pendulum has swung towards justice, liberty and equality of rights.

During many periods in the life of the Republic it has seemed to swing backwards or to come to a stand still but in time its movement showed a direction towards enlightened justice. Herald Common-Wealth

The United States Supreme Court has just handed down a unanimous decision that laws (or regulations) which bar Negroes from voting in primary elections are in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and therefore illegal and void. This decision bearing upon Negro suffrage is the most important and far reaching happening affecting the Negro group since the adoption of the War Amendments. 3-12-27

The decision will not immediately restore the ballot to the Negro where disfranchisement prevails. It does, however, reaffirm the provisions of the 14th Amendment and firmly gives noticethat the 14th and 15th Amendments are parts of the fundamental law of the land and is a promise that if not obeyed, in time, they will be enforced.

The Bourbons of the South who never learn, nor ever forget anything, true to their tradition will for many years endeavor to evade the Court's decision and thereby postpone the day of the arrival of a common understanding and mutual co-operation between the races for the upbuilding and advancement of that section.

The Negro is no longer tied to the tail of the dead body of any politiical party. In some States political repulsion forces him to align himself with the Republican party. The "white primary" has effectively eliminated him from politics in those States where it prevails being adopted and approved even by the Republican party in those States, and he is therefore ready now for a re-alignment acknowledging no party as his political guardian or a haven of refuge in time of trouble.

The Republican party, nationally, by its utter refusal for the past thirty years to exhibit the slightest concern in regard to Negro disfranchisement and the exploitation, restriction of other rights and oppression which inevitably follows deprivation of suffrage rights in a democratic government has lost its traditionary hold upon the Negro. His interest as a voter is centered more vitally in what Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Lowden, Mr. Borah, Republicans, or Mr. Al. Smith. Mr. James Reed, Democrats, will do for him now rather than what the great Lincoln, Gen. Grant, or McKinley did thirty and sixty years ago.

Negroes of the South know that without the ballot they are at the mercy of the demagogue and that they can never attain the full stature of freemen as long as the privilege of voting is denied them, and every year thousands leave the South to seek homes where these privileges are not denied.

It is to be hoped that the progressive men of the South will meet the Court's decision in the spirit in which it was rendered. being concurred in by two Southern justices.

NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT FAILS TO INTEREST REPUBLICANS

Senator Ernst of Kentucky, weeks ago, offered a resolution in the Senate to include in the Senate resolution authorizing an inquiry into the sale of federal offices in the South, the power to investigate disfranchisement in certain States. When the resolution was introduced we took the ground that although Senator Ernst may be sincere in his efforts he would not have the support of his Republican colleagues in the South. Herald Common-Wealth

The Judiciary Committee in charge of the resolution reported it two weeks ago unfavorably, the vote being 9 to 3 against investigation. This of course means the end of the disfranchisement investigation. Republicans not wanting it. 2-12-27

Negro disfranchisement in all but three States of the South is an accomplished fact. Fully two million men and women in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi and Texas are disfranchised, totally without political influence, are completely subjected to the wills of the whites who possess the vote and the lawless and criminal among whom, because of the power exercised by their votes and the helpless and defenceless condition of the Negro because he is deprived of his vote, lynch burn, murder, outrage, exploit the labor of, and oppress the voteless Negro. As a group the disfranchised Negroes are industrious law-abiding and peaceable. They are good citizens and tax-payers to the Federal, State and Municipal governments. Tens of thousands of them are wealthy, hundreds of thousands are educated, are home owners, ambitious and progressive These attributes of citizenship, however, count for nothing wit hthe Democrats who disfranchise them, nor with the Republican leaders who approve of it and who contribute to its permanency by also disfranchising them in Republican party conventions, both State and national, and reducing their representation in National Conventions and refusing them admittance in the conventions in some States.

Being disfranchised and therefore unable to add party garner a greater number of votes? elect more congressmen? secure more electoral votes by enforcing the Constitution? by standing upon the principles of human rights upon which the party was founded? by exposing the cause of justice and restoring the suffrage to the Negro? or can the party secure more votes by tacitly endorsing disfranchisement and thus heal the ancient scars of hatred of the party on the part of Southern whites and lure them into its folds?

The Republican leaders have decided that "taxation without representation is not tyranny" at the present day and that if any group can be successfully eliminated from participation in the government, legally or illegally, it is better to endorse such elimination than to arouse animosi-

ties and chance the gain or loss of votes by enforcing the Constitution and laws.

The action of the Senate, the latest expression of the attitude of the Republican party towards the Negro should warn the Negro group throughout the country that nothing is to be expected from the party nationally.

Macon, Ga. TELEGRAPH
JAN 7 1927

PROBE OF NEGRO FRANCHISE LOOMS

Senate May Also Investigate Patronage Charges

HARRIS CHARGES TRADING

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6. (AP)—A Senate judiciary sub-committee has tentatively agreed to recommend that the Senate investigate charges of Federal patronage and franchise rights of the negro, but a difference of opinion has developed whether the questions should be considered jointly or separately.

In making this announcement, after a meeting of the committee today, Chairman Norris said he could not be reconciled to the view of Senator Ernest, Republican, Kentucky, that the investigations be combined.

Several resolutions are before the committee dealing with the subject, one by Senator Harris, Democrat, Georgia, charging the bartering of patronage in Southern states.

"I am afraid," Senator Norris said, "that if investigation of both matters is undertaken by a single body there would be a tendency for Republicans and Democrats to agree not to bring forth too much evidence."

Southern Voting Conditions Exposed

Senator Reed Of Pennsylvania Takes Occasion to Flay Negro Disfranchisement

Washington, March 14—Not since the days of the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge have the Democratic methods of evading the Constitution, as it is twisted to apply to the Negroes of the Southland, been exposed and condemned in the halls of Congress, as when Senator David Reed, Republican, of Pennsylvania, during the closing days of the Sixty-ninth Congress, reviewed the election evasions of the Solid South, so successful in keeping the Negro vote away from the polls. In doing so, the Pennsylvanian read into the records the tom-tom vote of ward after ward and county after county in Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas. He told the Senate that he had complete statistics dealing with every Southern State and charged that if the Democratic sponsors of the investigation resolution of Senator Reed of Missouri insisted upon delving into Pennsylvania and Illinois election, they might as well make a clean sweep by venturing into the Solid South and investigating the suppression of the Negro vote there.

Citing instance after instance, the Republican Senator from Pennsylvania cited Montgomery, Ala., and said "The city of Montgomery, Ala., has a population of 43,000 persons. Among them are 19,800 Negroes. Out of the 19,800 Negroes there were only Fourteen votes for the Republican candidate for the Senate of the United States. It seems too plain for argument that out of 19,800 citizens of that race there were not more than 14 who paid their poll taxes and had the educational qualifications and wanted to vote for the Republican candidate for the Senate.'

Commenting further upon the vote suppression of Negroes in the South Senator Reed of Pennsylvania showed a number of ratios between votes actually cast for Republican candidates and eligible Negro voting populaton, as follows:

County	Votes Cast		Eligibles
Bullock	8	out of	8,840
Choctaw	19	" "	4,949
Greene	5	" "	7,057
Hale	23	" "	8,340
Lowndes	5	" "	9,818
Marengo	17	" "	12,366
Monroe	22	" "	6,796
Perry	25	" "	8,207
Pike	29	" "	6,579
Russell	14	" "	8,816
Sumter	28	" "	9,217
Tallapoosa	1	" "	4,282

"I think," concluded the Republican Senator, "I have given enough to indicate there was at least ground for a reasonable suspicion that the free exercise of the suffrage which we have all longed to see extend throughout the country does not obtain in Alabama, at least, on the face of the returns to the extent that the most ardent advocate of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would have wished."

Senators Stephens of Mississippi, George of Georgia, and Caraway of Arkansas, debated weakly with Senator Reed, but were glad to become quiescent when Reed asked them whether the Federal Constitution could be applied to State primaries. Senator Blease, of South Carolina, realizing the harm which an investigation would do in his State, fought his Southern colleagues vigorously to prevent any encroachment upon States Rights in election matters.

After continued debate, with Reed of Pennsylvania lashing the Democratic South with every breath, the resolution of Senator Reed of Missouri was defeated; and Southern Democrats breathed a sigh of relief when they realized that for the time being their suppression of Negro votes will remain safely within their own bosoms.

NEGROES USING THE VOTE EFFECTIVELY

Chicago, May 11.—(By A. N. P.)—That Negroes are awakening to the fact that the ballot is the most effective weapon with which to fight for their rights, is shown by the almost nationwide interest being taken in registering and voting as demonstrated in the 1927 municipal elections in various parts of the country.

Beginning with the Chicago election, which stirred the whole United States, and continuing through the Los Angeles election held May 3, the Hot Springs, Arkansas election about the same time, to the Raleigh, North Carolina election the same date, Negroes have played an important part in putting over the successful candidates. In each instance the Negro citizens have used their votes to combat proposed, unjust legislations directed against them as campaign promises.

Out on the coast, colored citizens were struggling to establish their right to the use of public amusement places and the municipal parks and swimming pools. One group favored the idea of having separate parks, swimming pools and the like for colored people located in the districts most thickly populated by Negroes. The other held out promises of fair play and justice for all citizens. As Harry Levette pointed out in an article in the Los Angeles Express, the thirty-six thousand Negro voters, lined up behind the latter group, and marched to the polls Tuesday morning and cast their ballots for those in whom they had the most confidence. As in the Chicago election, the Negro's candidate won.

Race Issue in Hot Springs

Down in Hot Springs a battle was against a candidate for mayor whose record was considered unfair to colored people, and who had led the opposition to the location of a colored church. A form of segregation that did not heretofore obtain the famous health resort. While inter-racial meetings could have been held and were held, the colored citizens realized that to protect themselves and their rights it would be necessary to keep the candidates out of office who proposed such unfavorable conditions. This they did with much effect.

Raleigh Rivals Chicago

The campaign in North Carolina's state capitol rivalled that of Chicago in bitterness and in appeals to race prejudice. The candidates seeking to overthrow the administration played to the hoodlum element and held out glowing promises of complete control and power. The administration stood for justice to all citizens and an equal opportunity for all, that is, as far as such is available in the Southern States. To the administration went the Negro votes and the election.

In Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and other cities above the "line," Negroes have for years played an important part in political campaigns and elections. To hold the position of a factor which must be recognized and dealt with, in politics in the South is something new. A few Negroes perhaps have voted for many years but the scarcity of votes prevented the race from deriving any benefit from the election. The granting of suffrage to women, and the decision of the Supreme Court with reference to Democratic Primaries, have brought about a changed condition. Thousands of Negroes are struggling to qualify, even under the most strict requirements for registration and when registered are going to the polls to cast their vote.

In neither of the Southern cities mentioned did any racial trouble arise on account of the Negro voting. In many cases white men and women carried Negroes to the polls and peace and harmony obtained. This new day is welcomed by leaders and followers alike and the success in the past elections have given rise in some sections to the idea of an intensive campaign to force the "sleepy-heads" and those who say "well the election does not mean anything to me" to register and vote.

Political 1927

General

Suffrage

MACON
GA.
ISSUE OF

Playing to the Galleries

Representative Martin B. Madden's great ruffle and flourish in Washington, accompanied by a threat to have the federal government intervene in Alabama in behalf of the downtrodden and flogged Negro, is as much a play to the gallery as was the flourish of Capt. W. H. Stayton, of the Association Opposed to Prohibition earlier in the week.

The Alabama floggings have been going on for more than a year. Stories about them have been published all over the country. The percentage of Negroes flogged was smaller than the percentage of white people. The attorney general in Alabama has taken personal charge of the prosecutions and has secured 130 indictments and twelve convictions. Thirty-four men go on trial at Luverne Monday morning for a flogging that took place there this year. The greatest activity has been under way for some time to punish the floggers in Alabama. Apparently, Representative Madden has been asleep. He finds out eight months too late that somebody has been whipped and he rushes into print and into the attorney-general's office wanting something done about it.

Madden is the representative of the South Side in Chicago, that district in which hundreds of thousands of Negroes live. Perhaps some of his constituents have been saying to him that he was not active enough in behalf of their race. He has taken a sorry, cheap way to become active, the typical way of the politicians. Not only is he eight months late, but he is running true to the form of the cheap demagogue, the bloody shirt waver who wants the federal government to intervene in the South. He follows a long line of red-shirt wavers, among them Lodge and Hepburn. The Congress of the United States ought now to be free of such narrow little souls.

Stayton's gesture was no less cheap. It is not new, because it has been used from time to time and just now is being used consistently by people who ought to have sense enough to know better, among them Lippmann, the editor of the New York World. The cheapness consists, of course, in reiterating the statement that the South holds dear and precious the Eighteenth amendment, while it completely and blandly ignores the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth as if they did not exist.

Senator Glass answered Captain Stayton on that satisfactorily, when he said that the people of the South are not violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, because these two amendments have no statutes making them operative, such as the Eighteenth amendment has in the Volstead act. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments are declarative, not prohibitive. Their burden, in effect, is that neither "race, color nor previous condition or servitude" shall debar any person from citizenship.

Nobody would be so dishonest as to pretend that the South has not, in the past, tried to nullify those amendments. Not to have nullified them would have imposed upon us a government of black slaves, ignorant, beastly and totally unfitted for governing a white civilization. The efforts to nullify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, accepted by the South only at the bayonet's point, were in accord with nature's law of self preservation.

Since the danger of having a white civilization overthrown in the South has passed, Southern people have recognized that the ignorant Negro, with no obligations of citizenship, is more of a liability than an asset. They have recognized that there is, indeed, no more reason why the illiterate white man should vote than the illiterate Negro. One is as much a menace to government as the other. They have recognized that the infamous "grandfather clause," which was passed admitted to qualify as citizens white persons who could not qualify under the literacy requirement—set up to bar Negroes from voting—was as dangerous and as unjust as it could possibly be. There should be a literacy test for prospective voters, Southerners are coming to realize, but it should exempt neither black nor white. Such a literacy test is an evasion of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

As matters now stand, that literacy test is the only barrier in Georgia to a Negro voting. It is the only barrier in Alabama, Arkansas, North Carolina, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Texas and Tennessee. South Carolina and Virginia have other barriers, but Virginia only recently removed some of hers. Half a million Negroes voted in Texas in the last general election. Several thousands vote in Georgia and more would vote and could vote if they cared anything about it. Negro suffrage is exercised in considerable blocks only in the larger cities in the South where political machines exploit them and use them. In Memphis, in the governor's election between McAllister and Peay, the Commercial Appeal showed pictures of Negroes being hauled by truck loads to carry Shelby county for the Crump machine and McAllister.

The South wants the Negro to vote, but it wants him to learn how to use the ballot intelligently, even as it desires that some of the South's own white men shall come to an understanding of what the ballot is for. Wherever he has used it in the South heretofore, it has been to aid in corruption or to hand over Southern delegates to some Republican patronage dispenser.

The opponents of the Eighteenth amendment will get nowhere in justifying their flouting of the Eighteenth amendment by thumbing their noses at the South. The Telegraph did not favor the enactment of the Eighteenth amendment and it advocates modification of the Volstead act, but it h[illegible] it has sense enough to see the difference between the Eighteenth and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

NEGROES AND THE VOTE

George Fort Milton in The Forum.

Educated Negroes of good character vote in Alabama not in tens of thousands, to be sure, but enough of them have the franchise to encourage others to make themselves worthy of it. In Arkansas and North Carolina a healthy republican party exists and thousands of Negroes vote. In Georgia, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Mississippi, the Negro vote is smaller but numbers several thousand in each state.

Colored voters often hold the balance of power in special school and bond elections in Mississippi. Early in 1926 a Vicksburg mayoralty election was determined by Negro ballots. In the interesting municipality of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, which was founded by a slave of Jefferson Davis' family, there are no white people and the administration of the town is entirely in colored hands. It is certain that more Negroes could vote in Mississippi if they made the effort to do so. That several thousand do vote regularly is evidence that, when they can satisfy the statutes or the constitutional requirements, they are not kept from the polls by force.

South Carolina has a smaller Negro vote than any southern state; but in Texas some 50,000 Negroes exercise the franchise in general elections. In Tennessee no discrimination of any kind operates against Negroes and they cast their ballots with great regularity and effect. I should estimate that something over 35,000 or 40,000 Negroes vote in Tennessee, and they are always the vital elements in municipal campaigns, where, in the three largest cities—Memphis, Nashville and Chattanooga—a vicious type of boss domination depends upon the purchasable Negro vote to control municipal affairs.

JOURNAL
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
DEC 1 1927

COUNCIL BLUFFS
IOWA
DEC 23 1927

[illegible] Westchester County.

SURPRISE FROM THE SOUTH.

(Edwin Phillips in the New York Times.)

That the senate would refuse to permit the elected senators from Pennsylvania and Illinois to be seated was long foreseen, but that the southern senators would almost solidly support the resolution to bar them is astonishing.

It has been a cardinal doctrine of the south that federal encroachments on the sovereignty of the states should be resisted with all the powers of the states.

It was this fear of federal usurpation of power that caused the ratification of the constitution by the states long in doubt. It was only when the New York convention was partly assured of its sovereignty that the convention gave its consent to the ratification of the document by a majority of two votes. Massachusetts and Virginia, likewise after a long debate, gave their meager majorities. North Carolina and Rhode Island only accepted the constitution in 1889-1890.

I cannot recall in all my readings of the constitutional convention or the papers of Madison or the writings of Jefferson that they viewed the senate as a social debating society with the power to accept or reject applications for membership in its exclusive circle. That the qualifications to be passed upon by the senate [illegible] to membership in that body were the qualifications stated in the constitution is undoubted, as so great was the fear that a state might be debarred from its representation in that body that a two-thirds vote is required for the expulsion of a member from either chamber.

Is it therefore likely that the framers of the constitution—and the states—would have dreamed that a majority of votes—even one vote—should deprive a state of a representative guaranteed by the constitution.

Even in the after civil war days, when feeling against the south ran high, the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments did not command that suffrage be extended to the Negroes, but forbade the states to deny them suffrage under penalty of loss of representatives in congress.

If congress can refuse to seat a duly elected representative of a state bearing proper credentials from the constituted state authorities, it has the same power to send marshals to the polling places in the south to see that the Negro voter is protected in the casting of his vote.

Is not the south stultifying itself by the action of its senators and making a precedent which may return to plague it?

DUBLIN
GA.
ISSUE OF

CAN NEGOES VOTE?

Southern negroes do vote and it is sheer libel of the South to say that they are illegally prevented from doing so, declares George Fort Milton, well known Chattanooga editor, in an article that appears in The Forum magazine for December. Mr. Milton admits that numerically this vote may not be very important, but he insists that the principle remains unaltered, and that the "hints, innuendos, and threats come from a group of Eastern politicians and newspapers who are not at all concerned to open the polls to the negro, but are mightily concerned to defeat prohibition." He insists that the agitation with regard to the negro vote is mere camouflage for an irregular attitude toward prohibition.

Mr. Milton admits that the negro vote is small largely because voting in Southern states is hedged about with requirements which the negro can not meet, but he points out that these restrictions apply also to a fair number of Southern white men. He asserts, however, that in Alabama, Arkansas, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Tennessee the negro is already voting and he looks forward to an increase in the vote now existing in Virginia. South Carolina, he says, has a smaller negro vote than any Southern state. In Texas 50,000 negroes are voting in general elections and some 35,000 or 40,000 in Tennessee. He asserts that boss domination in the cities of Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga depends on the negro vote.

"Many Southerners like myself," writes Mr. Milton in the Forum article, "favor a greater exercise of the franchise by the negro throughout the south, believing that he would be a greater asset if he were trained for political, legal, and economic equality with the whites. But I confess freely that the voting negro in cities which have come under my observation, has hitherto served merely as a tool for debauching elections, and maintaining corrupt and unfit men in power.

But there are hopeful features in this situation. Intelligent and educated negroes show an increasing tendency to revolt against casting their ballots in bloc at the bidding of a local political machine. As negro education increases, his economic condition improves, the negro will undoubtedly show a greater tendency to pay his own poll tax, qualify under the law, make up his own mind on political issues, and cast his vote. The next generation will inevitably see a great change in the condition of negro suffrage in the South."

GLASS FLOUTS NEGRO VOTE ACT, BACKS DRY LAW

Questions Legality of 15th Amendment.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 15.—[Special.]—Two leading drys of the senate today made public their attitude on the eighteenth amendment, compared to the fourteenth and fifteenth granting the franchise to Negroes.

The senators happen to be a westerner and a southerner. Their replies agree on one point—that the eighteenth amendment should be enforced.

Concerning the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments the westerner, a Republican, is willing to have the Republican platform pledge enforcement, provided it also pledges the enforcement of the eighteenth.

Will Not Be Obeyed.

The southerner, a Democrat, dismisses the idea of coupling the three amendments as "silly." He says they were forced on the south against its will and will not be obeyed there.

The southerner is Carter Glass of Virginia. In his letter he defended himself from criticism of his alleged inconsistency in opposing the sending of federal agents to Kentucky to supervise the state election, while approving the sending of federal agents into various states to enforce prohibition laws.

"The attempt to draw an analogy between the attitude of the south on the question of Negro suffrage and the position of persons intent upon nullifying the eighteenth amendment of the federal constitutions is simply stupid," said Senator Glass. "If one were to impute literal truth to the alleged analogy, the conclusive answer would be that the south's resistance to the fifteenth amendment was intended to avert the wretched consequences of the unspeakable crime involved in the adoption of the amendment.

Adopted in Passion of War.

"The amendment was adopted in the passions of war and constituted an attempt to destroy white civilization in nearly one-third of the nation and ot erect on its ruin an Ethiopian state, ignorant, profligate, corrupt, controlled by manumitted slaves, not 1 per cent of them semi-literate, and these led by a band of white miscreants, execrated figures in the nightmare of reconstruction.

"On the other hand, resistance to the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment and the statute enacted in pursuance thereof is not designed to avert crime, but to facilitate it. In effect, it amounts to condonation. It is intended to stimulate defiance of both the constitution and the law.

"The childish endeavor to extenuate this encouragement to crime by contrasting it with the perfectly constitutional and legitimate action of the southern states in averting the blight of black supremacy will not deceive anybody with mind enough to draw distinctions; least of all, will it frighten any public man of the section thus threatened, whether he favor or disapprove the eighteenth amendment.

Under Military Terrorism.

"It is exceedingly doubtful whether the fifteenth amendment ever was constitutionally ratified. At best, it was done at the point of the bayonet under a species of military terrorism that was in itself a crime."

Furthermore, the Virgina senator contended that southern people are not nullificationists, even though confessedly opposed to the fifteenth amendment.

"Not only is there no federal statute providing for the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment which the people of any southern state 'deride, detest and spit upon,' as I once heard a United States senator passionately boast about the prohibition amendment," he said, "but there is no constitutional or statutory law in the code of a single southern state that violates the terms of the fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

"This has been put to the test again and again in actions before the Supreme court of the United States.

South Fears No Threats.

"I very cordially invite you to point to a single sentence in the constitutional or statutory law of Virginia, for example, which disfranchises a voter 'on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.' The white people of Virginia, within the limitations of the federal constitution, have complete control of their state affairs, without the least fear of disturbance by the blacks and with just as little fear of threats by Negropholist newspapers and politicians favoring the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

Political - 1927

Suffrage

Georgia.

DIXIE DISFRANCHISEMENT INVESTIGATION STOPPED

Washington, D. C., Jan. 28.—A sweeping investigation of charges that federal offices have been sold to the highest bidder in southern states was ordered Monday by the senate judiciary committee by a vote of 9 to 3.

The committee's action came as a surprise as it had been intimated it would limit the investigation to the state of Georgia.

The committee also rejected by a vote of 9 to 3 the Ernst resolution calling for an investigation of charges that members of our group have been disfranchised in southern states.

GEORGIA PRIMARY REMAINS INTACT

Cecil Neill, Author of Primary Act, Expresses Opinion State Not Affected by Decision.

Columbus, Ga., March 7.—(Special.)—That the Georgia primary law is not affected by the decision of the United States supreme court Monday overthrowing the Texas primary law because it sought to "forbid negroes to take part in a primary election," was the opinion expressed here tonight by Cecil Neill, Columbus attorney, who is author of the Georgia primary act passed by the state legislature in 1917.

"There is no mention of races in the Georgia election law nor in the Neill primary law," said Neill, "both being framed in conformity with the fifteenth amendment to the United States constitution. "The election laws contain certain restrictions for voters, such as an educational clause and property clause, but none of the restrictions refer in any way to race. These qualifications must be met before a voter can have his name placed on the voters' or registration list.

"The Neill primary law merely lays down rules under which any party may hold a primary in the state. It is a 'primary' law and not a democratic, nor a white primary law. Any party in Georgia desiring to hold a primary may do so under the act of 1917. Any voter qualifying or getting his name placed on the registration list is entitled to vote, provided he qualifies for the primary to be held.

"The Neill law does not seek to say who shall vote. There is no mention of any race in either the Georgia election law or the Neill primary law," said Neill, "and therefore I do not consider that this state is affected at all by the decision of the supreme court in the Texas case."

NOW IS THE TIME TO REGISTER

By W. J. Shaw.

During the past year much propaganda has been issued by the white press in the South and by Southern white politicians in defense of Southern election laws, as concerns the disfranchisement of Negroes in that section of the country. In their articles and addresses these writers and politicians have set up the defense that there are no laws on the statute books of Southern states that prevent Negroes from voting, or qualifying to vote, but that it is the Negro's own negligence and failure to qualify that prevents him from exercising his right of suffrage. Just recently the introduction of a resolution in the United States Senate to investigate the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South caused the discussion of Southern election laws by many Southern senators. Each one was loud in his defense of the South's election laws, and was careful to state that there was not a single law in the South to disfranchise Negroes, but that the Negro disfranchised himself by failing to avail himself of his privilege to qualify to vote.

Of course, these senators failed to present both sides of the case, and dwelt only on the technical features of the law. Many Negro leaders have consoled themselves in rebuttal by saying that the white politicians did not tell of the intimidation and molestation perpetrated upon Negroes in the South by Southern registrars; and that they did not tell of the unlawful practices of the white primaries throughout the South. It is true that in certain sections of the South Negroes are intimidated by registrars and molested at the polls and that the practices and laws of the white primary are discriminatory and unlawful, but these things do not remove the fact that in a very large measure the Negro is derelict in the performance of his most sacred civic duty, and that the masses of Negroes, not only in the South, but throughout the entire country, are criminally negligent when it comes to qualifying to register and vote. Even among the most intelligent Negroes this most sacred civic duty is one of the least of their thoughts.

For many years the Independent has appealed to Negro men and women, young and old, to pay their taxes, to register and to vote. It was just such a condition as the defense now set up by Southern politicians that the Independent foresaw and by its fervent appeal attempted to forestall. And again the Independent comes forward with its appeal to Negro men and women, both young and old, to avail themselves of their privilege to register and to vote. NOW is the TIME; and the CITY HALL and the COURTHOUSE are the PLACES. It is an easy matter for Negroes to register in Fulton County. All you have to do is pay your taxes and ask the clerks to register you. So let us lay aside whatever fears we may have of intimidation and molestation and play our parts as an important factor in the civic, economic and industrial life of this great community.

Let the lodges of our fraternal societies see to it that each member is a registered voter.

Let the ministers of the gospel impress the value of registration upon their congregations.

Let our college fraternities make registration a part of their program.

Let the college professors, who teach the theories of civil government, put into practice the theories they teach by seeing that every student who is qualified to register, is a registered voter; and let the college presidents see that this is done.

Let every teacher in the city and county avail themselves of this valuable right.

Let every civic and social organization in the City of Atlanta Negroes, not only in the South, but throughout the entire country, spread the propaganda of "REGISTER and VOTE."

Let the women in their social and religious gatherings discuss the right of suffrage and see that their members and friends are registered.

With a full registration list we have great possibilities.

At this very time a grave question concerning the operation of the public schools of Atlanta is about to be put before the people. Are we going to stand idly by, whining about somebody doing something to us? We shall never be recognized as an important factor in the community, or national life, so long as we fail to arm ourselves with the ballot. So let us place ourselves in a position that coming generations will look upon as men and women and pioneers who prepared the way for them.

NOW IS THE TIME TO REGISTER!

DEBATE ON CHARTER AT NEGRO MEETING

Pro and anti city manager charter advocates Tuesday night fired the last gun in an intensive drive before an audience of about 300 negroes at Big Bethel church. Citizens of Atlanta march to the polls this morning to decide the fate of the proposed city manager system of government in a special election.

Negroes will be qualified to vote in the charter election, and many are registered. Judge Ernest C. Kontz, general chairman of a committee fighting for preservation of the present charter, and Horace Russell, chairman of another group of Atlantans supporting the proposed new scheme of government rested their guns after delivering addresses to the negro audience, and both expressed confidence of the outcome.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. T. Walden presided.

Following the addresses the following members of the audience spoke on the charter issue: Dr. S. M. Lewis, the Rev. E. P. Johnson, E. L. Collier, A. C. Thayer.

ATLANTA, GA., Constitution

APR 28 1927

CHARTER VOTE SET FOR PRIMARY DATE

Coincident with a ruling Wednesday by City Attorney James L. Mayson that advocates of the new city manager charter of Atlanta could withdraw the petition filed several days with the city clerk and thus avoid a special election, the ordinance committee of city council voted to allow the eletion May 25, the date of the city democratic primary.

Pro charter forces at first asked that the election be placed on the primary ballot, but when council and the city democratic executive committee agreed, they took the position that the petition for a special election had been filed and that they were powerless to withdraw it without the consent of the 3,515 signors.

Another councilmanic battle was seen Wednesday following action of the ordinance committee in fixing the date of the special election simultaneous with that of the primary, when Councilman Horace Russell, champion of the new charter, offered a paper to council calling the special election May 17.

Unless the petition is withdrawn council is powerless to place the election on the primary ballot, but it can fix it on the same date and have the same polling places, members of the ordinnace committee contended inasmuch as the paper filed with the city clerk really does "not become a petition until a check shows that it was signed by at least 10 per cent of the registered voters in the election in which it was taken."

Predictions Wednesday were that Mr. Russell will fight the attempt to hold the election on the primary date when the matter is brought to council Monday for consideration. Russell and William B. Hartsfield, principal opponents of the new form of government, are on the ordinance committee, but Russell did not attend the session.

Mr. Mayson's ruling on whether the petition could be withdrawn, follows: "My opinion is that the agent or parties who file a petition initiating, for instance, the pending petition providing for a vote of the people upon a proposed charter, can be withdrawn by the parties or agent in charge of same and who filed it with the clerk of council."

Members of council pointed out that although council sets May 25 as the date of the election, a special election can not be avoided unless the petition is withdrawn. They contended further that pro-charter forces are forcing a special election to permit negroes to vote in it, and that advocates never intended that the charter proposal should be placed on the primary ballot.

The new charter was defended at a meeting Tuesday night by H. L. Greene, who declared that anti-charter speakers have attempted to show that the waterworks could be mortgaged and the title to it thus pass from the hands of the city. He denied that this could be done, saying the proposed new charter "fully protects the waterworks."

ATLANTA, GA. Constitution
JAN 7 - 1927

NEGRO FRANCHISE, PATRONAGE PROBE GETS IMPETUS

Washington, January 6.—(AP)—A senate judiciary subcommittee has tentatively agreed to recommend that the senate investigate charges of federal patronage and franchise rights of the negro, but a difference of opinion has developed whether the questions should be considered jointly or separately.

In making this announcement after a meeting of the committee today, Chairman Norris said he could not be reconciled to the view of Senator Ernst, republican, Kentucky, that the investigations be combined.

Several resolutions are before the committee dealing with the subject, one by Senator Harris, democrat, Georgia, charging the bartering of patronage in southern states.

"I am afraid," Senator Norris said, "that if investigation of both matters is undertaken by a single body there would be a tendency for republicans and democrats to agree not to bring forth too much evidences."

ATLANTA, GA. Constitution
MAY 25 1927

DEBATE ON CHARTER AT NEGRO MEETING

Pro and anti city manager charter advocates Tuesday night fired the last gun in an intensive drive before an audience of about 300 negroes at Big Bethel church. Citizens of Atlanta will march to the polls this morning to decide the fate of the proposed city manager system of government in a special election.

Negroes will be entitled to vote in the charter election, and many are registered. Judge Ernest C. Kontz, general chairman of a committee fighting for preservation of the present charter, and Horace Russell, chairman of another group of Atlantans supporting the proposed new scheme of government rested on their guns after delivering addresses to the negro audience, and both expressed confidence of the outcome.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. T. Walden presided.

Following the addresses the following members of the audience spoke on the charter issue: Dr. E. M. Lewis, the Rev. E. P. Johnson, E. L. Col[illegible] A. C. Shaver.

ORGANIZED EFFORT TO REGISTER NECESSARY

The Reverend S. D. Ross, pastor of one of the leading Baptist churches in Savannah, and one of the most brilliant young men of the Race in the pulpit today, dropped into our office a few weeks ago, and spoke of the lack of registration among our people as registered voters in the communities where they live. Dr. Ross advanced the idea that intense activity and persistent performance were necessary to arouse the people to the necessity of qualifying to vote. He was of the opinion that many of them did not know the importance of the ballot, or what it meant to them. He felt sure that if the people were advised of the relative value of functioning as citizens in their every-day life, that many of them, who now are derelict in qualifying to perform all the duties of citizenship, would qualify. He said that many of the masses, until this day, looked to the pulpit for leadership in all matters religious, and many matters secular, and that the pulpit could be a powerful factor in educating the masses up to the importance, value, and purpose of the ballot.

He thought that the first step in that direction should be a bipartisan campaign among the preachers of the Gospel to qualify themselves by registering, that they might feel free to appeal to others to follow their example. He was quite certain, that if the pulpit would interest itself enough to qualify, that the masses who attend church would catch the contagion and follow their leaders in matters secular, as they do in matters religious. He said, in Savannah, where he lived, that the preachers were campaigning among themselves to get their profession on the books as qualified voters, and that they were going to organize a campaign throughout the city to register every man and woman in Chatham county that could qualify under the law; that it was in their minds not to stop their campaign in the churches, but to push it over into the lodges, the clubs, the fraternities, the unions, and every kind of institution, whether secular, fraternal religious, political, industrial, or otherwise. The fight would be made to educate each member of these several institutions to register themselves, not as Republicans, Democrats, or what nots, but as American citizens preparing in the time of peace for war, that our group may have a voice in the choosing of the rulers and the making of the law.

Having educated all our institutions and organized movements to register their members, as a part of their duty to the state, and as a protection to themselves, the matter will be pushed into the homes, and taken up with the head of the home, with a view of seeing that the head is registered, and each member who is qualified by age and otherwise, who lives in the household.

The afflictions, economic, political and social, from which we suffer can be cured by the proper use of the ballot. The message to inspire those of our group to qualify and vote should not impress our people that it is an effort to take over the government from any other group that may possess it, but for the purpose of placing ourselves in a position where we, along side and with other groups who stand for good government, will be in a position to help them stand for, create, and promote a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, or as Mr. Coolidge would put it, a commonsense government that permits the people to work more for themselves, and less for the government, by lightening the burdens of taxation. The higher the tax, the more the people must work for the government; and the lower the tax, the more the people can work for themselves.

Many of the major reasons why we do not receive any more political recognition are, we make no effort to qualify. We take it for granted that we will not be permitted to qualify, therefore we conclude there is no need for pressing our claim, and the result is no effort is made. Many of us argue that we can neither register nor vote, who have never attempted to do either. We ought to first try the trick out for ourselves, before we reach the conclusion that we cannot turn it. It is true that we are intimidated, molested, and frightened from the polls, and maltreated by the registration officers, but that is no reason why we should not continue to make the effort, with the hope that after a while a better day will come, and a sentiment will be developed throughout the Southland that will forever expel political intolerance and political bigotry.

Let us make the effort. Let us try, and if we fail, try again. And, let us take inspiration from Dr. Ross' suggestion, and see what we can do to get ready for whatever contingency may arise by qualifying for every election to come, whether local, state, or national.

AN APPEAL TO UNREGISTERED VOTERS

How the craniul bor of some of our people can hold such inactive thinking faculties is certainly a great wonder? And if you could have heard those words coming from the lips of three young men on West Broad Street very recently and likewise the expressions of some other group of men, talking, what they saw in a business place, you would readily decide that "registering and paying poll taxes" was indeed not in the minds of a great many people.

The fact is those words do not suit the right the law gives to decent printing in newspapers, and yet you could get an idea of the three Perambulaters down our noted through fare, if you knew that the boasting air splitter on his way up, with slow straggling steps and finger gestures emphasized the amount of his conquerage of his fellows at some other dance by saying, "I surely wrecked dem niggers, you know I did" "I spent fifty dollars and not a one of them could match me. I always keep fifty dollars in my pocket," Have you ever heard of such hot air? Well we will not mention other neenen things in this day of hard times and scarcity of money, for life's necessities, but it will surely be in place to suggest that if a fellow has that much to throw away in pleasure every time he goes out to a dance, he aught at least to pay his taxes and register. It would make him a better citizen of this glorious ForestCity and help him to wash his mouth of impure words and make him look up to more elevating things. For among other things, the thoughtful tax-payer will look out for the good of the community and hold his head up above low, mean, fool things.

"Let thine eyes look right on, let thine eye lids look straight before thee ponder the path of thy feet." That is what the Good Book says at any rate, it is the best medicine for some people who turn aside from manlyness, and gentlemanly actions amid a crowded street, to show off, where he has been and what he has been doing in some out of the way hall. Brother pay your taxes, register and be prepared to cast your vote in this land and especially in this state that boasts of Liberty and Freedom, for you are a menace to the "Equal Opportunity" and Square deal that we are supposed to get. Hail, hearty, young and active, forget the thoughts that rule your mind Look up, look straight before you. Ponder the path of your feet. Old age and later years will some day

open your eyes to the great monster that surely is on the way and which Jim Crowism and disfranchisement will surely bring to a "Dont Care" "Dull Cold Thoughtless People."

Some years ago we had quite a number of people in the notion of paying up their taxes, when a certain preacher, speaking, freely told them, we wanted them to register so the government could send them to Mexico. At that time the United States was after the Mexican Bandit Listen- who hunted you up during this last war when the country was fighting Germany? The government just put the notice in the papers and Negroes from every quarters came hurrnig without another word although many could not read or write and some of those who could read never picked up a nwespaper to read such a notice.

We were part and parcel of the nation and state and the community then, on the fireing line. Now that the victory has been won, why not enjoy the benefits of "good citizenship" that come to full fledged registered voters of Chatham County.

Georgia.

Political-1927

Suffrage

Georgia Whites Exclude Negroes From Primaries

Violates Decisions of U. S. Supreme Coutr in Texas White Primary Case

NEW YORK, Dec. 28.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has received a report from the Rev. W. J. Rogers, president of the Macon, Ga., branch of the N. A. A. C. P., showing that the white Democrats of Georgia are excluding Negroes from the party primaries in direct violation of the decision handed down by the United Supreme Court in the Texas White Primary Case. In that case it was held that as the primary is a part of the election it was a violation of the terms of the 14th amendment to the Constitution to exclude American citizens from primary voting o ngrounds of race or color.

Rev. Rodgers reports that he went before the Democratic Executive Committee of Bibb County Georgia, on December 16, asking that Negroes be alowed to vote in the February primary. This request was "unanimously denied" by the committee which took upon itself to reverse the decision of the United States Supreme Court. Rule 20, of a set of rules adopted in Bibb County by the Democratic Committee provides that "all qualified white Democratic voters" shall be given opportunity to cast a primary vote.

Besides Rev. Rodgerss, R. L. Smith, attorney, and J. R. Webb represented the colored citizens. The committee sought to evade the issue by telling the Negroes that they might have a "black primary of their own" nominating Negroes for office in Georgia.

Political – 1927

Illinois.

Suffrage

THOMPSON CAMP SEES TRICK IN ROBERTSON MOVE

Fears Effort to Nullify Many Negro Votes.

BY ARTHUR EVANS.

Fred Lundin evoked screams of rage fro mthe camp of William Hale Thompson, his quondam pal and present foe, last night by starting petition shovers into Thompson's strongest areas, especialy the Negro wards, to circulate independent petitions for his protégé, Dr. John Dill Robertson, for mayor.

By the politicians it was interpreted as a move to sequester a chunk o fthe Thompson vote and render it incommunicado, so to speak, at the primaries on Washington's birthday. Doc Dill has withdrawn from the race in the primaries. The moment his petitions to put him on the ticket as an independent after the primaries were out somebody at the Sherman hotel recalled a provision in the primary law which serves to disqualify petition signers.

What Law Provides.

The law says no person shall be entitled to vote at a primary who shall have signed the nominating papers of any independent candidate for any office for which candidates are to be nominated at the primary. Shrill cries were raised by Thompson leaders, who pointed out that if the Lundin workers could manage to get 30,000 to 40,000 or more signatures it might put enough potential Thompson votes in quarantine to be quite upsetting. Ordinarily, a little thing like petition signing is ignored in most precincts, in common with many other provisions of the law. But this time, it was argued, it might be different, if the challengers are equipped with copies of the Robertson petition in order to nab signers when they appear at the polls.

Otherwise the withdrawal of Dr. Robertson from the primary contest caused little stir in politics, and the political concensus was that it affected the situation but little. The post-mortem was directed to the question of whose candidacy would benefit.

Benefit for Dever.

The managers of Edward R. Litsinger declared they wished Lundin had kept his man in the running, on the theory that he would draw more from Thompson than from Deneen-Brundage-Litsinger. State's Attorney Crowe, for the Thompson outfit, held that Lundin is simply carrying out his original plan, and that from the start Dr. Robertson has been a stalking horse. The Democrats, with some degree of unanimity, thought it would all redound to the benelt of Mayor Dever.

They held Robertson's withdrawal might aid Thompson more than Litsinger, to whom Lundin is to swing his support in the primaries, and the ardent hope of the Democrats is that Thompson will be the Republican nominee. They would rather have Dever defeat Thompson than any one else, and the politicians are quite expectant that on primary day quite a flock of Democrats will hop over the fence and vote to put Thompson on the Republican ticket. They have little in the way of a fight to keep them at home on Washington's birthday, for Mayor Dever has no opposition.

Gets Top Position.

The Democratic desire to see Thopson put up as the man for Dever to bea in the April election was manifest during the day, when the first place on the Republican primary ballot went to Thompson. Both the Thompson and Litsinger petitions were reported to have reached the city clerks desk in the same mail.

The envelope bearing Thompson's picture was picked up first and opened, getting top position. The Democratic theory is that if Thompson is named by the Republicans it will enable the Democrats to make the most of their campaign ammunition, utilizing the achievements of the Dever régime in the physical improvement of Chicago and the freedom of scandal in the city hall, in contrast with the eight years of Thompson.

There was much speculation as to how much strength Lundin can swing to Litsinger through the patronage of the west parks and Lincoln park. It is debatable how far the job holders can be controlled by Lundin.

Work for Both Men.

In recent weeks, payrollers in Lincoln park shoved two sets of petitions. In on hand were the Robertson papers, in the other hand Thompson's petition. If a customer declined to sign up for the doctor, he was invited to sign up for Bill. So the 4,000 jobs in the parks, from superintendents down to the paper spearers and snow shovelers, are far fro mbeing rated as an 100 per cent asset for any one candidate.

Statement by Judah.

Col. Noble Brandon Judah, chairman of the Deneen-Brundage committee in charge of the Litsinger campaign, offered the following analysis of the Robertson withdrawal.

"Dr. Robertson's decision to withdrawn, although a complete surprise, should be regarded as the natural reaction to the remarkable campaign conducted by Edward R. Litsinger and the Deneen-Brundage organization.

"Whatever may be said of Dr. Robertson's candidacy otherwise, there can be no doubt that he is a real Republican and he demonstrates that fact by declining to enter the primary and run the risk of dividing the respective Republican vote opposed to Thompsonism. It must be apparent to all real Republicans as it obviously is to Dr. Robertson and his managers that in Mr. Litsinger the party has a clean candidate who can properly represent Republicans after the primary."

Robertson Bid a Flop.

Throughout political circles the general interpretation of the reason for Dr. Robertson's withdrawal was that his campaign turned out a flop. Many of the politicians expressed a curiosity as to whether D rR.obertson will have any salvage on that $50,000 certified check he presented personally to his campaign management at his coming out party Nov. 3 when 2,500 business men were said to have contributed $100 each to the campaign fund.

Filings of the Day.

Petitions filed yesterday were:

DEMOCRAT:

Mayor—William H. Dever.
City treasurer—M. S. Czymczak.
City clerk—Al F. Gorman.

REPUBLICAN.

Mayor—William Hale hompson, Edward R. Litzinger, Johanna A. Gregg.
City treasurer—Charles S. Peterson
City clerk—Patrick Sheridan Smith

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

DEC 18 1927

The Week

Baker's Bunk
She Was a Lady
They Can't Win

NEWTON D. BAKER is somewhat of a personage in his own right. He was secretary of war under the late and lamented Woodrow Wilson, and had much to do with the policies imposed by his worthy chief. And this same Mr. Baker in speaking before the student body at Washington university of St. Louis, made the following statement:

In Chicago a flaming demagogue organized the ignorance of that city in the form of 300,000 or 400,000 blacks and took over the municipal government.

There is, of course, one obvious answer to that statement: If Mr. Baker ran the department of war with the exactness that characterized that statement, there is no wonder that America is still recovering from his mismanagement! **There are not 300,000 "blacks," ignorant or otherwise, in Chicago.** By no stretch of the imagination can this figure be placed over 200,000. Wherefore, Brother Baker's figure was drawn out by at least 100,000 votes.

Another point that you can't afford to overlook is that if such men as Newton Baker oppose William Hale Thompson, **there is no better reason available as to why you should support him.** It was Mr. Wilson who drove Monroe Trotter from the White House because he asked some pertinent questions about what Newton Baker was doing with your sons and husbands in camps and in France. That gentleman, now busying himself trying to pollute the mind of the American youth further on this so-called race question, is only building his own crematorium. He is just one of those busybodies who is so worried because you are getting something of a "break" under Mayor Thompson, that he finds it necessary to hurl his bricks from whatever distance he deems safe, just as he won the war from his desk in Washington while those he takes delight in maligning were at the front protecting him.

AS POLITICS HANDLES THE NEGRO VOTE.

The American Negro continues to be the victim of political exploitation. He is eager to better his lot. He listens to any promise without stopping to inquire who makes it. Nor does he learn from the experience of promises broken.

He is victimized by the unscrupulous members, not of the white race alone, but of his own race.

A colored pastor, the Rev. H. E. Stewart of Quinn chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal church, recently declared that the city administration, though in the main friendly to the Negro, had made the friendliness a cloak for a wide open town.

If that charge is true—and if it is, Chicago is not unique—it is due not only to the faithlessness of white leaders who made pledges but to the infidelity of Negro leaders who underwrote those pledges and betrayed their fellows.

The burden of the Black Belt is the greatest the Negro has to bear. Segregation is a normal and natural expedient or way of living. But segregation alone does not make the Black Belt. That is made by the officially protected inflow into the colored quarter of all the vicious elements that the white quarters will not tolerate. And the Black Belt grows up to signify all that is worst in the community, made still worse by an intermingling that is deplored by decent whites and blacks alike.

The Negro is more vividly emotional than the white. He succumbs to vicious surroundings and he responds to better environment. It would be bad if he did not seek betterments, but what he needs above all at this stage of his progress is not so much ambition or aspiration but plain common sense. He must learn to discriminate between the true and the false, to get down to earth and stop accepting promises which he knows will not be kept. He must listen to such men as the Rev. Dr. Stewart instead of charlatans whose first thought is of their own interests and their last of the welfare of the Negro. He must realize that politically he can still be sold down the river

Political—1927

Indiana.

Suffrage

VOTERS' RIGHTS UPHELD

Favorable Court Decisions Commended In a Report By Moorfield Storey To N. A. A. C. P.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., June 23. (Special)—Two decisions of the United States Supreme Court the past year were commended as evidencing protection afforded the Negro in courts of the land, by Moorfield Storey of Boston, formerly president of the American Bar Association, in a message sent to the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Storey, president of the organization, was unable to attend the conference.

'We have fresh evidence this year,' said his message, read at a mass meeting, "that the principles on which our liberty rests will be upheld by our courts. The attempt of New Orleans and the Supreme court of Louisiana to overrule the Supreme Court of the United States and maintain a segregation ordinance was a pitiful failure when its advocates came before the court.

"The attempt of Texas to exclude colored Democrats from Democratic caucuses failed as soon as it came to the bar of the Supreme Court and the door was opened, so that colored voters can take part in the government under which they live, and now it is for them to use their power.

"Voters count. People who cannot or do not vote do not count in making the laws under which we live, and it is encouraging to see that some of the political contestants in the South are beginning to realize that the colored vote is a force which can be used and which is large enough to carry many elections. Sooner or later there will be white men as anxious to bring out and use the colored vote as they have been to supress it."

Mr. Storey criticized the Government for sending fleets and soldiers to protect Americans abroad while not safeguarding American Negroes in all their right of citizenship at home. He continued:

"Be of good cheer, my friends, stand together, fight on in the courts and in public meetings. Look back on what we have won since 1865, and look forward with fresh courage to the future with assured faith that victory awaits us."

Political – 1927

Kentucky

Suffrage

Kentucky Negroes Complain Denial Of Voting Right

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—(AP)—Investigation into complaints that negroes are not allowed to participate in elections in Kentucky is under consideration by the department of justice.

Formal complaint today was laid before department officials by Charles G. Middleton, chairman of the Louisville republican city and county executive committee, and William M. Bullitt, of Louisville, who was solicitor general in the Taft administration.

They told the officials that negroes are being intimidated and kept away from the polls by democrats, and that such conditions particularly prevailed in Louisville.

Justice department officials took their complaint under advisement but declined to say what step was contemplated. If the department decides to intervene and follows the usual course, United States marshals would be ordered to investigation.

41,644 VOTES ASKED PURGED IN LOUISVILLE

Louisville, September 26.—(AP)—The names of 41,644 persons who have no right to vote in the precincts in which they are registered are on the registration books of the city, according to purgation lists filed by the democratic city and county executive committee.

The democratic lists filed with the Jefferson county election commission, contains the names and addresses of 18,182 negro republicans, 8,957 white republicans, 11,331 democrats and 3,171 independents, the largest number ever petitioned by any party for removal from the records.

Although the law provides that all names sought to be purged from the records must be filed with the commission by midnight, September 25, Harris Coleman, republican attorney who has charge of the list for that party, had not filed this morning. The democratic lists were filed Sunday.

John J. Davis, chairman of the democratic committee, said no action was contemplated until the purgation officers of both parties meet.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Courier

SEP 9 1927

The publication of communications under this head does not imply editorial approval. The best insurance of consideration is briefness. The Courier-Journal reserves the right to condense submitted articles.

A COLORED VOTER TO COLORED VOTERS.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

The time has come for colored voters of Louisville to exercise independent thought. There will always be a number of voters, white, as well as colored, who do not use their intelligence. It is difficult, if not impossible, to get before them ideas other than their own hazy and unfounded preconceptions. There are, however, a great number of intelligent, thoughtful people who really desire to think out the question of political support upon bases of actual facts and policies.

Why should colored voters adhere to any particular political party? The mere fact that a citizen is colored surely does not carry with it the necessity of any particular political party affiliation?

Every colored voter should try to discover what the party has done for his people in the way of opportunity, a square deal and fair play, as well as its general programme and policies. The fact that a party has winked at his cheap dives and overlooked his lawbreakers is scarcely sufficient reason for his support.

Holding a menial job or two as recognition for the political support of thousands will not recommend a party to thoughtful people. And a party which exploits our underworld for the purpose of getting a certain number of votes ought to be treated with contempt.

There is an ancient proverb which goes: "Beware of those who call themselves your friends, and yet consort with your avowed enemies." Surely no colored voter can uphold a party which hob-nobs with an organization anti-Negro in its fundamental policies. And surely no self-respecting colored citizen can vote for an administration on whose police force were high members of a society which busies itself spreading anti-Negro propaganda and race hatred. No person or party is a real friend who capitalizes our extremities for his or their own benefit.

No party which avowedly states that it does not care for the self-respecting, intelligent, industrious Negro voter is worthy our support. Think it over. It boils itself down to a question of common sense and self-respect. A party, as well as an individual, is known by the company it keeps. Find the colored leaders of a party and you will discover the nature of that party's interest in colored people.

Some colored voters are kept loyal by a slap on the back, a cheap cigar around election time, a few dollars for political speech, and the like. But there are thousands of colored people who resent the implication of ignorance and childishness which such treatment conveys. It is useless for a party to give me a cheap cigar and then arbitrarily pass an order of questionable legality, prohibiting my enjoyment of public recreational facilities. It is useless for a party to slap me on the back and then give me a cheap menial job in contemptuous obscurity. Some colored folk seem to like this; but there are thousands of Negroes in this city who will not be treated like morons with impunity.

There are thousands of colored voters who are able to recognize cheap and shoddy propaganda on the part of those who claim their political allegiance because of an historical period over sixty years ago. That was a great economic and political adjustment of national significance; it cannot be used as an argument or a precedent today, because of the complete difference of all the things which go to make up the present political situation, especially in Kentucky and in Louisville.

Did it ever occur to those who assume the attitude of blind loyalty to a party that it is possible that their colored leaders are using them for purely selfish ends? Whenever you hear a colored politician point with pride to a long-past event of United States history; whenever he begins to tell of the "good times" under his party and the "hard times" under another party; whenever you hear him speak of "our friends who freed us from the galling shackles of the most heinous serfdom the world has ever seen;" whenever you hear him speak unctuously of "the party of Douglas and Lincoln"—then it is time for you to become suspicious of his sincerity or else his intelligence. Such things have actually no application in the present complex of inter-racial political relations.

Just what has a party done for us? What is it doing for us? What is its positive attitude with regard to the citizenship rights and privileges of colored Americans? What has it said in public? What does it offer us as citizens and taxpayers? We have been clamoring for certain things for many years. Have we got them or any of them? Has the party, which has claimed and possessed our solid suffrage for over two generations, acted toward you as though it respected your loyalty, or has it not rather taken it for granted, and kicked you around like a good, tough football? A big white politician of the party for which the colored voters have voted en masse for over fifty years is quoted as saying in all earnestness: "Give me the colored preachers and crap-shooters, and I do not care what you do with the intelligent, industrious Negroes." Will any self-respecting colored citizen swallow such an insult to our decency and common sense as that?

The colored people of Louisville have made great progress in many things. We are pressing forward in financial and commercial and industrial affairs. We have splendid homes, first-class banks, growing commercial establishments, progressive industries. We have excellent church buildings. We are acquiring education and self-respect by leaps and bounds. And, greatest of all, we are advancing mightily in the realm of character and personal integrity.

With this splendid foundation, we must awake politically. We must use our best thought, our best judgment, our common sense. We must cease to be the political play boy of a great political machine, and we must let it be known, by voice and action, that we will no longer tolerate being exploited by a party which loudly acclaims friendship for us during a campaign, and, after counting our solid vote for itself, relegates us to the backwash of good-natured tolerance and contemptible mediocrity.

A COLORED INDEPENDENT.
Louisville.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Courier

SEP 10 1927

ADVICE TO COLORED VOTERS.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

I doubt if there has ever been a more concise and interesting picture drawn by any writer pointing the way for the colored citizen who casts his vote without the proper thought for the future welfare of national, State and city governments, than appeared in Point of View Column Friday, September 9. "Colored Independent" is not only interesting but convincing in every detail. His judgment is rare, his argument sound and his plan all that can be desired by those who should think deeply of good results rather than mere party victory.

The colored people have voted blindly too long. They are capable of reasoning out the better plan, were they left alone during political campaigns. But not so, the party claiming them as its chattel does not want them to think. The Negro as a race has been following one party for fifty years without recompense save a "slap on the back" at election time. The time is here for the colored citizen who wants to be guided by reason to think deeply. Get "Independent's" article and read it carefully and thoughtfully. You will find it in Friday's Courier-Journal, September 9. CITIZEN.
Louisville.

LOUISVILLE'S 1925 VOTE HELD INVALID

State Court Upholds Democrats' Charges and Unseats 58 Republican Officials

GOVERNOR TO FILL POSTS

"Inner Circle of Practical Men" Blamed for Corruption

FRANKFORT, Ky., June 14 (A. P.)—An "inner circle of practical men" in the Republican organization of forty-nine city and nine Jefferson County elective officials [illegible] undetermined number of appointees their jobs.

The Court of Appeals, in an opinion today in the Democratic election contest, ruled that "no election" had been held in Louisville and Jefferson County in November, 1925. Fraud and conspiracy, the Court held, made the proceedings invalid.

The Court also attacked the practice of expending large sums of money in elections and said the use of paid workers at voting precincts should not be countenanced by any political party.

The mandate of the Court ousting the officers will be issued June 24 without prejudice to the filing of a petition for a rehearing within thirty days.

Successors to the ousted Republican officials will be appointed by Gov. W. J. Fields, a Democrat. If he follows a precedent he established two years ago, when the Republican Councilmen and Aldermen were ousted by the Court of Appeals, he will appoint the Democratic candidates in the 1925 election. These officials, headed by Joseph T. O'Neal as Mayor, will serve until their successors are elected in a special election in November.

No election was held, the Court said in its opinion, because of evidence of hiring and paying impostors to cast illegal votes, acts of violation and intimidation, and the carrying out in part at least of a scheme "concerted by an inner circle of 'practical' men in the Republican organization to get into the ballot boxes a sufficient number of false Republican ballots to insure the seating of the Republican candidates no matter what might be the result of the ballots lawfully cast."

The Court reviewed at length the evidence of 1,683 witnesses. Condemning the practice of spending large sums of money, the evidence showed the Republicans spent $140,000 and the Democrats $50,000, the opinion said that "it is a sad commentary on present day politics that candidates and political

parties must pay for almost every character of service rendered in elections.

Acts of Violence Cited In Review of Election

Special Despatch to The World

LOUISVILLE, Ky., June 14.—Outstanding acts of violence and corruption in the 1925 election in Louisville and Jefferson County was laid at the door of Republicans by the Court of Appeals in the part of its decision, which declared bribery was employed by wholesale.

Members of a Negro Democratic Club were driven away from precincts where they had been assigned as workers through actual violence or threatened violence. In one precinct a Negro Democratic election officer was threatened and later called outside of the polling place, assaulted and knocked down, shot at and otherwise mistreated, the Court found.

Another was struck from behind, knocked down and his Democratic badge taken from him. Another was assaulted on the way from the polls to his dinner. In another precinct a white Democratic worker was knocked down. In some of the precincts the shooting of pistols occurred.

There was so much evidence of illegal voting that the Court was unable to determine the legal from the illegal votes.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Courier

OCT 12 1927

6,000 Negroes Off Books, Is Estimate

That Number Found to Be Illegally Registered, Democrats Report.

Names of 6,000 Republican Negroes were removed from the registration books of the fifty-eight entirely Negro precincts of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Wards by purgation officers, it was estimated at Democratic city headquarters Tuesday.

The estimate was based on reports from twenty scattered precincts which showed an aggregate cancellation of 2,012 names, or more than 100 to a precinct.

Clerks at headquarters expect it to take another week to complete their work, which will include tabulation of the names on the registration books prior to purgation, the number purged, and the number eligible to vote in the November election.

One of the revelations of the check of purgation lists was that the Republicans challenged the Rt. Rev. John A. Floersh, Bishop of Louisville. The name was listed "John A. Florest," 1118 South Third Street, the address from which the Catholic Bishop registered in 1924 and at which he has since lived.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Journal

OCT 5 1927

The Point of View

The publication of communications under this head does not imply editorial approval. The best insurance of consideration is briefness. The Courier-Journal reserves the right to condense submitted articles.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE COLORED VOTERS.

There was never a time since the enfranchisement of the colored people when it was more necessary for them to wake up and do a little thinking for themselves than at the present time.

We are confronted by a situation which means in its final analysis a reinstatement of the repudiated gang in the governmental affairs of our city. This same bunch has been ousted by the highest court of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, because of a corrupt and fraudulent election; now they are making another appeal to the colored people of Louisville to put them back in office, without whose vote they would not have a ghost of a chance to win an election.

There is an undesirable class of our racial group who are working day and night under the leadership of this same discredited crowd because they know that should they get control of the government of our city they would be allowed to run riot, degrade and debauch themselves through privileged favors, as their only reward for their support.

These unscrupulous politicians have waxed fat on the stupidity and ignorance of the colored people, who are their only political asset, and have no further use for them other than to use them as tools in order to keep themselves in office.

I submit that there are members of my group who have ambition and aspirations to occupy positions of honor and responsibility in the affairs of our government as much so as any other group; to be otherwise would be unnatural. All fair-minded citizens concede and commend such ambition. They do not belong to the bootlegging, crap-shooting, pistol-toting class, but are a taxpaying, self-respecting, home-loving element whom the leadership of the present Republican party disdains and relegates to the rear, foisting over them the vicious and criminal element of the race.

There are some of my group who are inclined to believe that in the event of a Democratic victory in November, they will have a repetition of the days of 1905. While I hold no brief for the Democratic party, yet I have implicit faith and confidence in its present leadership, such men as the O'Neal brothers, Allen Dodd, John J. Davis, R. R. Williams and other men of their type, who will never stand for any rough stuff pulled off on election day by hoodlums, white or black.

The Democratic party is a party of performance rather than a party of promises. They are making no promises to our group for support, but leave every one free to exercise his own suffrage without promises or intimidation.

Every good law-abiding citizen will commend their attitude in this respect.

The colored people have been fed on unfulfilled promises for more than half a century. Personally I would desire to see the best element of my group join hands with the best element of all other groups of our citizenry and help to win this election for decency and clean government. In this desire I am not influenced by any sinister motive; I do not hold any city job; I have not received and do not expect to receive a single penny for writing this letter to you. I am saying this out of the fullness of my heart for it is my sincere conviction.

While the Democrats are making no promises and offer no special inducements for the colored vote, they will be glad to get their support.

The party is going to win because it deserves to win. It will be glad to win by the help of the colored vote, if not it is going to win in spite of it.

I believe that the best thinking citizens of Louisville are going to unite and carry this election, I cannot imagine that they will sit supinely by and allow their proud city to be governed and ruled by a gang of thieves and criminals. Life and property would no longer be safe here if such a condition obtained.

The colored race should be like all other races when it comes to election—they should divide their vote, make friends in both parties and not be political slaves to any one party.

If we would stop and think a moment it would not be necessary for any great amount of persuasion on the part of anyone for us to determine how to cast our vote in the November election.

The Republican party (the party of promises) has only recognized a few members of our race in a small way in appointments to jobs, and what few appointments were made by them were made under pressure brought to bear by the Lincoln Independent Party of 1921.

The Democratic party (the party of performance) has practically filled every place with colored appointees within sixty days that it took ten years for the Republicans to fill.

Any race of people who are so densely ignorant as not to see and appreciate the vast difference between the two parties doesn't deserve the right to vote.

I have great confidence in the intelligence of some of my people. I believe that they are capable of knowing what is to their best interest and will cast their vote for the "Party of Performances" rather than for the "Party of Promises."

We are going to win this election by the largest majority ever given to the Democratic party in its history.

"Better get on board, little chillun."

COLORED DEMOCRAT.

Louisville.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Journal

OCT 18 1927

TO COLORED VOTERS.

Special to The Courier-Journal.

The November election is fast approaching, when the voters of Louisville will be called upon to decide the very important issue of our local campaign as to whether or not we are going to be governed in the future by a clean administration or a dirty one, backed by one of the most notorious political machines ever hatched out of American politics, second only to Tammany Hall of New York. A tenure of another ten years would enable it to rival Tammany for supremacy.

I noticed some of the minions of the Republican party in some of their political harangues before colored audiences said there is no such thing as a good Negro Democrat; that an honest Negro was born a Republican and would die one. This backwoods speaker voiced the sentiment of a large number of his party, who seem to be obsessed with that same opinion, and the sooner they get that false notion out of their heads the better for them and all concerned.

They give the colored people no credit whatever for being intelligent. They are going from one Negro church to another making appeals for their support that hark back to the Reconstruction days of carpet bag rule.

They seem not to know that the time for such political bosh has passed. Consciously or unconsciously they invariably proceed on the presumption that they own the colored people politically, soul and body; hence with unctuous complacency they proceed to count their votes before they are cast. They are awfully surprised when they hear of some of "you folks" having sense enough to vote other than the Republican ticket.

Candidly I believe the Republican party has had its day in court so far as the colored people are concerned. It has had sufficient time in which to demonstrate its sincere interest by way of substantial recognition of "you folks" beyond that of exploiting them and using them in promoting its own selfish interest.

It is inconceivable how any decent, home-loving and patriotic citizen, white or colored, can afford to turn down a ticket composed of such high-class, reputable candidates that make up the Democratic ticket, for a ticket that is composed of men who have been repudiated and ousted by the court of last resort in the Commonwealth of Kentucky for stealing the election for the second time within the last three years.

I do not mean to say that there are not some honest men on the Republican ticket, but everybody in Louisville knows that it matters not who composes the Republican ticket, it will be controlled and bossed by the inner circle of practical men in the Republican organization, it matters not whether they were angels or devils.

No one can say truthfully that the three previous Republican Mayors of Louisville were not fairly good men, but their hands were tied. They could not do what their conscience admonished them to do. As an evidence of the truthfulness of my statement let us take one concrete case as it affects our group, one that is in the memory of many who read these lines.

Within the last ten years a committee composed of decent and upstanding colored citizens repeatedly called on each of the three Republican Mayors, respectively, and laid their complaint and protest against the immoral and degrading conditions surrounding the colored people in certain sections of our city. Every time this committee was promised by their Honors that they would look into the matter and see what could be done to change the conditions complained of, and that was the last of it.

A similar committee visited the present Mayor and made the same complaint before him. He promised then that conditions would be changed for the better if he had to go himself and personally direct the work. It was not necessary for him to do it personally. Fortunately for him, he had a man with a backbone and a sufficient amount of grit in his craw, in the person of his Chief of Police, who did in less than thirty days in bettering conditions what his predecessors could not or did not do in ten years.

The section mostly complained of was from Sixth to Fourteenth Streets on Walnut, bounded by Jefferson on the north and Broadway on the south, where conditions were deplorable. The above section looks now like a paradise to what it did four months ago Decent people can walk up and down Walnut Street now without fear of being insulted or solicited by lewd women and professional pimps and hoodlums.

If there is any man, white or colored, who is so completely blind as not to see and appreciate the differernce between promises, he is either an extreme partisan or a hopeless ignoramus.

Don't kid yourself in the belief that the job of cleaning up Louisville is complete. Nay, verily, it could not be reasonably expected that the dirt and filth of ten years accumulation could be cleaned up in ninety days. The good work now being done will continue after November 8 by the same political party that has the job in hand at the present time. Don't think for a moment that the infamous Republican machine is out of commission, it is simply being thoroughly overhauled and well-oiled and made ready to do its hellish work at a moment's notice. It will never be destroyed as long as the Siamese Twins, Matt and Ches, are allowed to run at large. They both must be hamstrung, for they are the Alpha and Omega of the infernal device that has damned Louisville within the last ten years. You must first "bind the strong man before you can spoil his house." I would want no stronger evidence of their unfitness to govern the political destinies of Louisville than the fact that they seem lost to all sense of honor and shame, when they came back to the same simple "you folks" whom they victimized and influenced to commit the dastardly deed of near treason in the election of 1925, some of whom may yet spend time behind the prison walls at Frankfort, in which event I sincerely hope and trust that the even hand of justice will see to it that they be accompanied with those unscrupulous white politicians who abetted and conspired in the perpetration of the criminal deed.

The leaders of the Republican party are consummate hypocrites, and are as devoid of conscience as a lobster; and have a face as hard as the walls of the City Hall.

COLORED DEMOCRAT.

Louisville.

Political-1927

Maryland.

Suffrage

Supreme Court Upholds Primary Vote for Negroes

(From The Locomotive Engineers Journal)

"One of the greatest victories the Negro has had in his battle for civil rights since the Civil War." That is the opinion of James Weldon Johnson, Negro leader, on the recent Supreme Court decision voiding the Texas law prohibiting the participation of Negroes in the Democratic party primary in that State. The test case was brought by Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, who attempted to vote in the last Democratic primary and was refused a ballot. Moorfield Storey, distinguished white lawyer and President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the court that 370,000 Negro voters in Texas had been disfranchised by this law since a Democratic nomination is equivalent in Texas to election to any public office.

The Supreme Court found that this "White Primary" law was in violation of the 14th Amendment to the federal constitution, which forbids the States to enact any law to abridge the rights of citizens on account of race or color. "The statute of Texas," the decision reads, 'in the teeth of the prohibitions referred to assumed to forbid Negroes to take part in a primary election the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone. States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in his case."

One important sidelight of the Supreme Court decision is the way it strengthens the claim made by Senator Borah in connection with the Senate's investigation of primary election frauds, that primaries are an integral part of elections, and hence are subject to federal control where federal offices are among those to be filled by the election. Senator Borah's immediate comment when he heard the decision was: "Today's opinion indicates that the federal government has some authority over State primary elections." Recent primary scandals have lent force to the demands for federal intervention where States discriminate against any group of voters or where they tolerate the naked corruption which ran riot in some of last year's primaries.

DR. H. E. YOUNG APPOINTED ON JAIL BOARD

Mayor Broening Names Local Pharmacist And Council Confirms

OTHER PLUMS ARE EXPECTED TO FALL

Wallis T. Lansey Slated For Place On Board Of Charities

One of the expected plums of the Broening administration fell this week when the name of Dr. Howard E. Young, local pharmacist, was sent by the Mayor to the City Council and confirmed by that body Monday night.

Dr. Young, whom the records of the board shows to be the first appointment to the jail body, had the endorsement of both Councilman Warner T. McGuinn and Walter S. Emerson and will succeed John J. Radford, white. He is a native Baltimorean and has been conducting a drug business here for 28 years, approval of practically every political leader in the city.

"Bob" Young For It

Some time ago, Robert L. Young, the brother of the appointee, announced as a candidate for the place and to some the appointment of Dr. Young came as a surprise. It has been known, however, for several weeks, that leaders had agreed upon his unanimous endorsement.

Besides being well known in business circles, Dr. Young, who is a graduate of Howard University, is closely allied with church work, being a trustee and treasurer of Sharp Street M. E. Church. Mrs. Howard E. Young, his wife is a leading club woman and church worker and is also interested in politics.

Other Plums To Fall

Other appointments expected to be made soon include a member of the Board of Charities. Wallace T. Lansey is said to be slated for this post. The Mayor still has an open mind for the appointment of a member of the school board, and it was learned from authoritative sources that a place would be made for a man in the office of the City Solicitor some time in January. James Briscoe is said to be the probable choice.

Political - 1927.

Massachusetts.

Suffrage

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Union

APR 26 1927

RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO

Guarantees Omitted by Politicians, Mr. Palmer Writes.

To the Editor of The Union.

Sir: In America it seems to be no crime to deprive a Negro of his suffrage; but it is a crime for a Negro or a white man to be found with good whisky on his person. We are spending millions to enforce a prohibition law that is unjust, and not one dollar to enforce the rights of the Negro to vote and hold office. American pulpits rant about prohibition, but are afraid to demand that a Negro have the rights the Constitution gives him—rights that the weak-kneed and time-serving political leaders withhold.

The Attorney General of the United States is supposed to be the party to initiate action when a law is broken or not enforced. The office has become a political one, to terrify the innocent and the weak and to oppose the foes of the party in power. That cabinet officer winks at the violation of national laws.

WILLIAM K. PALMER.

Chicopee, April 25, 1927.

Political- 1927

Suffrage

Michigan.

DETROIT, MICH.
Saturday Night
DEC 31 1927

Negroes Seeking Political Power

Federation Is Organized and Proof Black Men Can Stick Together Is Afforded by 33,992 Votes Cast for George H. Green for Councilman

By H. O. Weitschat

(This is the fifth of a series of articles on Detroit's Negro problem. The sixth will be published next week.)

GEORGE H. Green, Negro undertaker—or mortician, if you'll have it that way—polled 33,992 votes as a candidate for councilman in the election last November. He ran eighteenth, which is as low as a person can run, so long as the number of nominees continues to be limited to 18.

In the public press, and in most discussions of public affairs, the position of Green in the councilmanic returns seems to have merited scant attention.

In the limited number of heads which profess to see something going on in Detroit's black colonies, the showing of the colored undertaker is an item of importance. It has proven, for the first itme in local history, that the black folks can stick together at the polls; that they can be persuaded to vote for their own interests, instead of being misled by honeyed words of white politicians who have no further interest in them, once they have garnered their votes.

Having proven to the satisfaction of everyone interested in politics that they have something like 35,000 votes that can be counted on, the leaders of the colored colonies are approaching the time when they will take a flat-footed position and ask the powers seeking their help:

"What will the colored people get in return?"

True, they have asked that in every election for years. They have received plenty of sugared answers. But they did not ask with the voice of authority. They were split into many groups, each looking out for itself. Today, they speak through an executive committee representing a federation of 20 colored community organizations.

It doesn't take a shark in the political game to know that 35,000 votes amount to something more than a pinch of snuff. The men who have much to do with the awakening of our colored citizens know that they have something to offer which is worth a fair return. They aim to get it.

"Now, I suppose the first thing you'll think of is that the colored people want to get a lot of political jobs for themselves," said Dr. James W. Ames, one of the originators of the Allied Political League, the name of the colored voters' federation. "That isn't the idea. A job may help one man, his family, and his friends. It might help the race to the extent of proving that a Negro can perform certain work as efficiently as a white man. But it has no big, far-reaching influence of benefit to the colored people as a whole.

"What we should like to have is a hand in the government. There is no reason why the 80,000 or more colored people of the city should not be represented on the boards and commissions that help direct the affairs of the municipality. We would like to demonstrate that we have among us men of ability who have at heart, not only the welfare of their own special group, but of the whole city.

"WE need men like this as our spokesmen in high places. They can be depended upon to break down any prejudice that may exist. They can be expected to interpret the feelings of their colored brethren in a way that will meet with understanding. The races are not getting any closer together politically, so long as the white men in power continue to think they fulfill their obligations to their colored supporters by giving them the privilege of going to work with a pick or shovel in the department of public works.

"It is true that the Negro vote is not strong enough in itself to elect a Negro to office. But it may easily be a balance of power. So long as our forces remain united, I think we shall continue to progress.

"Give some of the able men of our race a chance to serve the community, and I think a great many people will form a new idea about the place that may be occupied by colored persons in civic affairs. It is my firm belief that ability, decent conduct, and personal integrity are regarded highly, regardless of color. I served 16 years as diagnostician in the department of health. In all those years, I do not recall a single rebuff administered by a white person. The regard in which the Negro is commonly held will rise to new heights, once he has shown the people that he has ability, plus the desire to serve the community—not any one part of it, but all of it. So you see, it isn't the jobs we want. It's a chance to become a real part of the city in which we live."

That is the real news behind the casting of 33,992 votes for the Negro mortician, George H. Green.

How well the leaders of the colored colonies carry out their plans, as outlined by Dr. Ames, depends on their ability to resist internal dissension. They appeared to be solid at the last election. Whether the various factions can hold together long enough to bring about some of the changes they desire is a matter of conjecture.

The unusual twist about the history of the Negro in the politics of Detroit concerns the fall he took about the time the white folks decided to get rid of the convention system, replacing it with the direct primary

Conventions were run by corrupt bosses, for their own personal gain, and with no thought of the rights of small minorities, we were led to believe.

Older Detroit Negroes of the higher class look back wistfully to the days of the county conventions. It was then that they had representation. They lost it with the coming of the primary, and the movement which came to a head in the concerted balloting for Green is the first big step that they have taken to regain it.

Early in the 90's, when Detroit had something like 5,000 Negroes, the republican leaders decided that the black folks should have a plum or two from the political tree. They nominated D. Augustus Straker for circuit court commissioner. Having been nominated by the republican convention, the white republican voters asked no more questions about D. Augustus Straker. They elected him and re-elected him for two more terms. They sent to the legislature at different times, William W. Ferguson, Joseph Dickinson, and Dr. Ames. Pingree appointed a Negro to the old park board.

There arose among the colored voters certain leaders of their own race, usually men of ability. These leaders were accepted as participants in the councils of the party. They were delegates to the conventions. They were consulted by big men.

Along came the direct primaries, and the colored voters split up into many different bunches, following the man whose line of bunk they liked best.

Candidates whose only previous dealing with a black was in a hotel dining room or a shoe shining stand marched to the Negro meetings and proclaimed their adherence to the principles of equality. They waved the flag and told of their love for the Great Emancipator. After election, all was silence.

CERTAIN cliques of shrewd colored fellows retaliated, in their small way.

They concluded that all this clamoring for the black vote must have some genuine desire behind it. They went to the white candidates and promised to deliver the black vote, or a good part of it, for a consideration.

"'Taint that I want the money for myself," ran the song of the dusky political slicker. "But you got to keep the boys feelin' good. Smoker, or somethin' o' that nature."

So $25 was spent here, and $100 there. The sums flowing out of the pockets of white candidates into the waiting hands of these self-appointed "leaders" of the race will never be known. They are much larger than many candidates for office dare confess.

Sad to relate, a certain type of Negro preacher took the forefront in this form of panhandling. He was of the self-ordained type; one of the kind that goes in for religion because it does not entail much physical exertion. These reverend gentlemen canvassed all the campaign headquarters with remarkable thoroughness. Follow them, and you would find that they would walk out of the office of one candidate, directly into the office of a rival. They were non-partisan, and treated all alike. Their operations at length became so monotonously regular, that only the greenest of campaigners would pay heed to them.

Such was the low estate of the Negro in the politics of Detroit. Soft-soaped with promises that meant nothing; represented, without his consent, in his dealings with white candidates by a group of grafting mountebanks. A change was inevitable.

The colored folks themselves began looking about for a way to make their votes count. Their leaders were quick to put a finger on their weakness. They had no one outstanding figure of their race, around whom they could rally. The personalities of their strong men had been lost in the shuffle, when the new black residents came swarming in from the southland by the thousands.

There was no one white man to whom they would attach themselves as a means of getting what they would call a fair break.

They were tired of listening to sweet pre-election words, and being ignored afterward.

They took a leaf from the hand-book of the modern white man in politics, business, or almost any other activity. They concentrated on organization.

As has been stated, the Negro population of Detroit is split up into scattered colonies. They organized by colonies, or communities. Churches, women's organizations, lodges, and clubs took part in the work.

Each community club named delegates to serve on an executive committee. These committeemen passed on candidates. Then they went back to their organizations and advised their people what to do on election day.

The federation thus formed claims to have delivered the punch that put more than one candidate into office.

THERE is a feeling in many quarters that the ballot in the hands of the Negro will be used as an effective instrument with which he will maneuver himself into a more advantageous position.

The more enlightened leaders of the race in Detroit are frank advocates of the spoils system, though they seek no spoils out of the public treasury. Rather, they seek places of honor that will extend the sphere of influence of the black man, giving him a chance to "do his stuff" before all of the people.

And their hope is that he will do it so well, when he gets this chance, that he will be looked on, not as a lonely defender of a downtrodden minority, but as a capable sort of public servant who is helping his own group by helping the townspeople in general.

The far-seeing ones among the hopefuls, venturing a glance into a future beyond the span of their lives, see the possibility of a black-skinned public official, so useful that he will command the support of whites and blacks alike.

Political - 1927
Suffrage
DETROIT, MICH.
Sunday Night
DEC 31 1927
Mich, gan.

Negroes Seeking Political Power

Federation Is Organized and Proof Black Men Can Stick Together Is Afforded by 33,992 Votes Cast for George H. Green for Councilman

By H. O. Weitschat

(This is the fifth of a series of articles on Detroit's Negro problem. The sixth will be published next week.)

GEORGE H. Green, Negro undertaker—or mortician, if you'll have it that way—polled 33,992 votes as a candidate for councilman in the election last November. He ran eighteenth, which is as low as a person can run, so long as the number of nominees continues to be limited to 18.

In the public press, and in most discussions of public affairs, the position of Green in the councilmanic returns seems to have merited scant attention.

In the limited number of heads which profess to see something going on in Detroit's black colonies, the showing of the colored undertaker is an item of importance. It has proven, for the first time in local history, that the black folks can stick together at the polls; that they can be persuaded to vote for their own interests, instead of being misled by honeyed words of white politicians who have no further interest in them, once they have garnered their votes.

Having proven to the satisfaction of everyone interested in politics that they have something like 35,000 votes that can be counted on, the leaders of the colored colonies are approaching the time when they will take a flat-footed position and ask the powers seeking their help:

"What will the colored people get in return?"

They have received plenty of sugared answers. True, they have asked that in every election for years. But they did not ask with the voice of authority. They were split into many groups, each looking out for itself. Today, they speak through an executive committee representing a federation of 20 colored community organizations.

It doesn't take a shark in the political game to know that 35,000 votes amount to something more than a pinch of snuff. The men who have much to do with the awakening of our colored citizens know that they have something to offer which is worth a fair return. They aim to get it.

"Now, I suppose the first thing you'll think of is that the colored people want to get a lot of political jobs for themselves," said Dr. James W. Ames, one of the originators of the Allied Political League, the name of the colored voters' federation. "That isn't the idea. A job may help one man, his family, and his friends. It might help the race to the extent of proving that a Negro can perform certain work as efficiently as a white man. But it has no big, far-reaching influence of benefit to the colored people as a whole.

"What we should like to have is a hand in the government. There is no reason why the 80,000 or more colored people of the city should not be represented on the boards and commissions that help direct the affairs of the municipality. We would like to demonstrate that we have among us men of ability who have at heart, not only the welfare of their own special group, but of the whole city.

"It is true that the Negro vote is not strong enough in itself to elect a Negro to office. But it may easily be a balance of power. So long as our forces remain united, I think we shall continue to progress.

"Give some of the able men of our race a chance to serve the community, and I think a great many people will form a new idea about the place that may be occupied by colored persons in civic affairs. It is my firm belief that ability, decent conduct, and personal integrity are regarded highly, regardless of color. I served 16 years as diagnostician in the department of health. In all those years, I do not recall a single rebuff administered by a white person. The regard in which the Negro is commonly held will rise to new heights, once he has shown the people that he has ability, plus the desire to serve the community—not any one part of it, but all of it. So you see, it isn't the jobs we want. It's a chance to become a real part of the city in which we live."

That is the real news behind the casting of 33,992 votes for the Negro mortician, George H. Green.

How well the leaders of the colored colonies carry out their plans, as outlined by Dr. Ames, depends on their ability to resist internal dissension. They appeared to be solid at the last election. Whether the various factions can hold together long enough to bring about some of the changes they desire is a matter of conjecture.

The unusual twist about the history of the Negro in the politics of Detroit concerns the fall he took about one year ago. The time the white folks decided to get rid of the convention system, replacing it with the direct primary system, which has been in force since 1918.

Conventions were run by corrupt bosses, for their own personal gain, and with no thought of the rights of small minorities, we were led to believe.

Older Detroit Negroes of the higher class look back wistfully to the days of the county conventions. It was then that they had representation. They lost it with the coming of the primary, and the movement which came to a head in the concerted balloting for Green is the first big step that they have taken to regain it.

Early in the 90's, when Detroit had something like 5,000 Negroes, the republican leaders decided that the black folks should have a plum or two from the political tree. They nominated D. Augustus Straker for circuit court commissioner. Having been nominated by the republican convention, the white republican voters asked no more questions about D. Augustus Straker. They elected him and re-elected him for two more terms. They sent to the legislature at different times, William W. Ferguson, Joseph Dickinson, and Dr. Ames. Pingree appointed a Negro to the old park board.

There arose among the colored voters certain leaders of their own race, usually men of ability. These leaders were accepted as participants in the councils of the party. They were delegates to the conventions. They were consulted by big men.

Along came the direct primaries, and the colored voters split up into many different bunches, following the man whose line of bunk they liked best.

Candidates whose only previous dealing with a black was in a hotel dining room or a shoe shining stand marched to the Negro meetings and proclaimed their adherence to the principles of equality. They waved the flag and told of their love for the Great Emancipator. After election, all was silence.

CERTAIN cliques of shrewd colored fellows retaliated, in their small way.

They concluded that all this clamoring for the black vote must have some genuine desire behind it. They went to the white candidates and promised to deliver the black vote, or a good part of it, for a consideration.

"'Taint that I want the money for myself," run the song of the dusky political slicker. "But you got to keep the boys feelin' good. Smoker, or somethin' o' that nature."

So $25 was spent here, and $100 there. The sums flowing out of the pockets of white candidates into the outstretched waiting hands of these self-appointed "leaders" of the race will never be known. They are much larger than many candidates for office dare confess.

Sad to relate, a certain type of Negro preacher took the foretront in this form of panhandling. He was of the self-ordained type; one of the kind that goes in for religion because it does not entail much physical exertion. These reverend gentlemen canvassed all the campaign headquarters with remarkable thoroughness. Follow them, and you would find that they would walk out of the office of one candidate, directly into the office of a rival. They were non-partisan, and treated all alike. Their operations at length became so monotonously regular, that only the greenest of campaigners would pay heed to them.

Such was the low estate of the Negro in the politics of Detroit. Soft-soaped with promises that meant nothing; represented, without his consent, in his dealings with white candidates by a group of grafting mountebanks. A change was inevitable.

The colored folks themselves began looking about for a way to make their votes count. Their leaders were quick to put a finger on their weakness. They had no one outstanding figure of their race, around whom they could rally. The personalities of their strong men had been lost in the shuffle, when the new black residents came swarming in from the southland by the thousands.

There was no one white man to whom they would attach themselves as a means of getting what they would call a fair break.

They were tired of listening to sweet pre-election words, and being ignored afterward.

They took a leaf from the hand-book of the modern white man in politics, business, or almost any other activity. They concentrated on organization.

As has been stated, the Negro population of Detroit is split up into scattered colonies. They organized by colonies, or communities. Churches, women's organizations, lodges, and clubs took part in the work.

Each community club named delegates to serve on an executive committee. These committeemen passed on candidates. Then they went back to their organizations and advised their people what to do on election day.

The federation thus formed claims to have delivered the punch that put more than one candidate into office.

THERE is a feeling in many quarters that the ballot in the hands of the Negro will be used as an effective instrument with which he will maneuver himself into a more advantageous position.

The more enlightened leaders of the race in Detroit are frank advocates of the spoils system, though they seek no spoils out of the public treasury. Rather, they seek places of honor that will extend the sphere of influence of the black man, giving him a chance to "do his stuff" before all of the people.

And their hope is that he will do it so well, when he gets this chance, that he will be looked on, not as the lonely defender of a downtrodden minority, but as a capable sort of public servant who is helping his own group by helping the townspeople in general.

The far-seeing ones among the hopefuls, venturing a glance into a future beyond the span of their lives, see the possibility of a black-skinned public official, so useful that he will command the support of whites and blacks alike.

Political—1927

Minnesota.

Suffrage

U. S. CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS HAS DISMISSED OKLAHOMA REGISTRATION CASE; NEGRO VOTERS WIN THEIR SUIT FOR REGISTRATION CERTIFICATES

More Than 2,000 Are Registered In Okfuskee County, Oklahoma; Elect Race Officials

By AIMEE HALL

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 9.—Litigation over the right of Negroes to register and vote in Okfuskee County, Okla., was finally ended June 1, when the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, St. Paul, Minn., dismissed the appeal taken from the U. S. District Court rendered at Tulsa, Okla., against the County Election Board of Okfuskee County and the State Election Board of Oklahoma commanding the registrars to place upon the registration roll the names of more than 1,000 qualified voters of the Negro race.

Registration Forced

Attorneys J. J. Bruce and Spencer Adams secured a judgment against the County Election Board in 1924, compelling the registration of about 800 Negroes. The Board then appealed the case to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals which was argued and submitted in May, 1926.

An opinion was not rendered until after the same parties had filed a second suit in October, 1926.

The second suit was filed by more than 800 party plaintiffs against the County and the State Election Board including the State Registrar, who is also Secretary of the Senate of Oklahoma, and was tried in the Federal District Court at Tulsa, Okla., in October, 1926, just a few days prior to the general election of November 2.

This suit was in the nature of a mandatory injunction enjoining the state officials from refusing to afford the Negro voters an opportunity to register under the state law and commanded the State Election Board to appoint Precinct Registrars and furnish the necessary supplies for registration.

Judgment was rendered in favor of the plaintiffs. A colored registrar was duly appointed as a result of which more than 2,000 Negroes registered and were furnished registration certificates.

Apply for Writ

In order to prevent the Negroes from voting in the general election, the defendants applied to the Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Paul, Minn., No. 1, 1926, for a writ of prohibition and stay of execution, which was opposed by J. J. Bruce and Spencer Adams, attorneys for the plaintiffs. The writ was denied hence the Negroes were allowed to vote in the general election pending the appeal from the judgment of the District Court upon its merits.

Pending the hearing of the second appeal an opinion was rendered by the Circuit Court of Appeals in the first case in which the Circuit Court of Appeals held that the District Court had jurisdiction and authority to issue a writ of mandamus in the first case, commanding the registration of qualified Negro voters.

The question of jurisdiction and power of Federal Courts to intervene was the principal matter involved. This question having been decided in the first appeal practically terminated the question involved in the second appeal.

Litigation Ended Trouble

The Circuit Court of Appeals sustaining the motion of the plaintiffs, made on June 2nd, 1927, by J. J. Bruce, to dismiss this appeal put an end to the long drawn out litigation over the rights of the Negroes to vote.

As the result of the vote of the 2,000 Negroes registered in Okfuskee County by virtue of this litigation a Republican County Judge and County Commissioner favored by the Colored people were elected. A colored justice of the peace and several other colored officers were elected in that county.

Since the decision was rendered the friendship of both attorneys has been augmented by that of the opposing attorney, Sid White, known as the Cowboy Attorney (white) who now fights with them in civil and land cases.

In the Circuit Court of Appeals he made the assertion that if the—Niggers— were allowed to vote in large numbers as set out in the opinion of the District Court the county wouldn't be a fit place to live in and he would move out. After decision was handed down he made good his word by moving out of the county.

Political - 1927

Mississippi

Suffrage

COURIER-CITIZEN
LOWELL, MASS.
DEC 27 1927

The remark of Governor Bilbo of Mississippi that "only about 2000 Negroes" in his state "are fit to vote" may prompt the query, "How about the Whites?" There are nearly half a million Negroes in Mississippi, and the census claims that there are nearly 300,000 of these who are not only 21 years old or more but also can read and write. Technically, then, save for such as may be under disability for criminal or other causes there should be nearly 300,000 Negroes who are entitled to vote—but the governor, you will notice, says "fit to vote" which is something else again. We repeat, how about the Whites? There are occasions when the result of an election in Mississippi —and by no means there alone— might suggest that hardly more than 2000 Caucasians were fit to vote, either.

Political — 1927

Suffrage

New York.

Harlem Pastors Pledge Themselves To Aid Moore Campaign And To Urge Importance Of Members Registering

Declare Registration To Be First Important Act Of Voters; Commend Candidate's Work For Race As Fitting Him For Duties

Leading ministers of New York City, pastors of Harlem churches, are practically unanimous in their endorsement of the action of the County Republican Committee in designating Fred R. Moore, editor of The New York Age, as a candidate for nomination for election to the Board of Aldermen of New York City.

Not only do they approve of the designation, but they also agree with enthusiastic willingness to serve as members of the Campaign Committee, and declare their intention to urge upon the members of their congregations the vital importance and necessity of registering in order to be able to exercise their right of suffrage at the November election. In some instances they freely open their pulpits to the candidates.

The Rev. Dr. A. Clayton Powell pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 West 138th street, accepts membership on the Campaign Committee and declares an intention to further the candidate's interests through the weekly church paper, The Advance. Writes Dr. Powell:

Appreciate Long Friendship.

"It goes without saying that you may not only use my name on your Campaign Committee, but you may depend upon me to do anything that limited time and ability will permit to help secure your election to the office to which you have been nominated. From time to time we will urge your election through our little church paper.

"You have been my friend for nineteen years and I want to assure you that I highly appreciate this long unbroken friendship."

The Rev. Dr. James W. Brown, pastor of Mother A. M. E. Zion Church, 140 West 137th street, in declaring that he would urge his members to register, refers to it as "the first important act for them to perform." Dr. Brown writes:

"Permit me to congratulate you upon your designation and to pledge you my personal support and cooperation. I shall from time to time insist upon the members of our congregation to register as this is the first important act for them to perform. So many of them have been neglectful along this line. The ballot is an instrument of power and control, and I believe that it is the duty of every citizen to exercise his right of franchise.

Would Benefit People.

"Our group does not have a more honest and loyal member than yourself—a man with convictions and the courage to express them, whose labors through the years have been unselfish. Not only would it be a great honor, but much god would be done for our people, for you would always see that every right and consideration due them would be given.

"'God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not fill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking.'"

The Rev. George H. Sims, pastor of Union Baptist Church, located for many years on West 63rd street, in the Columbus Hill section, who will on Sunday, September 4, lay the cornerstone for the third church building to be erected by his congregation, writes from Cumberland, Va., where, with his family, he was spending his vacation, that "I hope I am not late. I am very glad for you to use my name as a member of your Campaign Committee and I shall do all in my power to urge my people to support you. I endorse heartily your being designated as candidate for the Aldermanic Chamber. You must go further still—we want you in Congress."

Pulpit Is Open.

The Emmanuel A. M. E. Church, the Rev. D. Ward Nichols, pastor, has recently moved to Harlem from further downtown, but already it has made its influence felt as a vital community factor. It is located at 37-41 West 119th street. The pastor, Rev. Mr. Nichols, expresses himself as follows:

"Let me inform you that you may not only use my name as a member of your campaign committee, but feel free to call upon me for any service that I may render in the campaign. I am confident that the right man has been selected this time, and you may count upon my unstinted support. I shall make a special effort to have as many of my congregation register as possible. I am sure that very few of them have voted here before, and I shall count this my opportunity to interest them in the one great way that is open to them to make themselves felt in this city of ours.

"When the campaign is under way, I want you to know that my pulpit is open to you at any time, and if I can be of service to you in any other way, you have only to let me know."

Robert W. Bagnall, director of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and formerly was rector of St. Matthews Church, Detroit. Mr. Bagnall, whose letter was referred to in last week' sissue of The Age, wrote as follows:

Fitted For Position.

"I want to express my appreciation of your candidacy for the office of Alderman from your district. I feel that your sincerity and honest endeavor to serve the people of the community, your long experience and knowledge of conditions, splendidly fit you for the position. I wish you every success and desire to offer my services in any way in which I can help to bring about such success."

The attitude of the laity towards the candidacy of Mr. Moore is typified in a letter received from Julius A. Thomas of 137 West 123rd street, who had the following to say:

"Your designation as a candidate for the Board of Alderman is indeed a fine thing, and I am sending you my personal congratulation. To be sure, no opposition will arise, and we can therefore regard the campaign as started. Mr. McGruder made a splendid showing two years ago; you should have no difficulty in overcoming the disadvantages he encountered. Some preliminary work has been done in arousing our group to qualify as citizens and to register and vote.

"Such a campaign should be carried on at all times and all of our churches and civic bodies should give the matter special attention. We have nothing in proportion to what our population entitles us and I am anxious that we should make our strength felt. Consider me an active worker in your behalf; I am at your service whenever needed."

The Rev. Wm. Y. Bell, pastor of Williams Institutional Church, 218-20 West 130th street, is out of the city, but did not wait until his return to pledge himself. He instructed his secretary and assistant pastor, Rev. Louis Portlock, to write that he will support Mr. Moore's candidacy by serving on the Campaign Committee, and announced his willingness to serve as one of the campaign speakers.

Says Negroes Here Ignore Franchise

Democratic Assembly Candidate so Declares at Church Forum

George E. Hall, candidate for the Assembly on the Democratic ticket in the Nineteenth Assembly District, speaking at the Sunday evening service at the Grace Congregational Church, said that the Negroes of New York do not want the franchise, and that this lack of interest on the part of Negroes of New York in their political welfare is doing much to hinder their economic and social development. "Politically speaking, very little respect is held for the Negro in New York," he said.

"Out of a population of 250,000 Negroes," said the speaker, "there are less than 22,000 Negroes who are qualified to vote. The Negroes have enough to elect their own judge, and in the coming election the race here in New York has the greatest opportunity that it has ever had in electing a judge in the Seventh Judicial District."

The speaker cited Chicago as an example where the Negro showed that he wanted the franchise and said that out of 180,000 Negroes of Chicago there were 50,000 or more qualified to vote.

"The Negroes of New York should have a vote of not less than 75,000, and this year every qualified man and woman ought to see

to it that he or she registers. We cannot command the respect and consideration that we deserve unless we show a greater interest in our political welfare."

The service at the church was "Layman's Night" and was arranged by the Rev. Dr. A. C. Garner, the pastor, as one of the new features of the church program, to have matters of civic interest discussed, and to bring the church in closer touch with the community. Miles A. Paige presided.

Democratic Situation in Harlem

To the Editor of The Amsterdam News.
Sir:

Permit me to say that the article by Mr. Edgar M. Grey, "Morton's Decline," in last week's issue, should be of interest to colored voters, both Democratic and Republican.

Although I am the recognized colored Democratic leader of Bronx County, I find myself in complete agreement with what Mr. Grey says to the fundamental error of absolutive of group leadership, whether it be white or colored. I have long ago seen that such leadership based as it was, not upon the electorate of the district could not go hand in hand with [illegible] democracy. Nor could it be of any permanent benefit to the masses of the people.

In saying this I hold no brief for any of the white district leaders for most of them, of whatever party, are provincial when they come to deal with the colored man, because they have not had to reckon with his vote in the party council, but the colored people, as I see it, cannot hope to improve their political status by countenancing colored leadership, not based upon the electorate of the respective political districts.

To me, the best thing for the colored voters of whatever party is to crowd into the respective district clubs in great numbers and support or help to change the constituted leadership, be it white or black.

But, until such time when the colored voter shall have been fully assimilated into these regular district clubs and is able to make his influence felt the county chairmen, because of the past handicap, should see to it that the colored group is dealt with most liberally as to patronage.

We should never lose sight of the fact, though it be of personal benefit, that anything which separates the race of mankind, including the church, because of group, birthplace, creed, or color, is consciously or unconsciously a generator of hate and intolerance. Therefore, Mr. Grey's criticism as to segregated leadership is just and very constructive.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) EUGENE McINTOSH.

Executive Member, Bronx Colored Voters' Democratic Progressive Association, 360 East 165th Street, New York City, May 20, 1927.

To the Editor of The Amsterdam News.
Dear Sir:

I noticed in your issue of May 18 an article written by Mr. Edgar M. Grey, entitled "Ichabod, Thy Glory Has Departed." In that article Mr. Grey in the course of writing stated that certain conditions existed in the Democratic Party and drifted along until 1921 when the Democrats decided that the time had come to place in nomination names of Negro candidates for elective offices.

Permit me, through the columns of your paper, to inform Mr. Grey and the general public that this change of which he mentioned was brought about largely through my efforts in communicating the facts to the leaders of the Democratic Party! Namely, Charles F. Murphy, Thomas F. Smith, Mr. Holohan, leader of the Twenty-first Assembly District, Judge Allen, formerly leader of the Nineteenth Assembly District, August Weiss, leader of the Thirteenth Assembly District, and Ferdinand Q. Morton.

Many letters on this subject passed between myself and Judge Allen in which many reasons were pointed out by him and in reply was cleared up by my letters. It was then in the fall that this change came about.

Copies of these letters will be given to you for publication if you care to let the general public know the facts through the columns of your paper.

I am,

Very truly yours,
(Signed) JAMES E. LINTON.

2123 Fifth Avenue, New York City, May 19, 1927.

NEW YORK WORLD

NOV 6 1927

Negroes Showing Scant Interest in Voting

Of 120,000 Eligibles in Harlem Only 72,000 Registered

By Lester A. Walton

AN EXASPERATED citizen, writing to the editor of The Evening World, says four out of five persons when questioned informed him they had not registered this fall, believing that voting every four years for President was enough. Startling as these facts and figures may appear, they pale into insignificance when placed alongside of those indicative of the marked indifference to registering and voting manifested by Harlem Negroes.

The majority of Negroes pay little or no attention to voting. As one potential voter expressed himself when importuned to register, "I ain't studyin' about it."

From 120th Street on the south to 155th Street on the north, and from Madison Avenue on the east to St. Nicholas Avenue on the west, the Negro population is put at 250,000. Of this number at least 120,000 are eligible to vote. Yet the Negro registration for the entire district this year will not be more than 72,000.

The total registration in 1924, a Presidential year, was 28,000. But some years ago, before the Negro population had reached its present proportions, 24,000 and 25,000 voted for President. The community's interest in politics therefore has not kept pace with its rapidly increasing population.

It is generally understood that the Southern Negro comes North to improve his economic, political and social status. Next to lynching, his major complaint of unfair treatment in the South is against its disfranchisement laws which rob him of his right to vote. Nevertheless, not two out of five settling in New York embrace the opportunity to vote. The majority literally disfranchise themselves.

One of the most progressive elements of the community in many ways—the West Indian Negro—evinces such a widespread indifference to voting as to arouse the ire of native Americans. Political observers declare that of the 60,000 West Indian residents not more than 1 per cent. takes an active interest in politics.

Thousands of West Indians are living in New York who have refrained from taking out their citizenship papers. They still prefer to hold allegiance to Great Britain.

While several reasons are given for this, the chief one is said to be that because of existing racial animosities and prejudices in this country the West Indian Negro who makes his home here enjoys a stronger feeling of security as a British subject.

They make no secret of this. Sometimes after a lynching the West Indian points out that the hanging or burning of one of his countrymen would immediately provoke an investigation by Great Britain.

One of the most energetic campaigns to register Harlem residents during an off-year was conducted in October. Both the Democratic and Republican Parties sent out workers. They had some odd experiences.

Women Not Interested In Exercise of Suffrage

Two women canvassers invaded a home one evening about 6 o'clock. The object of their search was busy making biscuits. When they asked her about registering she said:

"You ought to be home cooking biscuits as I am instead of running around bothering about politics. I don't believe women should vote. That should be left to the men folks while we stay home and do the housework."

Another industrious woman registered her opposition to female suffrage by advising her visitors to "Go home and wash their husbands' clothes."

A comely and well-dressed young woman was rewarded for her well-intentioned mission by the none-too-attractive housewife who spitefully remarked: "I don't like your looks."

Believing that those taking part in politics are animated by selfish interests, and that it makes no difference whether the Republicans or Democrats are in power, one young man who styled himself a Socialist, if anything, could not be persuaded to register.

"How much in it for me?" was a question sometimes propounded to workers. A former resident of Philadelphia of the "hand-out" type admitted he used to get paid for voting in Pennsylvania.

A school teacher who had been in New York ten years was prevailed upon to register for the first time.

It is a well-known fact that the Negroes in New York do not register and vote in as large numbers as those in Chicago. Therefore the race here does not wield much influence in politics.

The bulk of the Negro voters are in the 21st, 19th and a part of the 13th Assembly Districts. All the district leaders of both parties are white. The Negro race has one Alderman and no Assemblyman.

The temper of the Negro voters is best illustrated in the 21st Assembly District—where there are 115 Republican county committeemen. Sixty-eight are colored and forty-seven are white. At the election for Republican district leader, held Sept. 23, Robert S. Conklin, white, was easily elected over Charles W. B. Mitchell, colored.

Political – 19-7

New York.

Suffrage

VOTE CHANGES IN HARLEM.

Since city government is usually the product of party politics, it is important to keep the dominant organization industrious and honest. When majorities are too large and too constant, corruption or inefficiency is apt to set in. Then it requires a supreme effort on the part of the voters to effect a change in administration. The chief tonic for good government is an independent group, holding the balance of power and likely to think for itself. If that element were larger in New York City, the new Tammany leaders would have less difficulty in holding their partisans in line, for the result of slipping back to old methods would be certain defeat.

For these reasons it is interesting to analyze what happened last week in some of the negro districts of the city which for some years have been steadfast supporters of Tammany, to the chagrin of the Republican organization and the surprise of Southern Democrats. In the Nineteenth Assembly District the Republican incumbent tripled his previous plurality in an off year. In the adjoining Twenty-first Assembly District Republicans claim that every precinct dominated by negro voters was carried by them. This result is said to be due in part to the unwillingness of the City Hall to play Hylan and Thompson politics in Harlem. A part of it is ascribed to a disagreement between Governor SMITH and the negro leaders over a separate municipal court, administered by a Judge of the race prevalent in the neighborhood. But, whatever the reason, any expression of political independence by groups of voters is fundamentally a good thing. If the reason for change is unworthy or unfair, the defection will be balanced by the accession of others, and the organization which stands out against terrorism will be the gainer. If the revolt is for good reasons, the interest of city government is served.

Tammany is at the moment on its mettle. But it needs the spur to continued improvement of a strong rival organization.

VOTE CHANGES IN HARLEM.

Since city government is usually the product of party politics, it is important to keep the dominant organization industrious and honest. When majorities are too large and too constant, corruption or inefficiency is apt to set in. Then it requires a supreme effort on the part of the voters to effect a change in administration. The chief tonic for good government is an independent group, holding the balance of power and likely to think for itself. If that element were larger in New York City, the new Tammany leaders would have less difficulty in holding their partisans in line, for the result of slipping back to old methods would be certain defeat.

For these reasons it is interesting to analyze what happened last week in some of the negro districts of the city which for some years have been steadfast supporters of Tammany, to the chagrin of the Republican organization and the surprise of Southern Democrats. In the Nineteenth Assembly District the Republican incumbent tripled his previous plurality in an off year. In the adjoining Twenty-first Assembly District Republicans claim that every precinct dominated by negro voters was carried by them. This result is said to be due in part to the unwillingness of the City Hall to play Hylan and Thompson politics in Harlem. A part of it is ascribed to a disagreement between Governor SMITH and the negro leaders over a separate municipal court, administered by a Judge of the race prevalent in the neighborhood. But, whatever the reason, any expression of political independence by groups of voters is fundamentally a good thing. If the reason for change is unworthy or unfair, the defection will be balanced by the accession of others, and the organization which stands out against terrorism will be the gainer. If the revolt is for good reasons, the interest of city government is served.

Tammany is at the moment on its mettle. But it needs the spur to continued improvement of a strong rival organization.

Don't Fail to Register!

THIS IS REGISTRATION WEEK. If you intend to vote in November you must enroll your name on the books at your polling place on or before October 15. Any eligible voter who fails to do this robs himself of the right to vote in November. That right is too valuable to lose; thousands of men have died that you might have it.

POLITICS has been so much belittled by wits and humorists that its real importance is often forgotten. Some people are too refined to go to the polls and vote, yet they have the nerve to complain of the way they are governed. Every way you turn you are confronted with and controlled by politics. Your job, your cost of living, the safety of yourself and your family, the sanitary conditions of your home and your neighborhood, your personal and public rights, the education and future of your children—all these depend on the men who represent you in the government. Your vote is your only means of selecting those men.

REGISTRATION in Harlem has always been far below what it should have been. Recently it was estimated at 22,000. This is a poor showing for a population of 250,000; it looks as if the citizens of Harlem were too lazy to use their most effective weapon. In Harlem there should be at least 70,000 registered voters.

A SPECIAL IMPETUS to registration in Harlem should be given by the presence of five Negro candidates. On the regular Democratic ticket George E. Hall is running for the Assembly and Henri W. Shields for re-election to the Board of Aldermen. In the Nineteenth Assembly District Fred R. Moore is the Republican candidate for Alderman and John Clifford Hawkins is the Republican nominee for Alderman in the Twenty-first Assembly District. In Brooklyn Rufus L. Perry is the Socialist candidate for judge of the City Court.

THUS the Negro voters have a better chance than ever before to put Negro men in office. If every New York Negro who complains about the disfranchisement of his race in the South turns out to vote for these men the majority of them will be elected. But, remember, you cannot vote for them unless you register, and you must register on or before October 15.

Political—1927

Suffrage

Durham, N. C., Herald

APR 27

RALEIGH'S NEGRO VOTERS

It's probably more poetic justice than the irony of fate that the long since inocuous race question in politics should be raised in the Raleigh municipal election to embarrass the old guard wing of the Democratic party. It is true that the "issue" is confined to Raleigh municipal politics but, even so, Raleigh's municipal politics—apart from the fact that the same is the Capital city's politics—is always of State wide interest.

It is charged that the present city administration brought about the registration of hundreds of illiterate negroes and the intimation, quite broad in the News and Observer, is that the illiterates were registered in order that the administration, consisting of Mayor Culbreth, Commissioners Birdsong and Page and City Judge Wiley Barnes might be re-elected over Willard L. Dowell, leading candidates for mayor, and others who want to be commissioners of public safety, of public works and municipal judge.

It is no new thing to have the race issue in politics raised in North Carolina. In fact, the dominant wing of the democratic party in North Carolina has consistently refusd to let it die. On numerous occasions the shade of the red shirt has been dragged out to bolster up the personal, or factional, fortunes of some candidate usually aligned with the old guard. In the Max Gardner-Cam Morrison gubernational contest it was the bete noir of the younger Democracy. What, one may wonder at this late day, would have been the result in that furious primary had not Max Gardner been caricatured between two negro women on their way to the polls? Ostensibly, the cartoons which circulated were a thrust at Mr. Gardner's stand for woman suffrage; actually, in many counties in Eastern North Carolina, they served as reminders of the "dark days of Fusionism" and, incidentally, of the conspicious part one of the two candidates played in "redeeming" this state.

Th city administration in Raleigh to-day has the backing, if reports are correct, of the dominant Wake county faction, of the political heirs of the men who overthrew Fusionism and, to all practical purposes, disenfranchised the negro in politics. In 1898 the means justified the end and since then the leading negroes in North Carolina have been sympathetic in the attitude which the Democrats manifested a short generation ago toward participation of members of their race in politics.

It is probably good politics to revive the racial issue and it may cause the overthrow of the prsent city administration in Raleigh. It is to be doubted, however, but what the state as a whole will suffer in the impairment of the good work which has gone forward for 25 years to promote cordial relations between the races and to restrain the negro in the exercise of suffrage until he proved himself qualified to use the franchise.

The rock quary was bad enough, but, to a close neighbor—yea to an affectionate neighbor—this business of the insurgents saddling the old guard with the registration of illiterate negroes is unfortunate, in its major aspects, and opera bouffet in its lighter moments.

HERALD

Smithfield, N.C.

MAY 6 1927

Editorial

A POLITICAL FIREBRAND—

The two greatest issues in North Carolina that have been settled at the polls since the close of the Civil War were the suffrage amendment of 1900 and the prohibition election of 1908. The adoption of the suffrage amendment is the one that now claims our attention. This amendment was born of a time and a condition that could not exist any longer. The voting of the unscrupulous and the partisan manner in which the Republicans were using the Negro vote in those times, were rapidly sweeping the South into a horrible race riot; and, while the white people may have devised a method by which the Negro vote could be eliminated which was possibly in derogation of the federal constitution, they

North Carolina.

were moving toward an end which justified the course they took. The Negro was taken out of politics and since then the Negro vote has been a negligible factor in the political life of North Carolina, and society has enjoyed a much healthier state of affairs.

It is a thing unbelievable that the same party that repudiated the negro twenty-seven years ago, should now be the means of bringing the Negro back into politics where again his ballot can become the spark that will inflame race hatred and general dissatisfaction throughout the state.

We would like to believe that the newspaper reports of the recent municipal election in Raleigh were wrong, in their account of how the negroes were used to pile up votes against the two contending factions in the democratic party. We are loath to believe that our present crop of democrats, sons mostly of those who struggled for the suffrage amendment of 1900, would so forget the perils of a quarter of a century ago, as to invade the negro population for votes to save some little local and transient cause. It may be argued that one faction in Raleigh resorted to the negro vote to counter-balance the actions of the other faction. ButRaleigh nor any other town in North Carolina can have any issue of sufficient importance to cause the electorate to resort to the negro vote. If Raleigh, in its recent election, did resort to the negro vote, it made a grave mistake; and this action should be discouraged throughout the state. More than twenty-five years ago, the people of this state settled the negro vote as an issue,

and Raleigh as well as every other town in the state where negroes are permitted to vote, willrue the day that it first reaches out for this old fire brand.

Negro Vote Issue in Raleigh Election

Hundreds Have Registered so as to Support Favorable Candidates

RALEIGH, N. C., May 2 (By The Associated Negro Press).—From present indications the Negro vote will be the deciding factor in the forthcoming city election. Acting upon the advice of the political leaders of the Ctate of North Carolina, hundreds of Negroes have registered and are eligible to vote.

This latest and unprecedented registration of Negro citizens has caused much concern in political circles here and has become a distinct issue in the campaign between the present office holders and the candidate, Mayor Culbreth, in discussing the matter, declared that "we have as law-abiding colored citizenship as any city in the State and if colored people desire to take part in the city election that is their privilege given under our form of government, which is non-partisan."

This same attitude is taken by Edward G. Birdson, Commissioner of Public Safety, and C. C. Page, Commissioner of Public Works, who expressed the opinion that "any citizen who can read and write the Constitution has a right to register and vote in the city election."

The opponents of the present office holders, however, are of a different opinion and declare that the registration and participation of Negroes in a white man's election forebodes evil and trouble. One policeman has resigned because of the "repudiation of white supremacy," and the candidates for office have sent telegrams throughout the State and to United States Sena-

tors from the South, decrying the attitude of Mayor Culbreth and others on the ticket.

Political—1927

North Carolina.

Suffrage

Durham, N. C., Herald

APR 27

RALEIGH'S NEGRO VOTERS

It's probably more poetic justice than the irony of fate that the long since inocuous race question in politics should be raised in the Raleigh municipal election to embarrass the old guard wing of the Democratic party. It is true that the "issue" is confined to Raleigh municipal politics but, even so, Raleigh's municipal politics —apart from the fact that the same is the Capital city's politics—is always of State wide interest.

It is charged that the present city administration brought about the registration of hundreds of illiterate negroes and the intimation, quite broad in the News and Observer, is that the illiterates were registered in order that the administration, consisting of Mayor Culbreth, Commissioners Birdsong and Page and City Judge Wiley Barnes might be re-elected over Willard L. Dowell, leading candidates for mayor, and others who want to be commissioners of public safety, of public works and municipal judge.

It is no new thing to have the race issue in politics raised in North Carolina. In fact, the dominant wing of the democratic party in North Carolina has consistently refused to let it die. On numerous occasions the shade of the red shirt has been dragged out to bolster up the personal, or factional, fortunes of some candidate usually aligned with the old guard. In the Max Gardner-Cam Morrison gubernational contest it was the bete noir of the younger Democracy. What, one may wonder at this late day, would have been the result in that furious primary had not Max Gardner been caricatured between two negro women on their way to the polls? Ostensibly, the cartoons which circulated were a thrust at Mr. Gardner's stand for woman suffrage; actually, in many counties in Eastern North Carolina, they served as reminders of the "dark days of Fusionism" and, incidentally, of the conspicious part one of the two candidates played in "redeeming" this state.

Th city administration in Raleigh to-day has the backing, if reports are correct, of the dominant Wake county faction, of the political heirs of the men who overthrew Fusionism and, to all practical purposes, disenfranchised the negro in politics. In 1898 the means justified the end and since then the leading negroes in North Carolina have been sympathetic in the attitude which the Democrats manifested a short generation ago toward participation of members of their race in politics.

It is probably good politics to revive the racial issue and it may cause the overthrow of the prsent city administration in Raleigh. It is to be doubted, however, but what the state as a whole will suffer in the impairment of the good work which has gone forward for 25 years to promote cordial relations between the races and to restrain the negro in the exercise of suffrage until he proved himself qualified to use the franchise.

The rock quary was bad enough, but, to a close neighbor—yea to an affectionate neighbor —this business of the insurgents saddling the old guard with the registration of illiterate negroes is unfortunate, in its major aspects, and opera bouffet in its lighter moments.

HERALD

Smithfield, N.C.

MAY 6 1927

Editorial

A POLITICAL FIREBRAND—

The two greatest issues in North Carolina that have been settled at the polls since the close of the Civil War were the suffrage amendment of 1900 and the prohibition election of 1908. The adoption of the suffrage amendment is the one that now claims our attention. This amendment was born of a time and a condition that could not exist any longer. The voting of the unscrupulous and the partisan manner in which the Republicans were using the Negro vote in those times, were rapidly sweeping the South into a horrible race riot; and, while the white people may have devised a method by which the Negro vote could be eliminated which was possibly in derogation of the federal constitution, they were moving toward an end which justified the course they took. The Negro was taken out of politics and since then the Negro vote has been a negligible factor in the political life of North Carolina, and society has enjoyed a much healthier state of affairs.

It is a thing unbelievable that the same party that repudiated the negro twenty-seven years ago, should now be the means of bringing the Negro back into politics where again his ballot can become the spark that will inflame race hatred and general dissatisfaction throughout the state.

We would like to believe that the newspaper reports of the recent municipal election in Raleigh were wrong, in their account of how the negroes were used to pile up votes against the two contending factions in the democratic party. We are loath to believe that our present crop of democrats, sons mostly of those who struggled for the suffrage amendment of 1900, would so forget the perils of a quarter of a century ago, as to invade the negro population for votes to save some little local and transient cause. It may be argued that one faction in Raleigh resorted to the negro vote to counter-balance the actions of the other faction. ButRaleigh nor any other town in North Carolina can have any issue of sufficient importance to cause the electorate to resort to the negro vote. If Raleigh, in its recent election, did resort to the negro vote, it made a grave mistake; and this action should be discouraged throughout the state. More than twenty-five years ago, the people of this state settled the negro vote as an issue,

and Raleigh as well as every other town in the state where negroes are permitted to vote, willrue the day that it first reaches out for this old fire brand.

Negro Vote Issue in Raleigh Election

Hundreds Have Registered so as to Support Favorable Candidates

RALEIGH, N. C., May 2 (By The Associated Negro Press).—From present indications the Negro vote will be the deciding factor in the forthcoming city election. Acting upon the advice of the political leaders of the Ctate of North Carolina, hundreds of Negroes have registered and are eligible to vote.

This large and unprecedented registration of Negro citizens has caused much concern in political circles here and has become a distinct issue in the campaign between the present office holders and the candidates. Mayor Culbreth, in discussing the matter, declared that "we have as law-abiding colored citizenship as any city in the State and if colored people desire to take part in the city election that is their privilege given under our form of government, which is non-partisan."

This same attitude is taken by Edward G. Birdson, Commissioner of Public Safety, and C. C. Page, Commissioner of Public Works, who expressed the opinion that "any citizen who can read and write the Constitution has a right to register and vote in the city election."

The opponents of the present office holders, however, are of a different opinion and declare that the registration and participation of Negroes in a white man's election forebodes evil and trouble. One policeman has resigned because of the "repudiation of white supremacy" and the candidates for office have sent telegrams throughout the State and to United States Sena-

JOSEPHUS DANIELS FOR NULLIFICATION

In an editorial in the Raleigh, N. C. News and Observer, Josephus Daniels, editor and a former Cabinet officer in the Wilson administration, Tuesday, following a municipal election in Raleigh Monday, May 2, came out boldly for the nullification of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Mr. Daniels declares that is but one safe way to prevent the danger and evils of appealing to Negro voters by men who care more for success than they do for Negro disfranchisement." "That is to return to the Democratic primary for the selection of candidates," where the Negroes are excluded, in spite of the Texas decision.

This is a plain case of placing race hatred and bigotry above the Constitution and the wickedness of the plot is this intolerance of right and justice, issues from the mouth of one of the better class of white folks. Yes, from a former high official of the government, whose duty for eight years was to enforce the law under oath.

The election in Raleigh on the 2nd was a bi-partisan election, in which no political or race issue was raised, but was a free expression of the people's will.

Mr. Daniels would suppress the voice of the people to carry a partisan point. With him it is not good government, but white government. With Mr. Daniels it is not democracy, but oligarchy.

Negroes voted in Raleigh unmolested as did the whites. The Negroes supported the "ins" against the "outs," and they won, and thus the Honorable Josephus' fulmination and holy horror. But the former secretary and thousands of others who think as he does, will learn now and for all time to come, that appealing to the populace for election on the ground of white supremacy and Negro domination, is a lost art in American political science, and men who aspire to public office must offer something better as a reason for their selection than race hatred and political intolerance.

This is a day of statesmanship and not ignorance—of love and not hatred. Reaction must give way for progress. Ignorance never has, and never will control intelligence. This principle is just as applicable to white men as black men. If white men would control Negroes, they must keep more intelligent. An ignorant white man is no more valuable to the community than an ignorant black man.

The Negro is going to grow into a full-fledged citizen, enjoying economic and political rights and apportionments in common with his white brethren. The day is inevitable, and may be postponed for a season, but can not be ultimately defeated. The day of reckoning shall come. It may be delayed an hundred years, but the day will come, and every man shall gather accordingly as he has sown, and will be rewarded according to the deeds in the body.

Josephus Daniels and his school will prove no exception to this God-given rule of right and exact justice. Every government built on wrong has fallen, and likewise have those government founded upon the principles of right and justice, but departed from the faith of the fathers, crumbled and perished from the face of the earth. And all governments that belie the fundamentals of government of the people, for the people and by the people must in the eternal fitness of things perish from the face of the earth.

N.C. ENROLLMENT SHOWS INCREASE

RALEIGH, N. C., May 4.—From present indications the colored vote will be the deciding factor in the forthcoming city election. Acting upon the advice of the political leaders of the State of North Carolina, hundreds of Negroes have registered and are eligible to vote.

This large and unprecedent registration of citizens has caused much concern in political circles here and has become a distinct issue in the campaign between the present office holders and the candidates. Mayor Culbreth, in discussing the matter declared that "we have as law abiding colored citizenship as any city in the state and if colored people desire to take part in the city election that is their privilege given under our form of government, which is non-partisan."

This same attitude is taken by Ed. G. Birdson, Commissioner of Public Safety, and C. C. Page, Commissioner of Public Works, who expressed the opinion that "any citizen who can read and write the Constitution has a right to register and vote in the city election.

The opponents of the present office holders, however, are of a different opinion and declare that the registration and participation of colored citizens in a white man's election forebodes evil and trouble. One policeman has resigned because of the "repudiation of white supremacy" and the candidates for office have sent telegrams throughout the state and to United States Senators from the South, decrying the attitude of Mayor Culbreth and others on the ticket.

REGISTRATION OF BIG VOTE LEADS TO ROW

Raleigh, N. C., Splits on Suffrage Issue

Raleigh, N. C., May 6.—Members of the Raleigh city administration, headed by Mayor Culbreth, declined to repudiate the recent wholesale registration of members of our group for the Raleigh city election and declared they felt that our group had a right to vote and ought to vote in recent statements in response to a request from the News and Observer.

William [illegible], candidate for mayor, provoked the storm by saying the wholesale registration of members of our group is unwise and bids fair to raise a troublesome question.

"I think anybody who can read and write the Constitution of the United States should be eligible to vote, and I think that is right. I have no comment to make on the large Negro registration," said C. C. Page, commissioner of public safety.

"It is a nonpartisan primary. Both sides have had Negroes put on the books. There are undoubtedly very good Negro citizens here and I think it is their duty to vote," said City Judge Wiley G. Barnes.

"We have as law-abidity Colored citizenship as any city in the state, and if Colored people desire to take part in city elections, that is a privilege given them under our form of government, which is nonpartisan," Mayor Culbreth said.

"I don't know anything about how the names (of Negroes) got on the books. It is a nonpartisan election, however, and they have a perfect right to vote if they can read and write the Constitution," said Ed Birdsong, commissioner of public safety.

NEGROES RE-ELECT MAYOR OF RALEIGH

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Raleigh, N. C.—Negroes "said it with votes" here Tuesday and Mayor Culbreth and the administration was re-elected, after one of the most bitterly fought campaigns in the history of Raleigh.

Mayor Culbreth, during his administration, and the men in his cabinet, have created a reputation of dealing fairly with all people. When thousands of Negroes registered a week or so ago, the mayor and his commissioners courageously stated that Negroes who could meet the requirements had a right to register and to vote. The opposing candidates made an issue out of these statements and sought to ride into office on the crest of the wave of race-prejudice.

The thiking whites, however, saw through the plan and worked hand in hand with the Negroes to defeat the opponents of the administration and on election day it was no rare sight to see white women and men carrying Negroes to the polls in their automobiles.

North Carolina.

Political - 1927

Suffrage

DuBois Gives Durham Conf. First Dixie Vote Figures

AT DURHAM CONFERENCE

David D. Jones, Greensboro, N. C., President of Bennett College for Women.
L. E. Graves, Raleigh, N. C., Secy and General Manager of the Eagle Life Insurance Co.
C. H. Tobias, New York, Secretary of National Council of Y. M. C. A.
M. W. Johnson, Washington, D. C., President of Howard U.
John Hope, Atlanta, Ga., President of Morehouse College.
John P. Davis, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., Director of Publicity.
F. Eugene Corbie, New York City, Student.
Gwendolyn B. Bennett, Brooklyn, N. Y., Writer, Fellowship student—Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia.
W. E. B. DuBois, New York City, Editor.
H. Elizabeth Armstrong, Durham, N. C., Teacher.
Wm. T. H[illegible], Durham, N. C., Teacher.
H. M. Michaux, Durham, N. C., Insurance and Real Estate.
J. L. Pearson, Durham, N. C., Fraternal Insurance.
R. E. Smith, Fayetteville, N. C., President of State Normal School.
J. A. Cotton, Henderson, N. C., Minister and Teacher.
Clinton Calloway, Director, Extension Department, Tuskegee Institute.
Berry O'Kelley, Method, N. C.
G. L. Shaw, Oxford, N. C., Principal of Mary Potter School.
J. W. Robinson, Charleston, W. Virginia, Director, Bureau of Negro Welfare.
Gordon B. Hancock, Union U., Richmond, Va., Prof. Economics.
L. H. Stinneford, Hampton Institute, Director, School of Business.
Eugene Kinckle Jones, 17 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y., Executive Secretary of National Urban League.
John E. Nail, New York City, Real Estate.
J. M. Avery, Durham, N. C., Attorney.
Floyd J. Cabim, New York Journalist.
Mrs. Maude Young Ray, Winston, N. C.
Claude A. Barnett, Chicago, Director, Associated Negro Press.
Carl Murphy, Baltimore, Md., Editor.
C. H. Jones, Winston-Salem, N. C., Real Estate.
W. P. Evans, Laurinburg, S. C., Merchant.
R. B. McRary, Baltimore, Md., Finance.
Wm. W. Sanders, Charleston, W. Va., State Supervisor of Negro Schools.
G. A. Edwards, Kittrell College, President.
Geo. E. Haynes, Secretary, Commissioner on the Church and Race Relations of N. Y.
J. E. Geary, Danville, Va., Dentist.
G. A. Steward, Columbus, Ohio, Supreme Life and Casualty Co.
Robert Williams, Suffolk, Va., Packer.
E. L. H. Ranie, Suffolk, Va., Dentist.
H. A. Smith, N. C. College, Religious Director and Instructor.
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Smith, N. C. College, Durham, N. C.
Capt. Geo. W. Brown, Baltimore, Md., Amusement Park.
Allison Davis, Hampton Institute, Teacher.
W. H. Crocker, Suffolk, Va., Real Estate.
L. H. Midgette, Durham, S. C., Clergyman.
J. N. Brown, Monroe, N. C., Principal, High School.
C. C. Patterson, Monroe, N. C., Minister.
Miss Theresa Lane, Mdse. Purchasing Agent, N. Y.
Roger D. O'Kelley, Raleigh, N. C., Attorney.
Wm. H. Holloway, Brick Junior College, Brick, N. C., Teacher.
Wm. L. Fitzgerald, Baltimore, Md., Real Estate.
Geraldyn Dismond, New York Journalist.
Mary McLeod Bethune, Daytona, Florida, President of Bethune-Cookman College.
A. L. Lanier, Durham, N. C., President of Consolidated Lab.
W. A. Robinson, Raleigh, N. C., State Supervisor of Negro High Schools.
Richard S. Grossley, Dover, Delaware, President of State College.
W. B. F. Crowell, Roanoke, Va., Investment Banker.
Henry M. L. James, Greenville, S. C., Librarian.
Clyde Donnell, M. D., Durham, Medical Director of N. C. Mutual Life Co.
W. H. Wilson, Durham, Banking and Real Estate.
A. E. Burgess, Raleigh, Lawyer.
Allen B. Doggett, Jr., Hampton Institute, Va., Editor of "Southern Workman."
Dr. Harry McD. Evans, Durham, N. C., Physician.
Harry H. Pace, Newark, N. J., President Northeastern Life Insurance Co.
M. Conrad Martin, Danville, Va., Bank Cashier.
Archdeacon E. L. Baskervill, 54 Bogard St., Charleston, S. C., Clergyman.
S. L. McDowell, Durham, N. C., Minister.
Eugene L. Henderson, Durham, N. C., Clergyman.
J. H. Moore, Durham, N. C., Minister.
M. H. Thompson, Durham, N. C., Attorney.
George S. Schuyler, N. Y. Journalist.
Brooks Dickens, Shaw U., Raleigh, N. C., Head, Dept. of Education.
W. S. Turner, Shaw U., Raleigh, N. C., Dean-Teacher.
Wm. C. Craver, N. Y. National Student Secretary of Y. M. C. A.
John L. Tilley, Shaw U., Raleigh, N. C.
O. S. Bullock, Raleigh, N. C., Minister.
A. W. Pogues, Raleigh, N. C., Shaw, Teacher.
R. H. Boyce, Roxboro, N. C., Physician.
A. L. Holsey, Tuskegee Institute, Secretary National Negro Business League.
R. R. Taylor, Tuskegee; John E. Nail, New York City; A. P. Randolph, N. Y. C.; W. Scales, Winston-Salem; John A. Blume, Winston-Salem; John W. Davis, Institute, W. Va.; James A. Jackson, Washington; W. A. Robinson
W. J. Hale, Nashville; Mrs. Alice D. Nelson, Wilmington; Dr. Roscoe C. Brown, Durham; R. W. Bullock, N. Y. C.; J. H. McGraw, Atlanta; A. T. Brooks, Roanoke; J. E. Ormes, Durham, N. C.; Mrs. G. W. Cox, Durham, N. C.; L. A. Oxley, Raleigh; L. M. Chatman, Charleston, W. Va.; E. L. Snyder, St. Louis; Mrs. G. D. Johnson, Washington; C. E. Lightner, Raleigh; E. A. Witherspoon, Durham; G. F. Ragsdale, Winston-Salem; F. D. Bluford, Greensboro, N. C.; Rev. Williams, Raleigh; D. A. Lane, Jr., Institute, W. Va.; D. D. Jones, Greensboro; E. L. Baskerville, Charleston; H. L. Granger, Bordentown; E. L. Henderson, Durham; J. H. Moore, N. C.; H. P. Brinton, Chapel Hill; R. M. Brown, Chapel Hill; R. L. Vann, Pittsburgh; P. B. Young, Norfolk, Va.; C. A. Barnett, Chicago.

The political situation was discussed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois before a crowded house at St. Joseph's A. M. E. Church, Thursday night of the Fact Finding Conference of Durham, N. C.

The committee on politics reported that the ballot was absolutely necessary everywhere in the South. Citizens were urged to pay poll taxes or other requirements for registration.

Declaring that no official figures existed as to the vote by races in the South, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois made public the results of the survey of several southern states which are using the illiteracy test, the property test, the poll test, the army service test, the good reputation test the grandfathed clause and the understanding clause as means to disfranchise colored voters.

North Carolina

Taking North Carolina as an example, Editor DuBois said he sent out 100 letters to county election officials with a stamped, addressed envelope enclosed. He said he received 27 replies and the other persons kept his stamps.

Replies received from Pender and Dare Counties quoted the election officials as saying that colored people were satisfied with the government there and for this reason none of them had registered or voted.

Richmond county officials reported that 25 of 50 persons registered most of them teachers and preachers.

In the 27 counties, Dr. DuBois estimated that 3,219 persons registered and 1,970 voted.

With 85,000 eligible voters in North Carolina, he estimated that only 13,000 persons registered and 8,200 voted.

Georgia

Figures for 1926 in Georgia, Dr. DuBois said, showed that 90,000 persons paid a poll tax, fifty per cent of them registered and others were prohibited by registrars from voting.

Alabama

Alabama showed a voting list of 3,500 colored voters and less than 1,000 of these were in Birmingham.

Mississippi showed only 430 registered voters.

Louisiana showed 1,743 registered out of a 143,000 eligible.

Texas

Texas has 800,000 Democrats and five per cent of these are colored. It has also 300,000 Republicans, 10,000 of whom voted in 1926.

Whites Disfranchised Too

Although the various tests and clauses were designed to disfranchise colored voters only, whites also are being disfranchised by this method, Dr. DuBois said. He quoted figures showing that although Virginia's population has increased from 150,000 to 2,300,000 since 1856, the number of voters has dropped from 150,000 in 1856 to 130,000 in 1920.

In Texas, Dr. DuBois estimated that 1,760,000 whites were disfranchised.

By disfranchising colored people the southern states are sending one representative to Congress to every 14,000 voters, while the northern states are sending one representative to Congress for every 40,000 voters.

In other words, said Dr. DuBois, 14,000 southern voters equal 40,000 nothern voters.

You keep still and do not purpose to elt people know about all this because it will hurt business, the speaker declared. This situation will last only until the country knows about it.

All Depend On Ballot

Jim crow, disfranchisement, lynching, the death rate and crime all depend upon the vote and political power. It is the duty of this conference, he said, to make such a noise in the world that these things must change.

Asked why the Negro in the north did not vote 100 per cent, Dr. DuBois said.

"A good many of them came from the south and were imbued with the slave psychology."

Asked why the white south doesn't vote, he said most of them are democrats and do not know what it is all about.

Ohio.

Political—1927

Suffrage

TIMES
TOLEDO, O.

AUG 20 1927

Northrup To Speak At Colored Voters Meeting

The Universal Negro Improvement association and the Lucas County Independent Colored Voters league will hold a joint meeting Sunday at Liberty hall, Cherry street, in support of Grant Northrup in his campaign for mayor.

More than 500 members of the two organizations are expected at the meeting. Northrup and several of his committee members will speak. J. H. Johnson of New York will also talk.

Political-1927

Oklahoma.

Sustrage

OKLA. NEGROES WIN FIGHT FOR REGISTRATION

Boley, Okla., June 15.—(Special to the Atlanta Independent)—The famous Boley registration case from Okfuskee County was again decided in their favor by the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Paul, Minnesota, Wednesday, June 1, 1927. This information was received from Attorney J. J. Bruce, representing the colored voters of Okfuskee County, Saturday advising them of the fact that his motion to dismiss the case had been sustained.

The letter advising of the dismissal of the suits was received by D. D. Davis and George W. Perry, and the news was soon sent to the various sections of Okfuskee County advising the loyal people who spent so much money to win the case and the talk of victory was the sole topic of discussion in many instances on the streets in the afternoon.

It is a long story of a continual struggle of the people to register in Okfuskee County. The movement was started by D. D. Davis, F. R. Givens, James Bragg, R. B. Bell, N. L. Walker and a few others in 1924, and after the movement was started, many were added to its banners until the victory was complete.

Many were happy to know that at this time no cloud is upon the title to their registration certificates which were given to them last year. The expression of confidence in their leaders who piloted them through the most trying ordeal was the topic of much praise for them, and for the brilliant attorney, J. J. Bruce, who was the chief counsel in the case. Many words of praise were mentioned for the editor of the Black Dispatch, who aided so much in the encouragement of the people with

(Continued on Page 8)

OKLAHOMA NEGROES WIN REGISTRATION CASE

(Continued from Page 1)

his speeches and with his paper.

The case which has attracted nation-wide attention will give to the colored people in other states a case which can be referred to and cited by attorneys and a means with which they can go into court and win their franchise without question.

The old story which was so oft repeated to the people, "it can't be done" was nailed only as a landmark to further achievement for the people. It was done and that is the password to the people who made it possible. For the first time in nearly sixteen years the people of Okfuskee County were able in a large way to have a say in the election of its officials last year.

The Boley Republican Club with its branches located over and throughout Okfuskee County was responsible for this notable victory for the race in Oklahoma, and will reflect credit upon the race in all of the disfranchised states in the Union. This organization which is comprised of several thousand of the taxpayers and land owners in this county, some of them among the largest taxpayers in the county, were jubilant, indeed, of the victory.

VOTE FOR BOLEY NEGROES KEPT BY DISMISSAL

800 Plaintiffs First File Case Against County Board in 1924.

Elect Negro Officials

Case Dismissed in U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals on Lack of Prosecution.

Litigation that has followed a decision handed down by the U. S. Federal Court of Oklahoma at Tulsa has finally ended in favor of the 800 plaintiffs who first filed their case against the county election board of Okfuskee County in October of 1924, to compel them to place their names on the registration roll.

Registration Forced.

Attorneys J. J. Bruce and Spencer Adams secured judgment against the county election board and the board was compelled to register about 800 in 1924. The county board then appealed the case to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, and the case was assigned for January, 1926, and was then assigned to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Paul and the date was set for May 4.

After the hearing in May the case was pending until one day before general election in November, 1926. The same number of plaintiffs filed another suit against the county election board and the state election board including the secretary of state.

Prohibition Writ Denied.

On November 1, 1926, one day before the general election, the defendants asked for a writ of prohibition against enforcement of the judgment, which was denied by Judge Sanborn's court. The board was made to appoint a colored precinct registrar and 1,500 votes were registered.

On election day, November 2 1926, a county judge and county commissioner, white Republicans favored by the Negroes, colored justice of the peace and several other colored officers were elected.

New Hearing Allowed.

After the general election in 1926 a hearing on June 1, 1927, for a writ of prohibition on its merits was allowed. The case was called in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Paul and was dismissed for want of prosecution. This leaves the judgment of the U. S. District Court in full force and effect. All of the colored people, more than 2,000 citizens of Boley, Okla., now hold election certificates and they also have a colored registrar.

Litigation Ends Trouble.

This litigation has put an end to much voting trouble in that locality. The lawyers defending the case were members of the county board and after losing the fight to keep the Negro from voting have moved out of the county.

The Attorney General's office of the State and the Cowboy lawyer, Sid White, prepared the legal battle for the defendants. Since losing the fight Sid White has become friendly with Atty. J. J. Bruce and they have fought together on cases.

OKLA. REGISTRATION CASES ARE WON AGAIN BY NEGROES

U. S. District Court of Appeals Dismisses the Cases Brought By White Registrars After Victory By Negroes In U. S. Circuit Court

Colored Citizens Of Boley and Okfuskee County Led The Fight Against Disfranchisement

BOLEY, Okla., June 6.—(Special to the St. Louis Argus)—The famous Boley, Oklahoma registration case from Okfuskee county was again decided in favor of the Negroes by the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Paul, Minnesota, Wednesday, June 1. This information was received from Attorney J. J. Bruce, representing the colored voters of Okfuskee county, Saturday advising them of the fact that his motion to dismiss the case had been sustained.

It will be remembered that in 1924, registration was denied colored citizens of Okfuskee county by the white registrars; whereupon, they filed a writ of mandamus in the District Court of Tulsa. The county Registrar appealed to the U. S. District Court of Appeals. The case has had several sittings, some in St. Louis and at St. Paul. This decision is regarded as the last chapter in this case.

The letter advising them of the dismissal of the suit was received by the president and corresponding secretary of the Boley Republican Club and the news was soon sent to the various sections of Okfuskee county, advising the loyal people who spent so much money to win the case, and the victory talk was the sole topic of discussion in many instances on the streets in the afternoon.

It is a long story of a continued struggle of the people to register in Okfuskee county. The movement was started by D. D. Davis, Geo. W. Perry, F. R. Givens, Jas. Bragg, R. B. Bell, N. L. Walker and a few others in 1924, and after the movement was started, many were added to its banners until the victory was complete.

The case, which has attracted nation-wide atteniton, will give to the colored people in other states a case which can be referred to and cited by the attorneys and they can go into the courts and win their franchise without question

Political - 1927

Suffrage

Oregon.

OREGON WIPES OUT LAST LAWS AGAINST NEGROES

Salem, Ore., Feb. 12—(PCNB)—For the second time the voters of Oregon are to cast their ballot against the obsolete law that are written upon the statute books of the State discriminating against the Negro. In the last election the people were asked to drop from the Constitution the unconstitutional section prohibiting Negroes from taking up their residence in Oregon; the measure was adopted by a overwhelming majority.

Through an error another obsolete clause, overlooked by the last legislature, is that section of the Constitution which forbids Negroes and Chinamen to vote in Oregon.

House joint resolution No. 4, by Giesy of Salem providing for submission to the people at the next general election of an amendment to the Constitution eliminating the unconstitutional measure was recently adopted by the House without a dissenting vote.

Political - 1927

Suffrage

Pennsylvania.

SCRANTON, PA.

JAN 30 1927

COLORED REPUBLICAN CLUB MEETS TODAY

A meeting of the Lackawanna County Colored Republican club will take place this afternoon at 5 o'clock at the Community Center on Gibson street. The use of the hall was obtained through the courtesy of Miss Priscilla Porter, recreation and social worker. Councilman Stanley Davis and Samuel Castles will address the gathering, and President Walter Price will preside.

Miss Porter will entertain with violin numbers and give an outline of the social work planned for the coming year. This is the first of a series of "pep" meetings which President Price and his aides expect to conduct. The public is invited to attend. Luncheon will be served.

DEMOCRAT
JOHNSTOWN, PA.

SEP 9 1927

OFFICIAL LIST OF WARD LEADERS IS ANNOUNCED BY NEGRO VOTERS' BODY

E. N. Patrick, chairman; John F. Jones, treasurer, and Edward Crockett, secretary of the Negro Voters' Welfare organization, called at The Democrat office last evening and gave the official report of the business transacted at a meeting Tuesday evening, including the appointment of ward representatives. They stated that the list of the ward representatives of the club was printed in an article of a local newspaper yesterday was not correct, some names having been included which are not on the official list. The correct list of representatives follow: Charles Duiguid and James Burton, Fourth ward; Charles Johnson, Fifth ward; John F. Jones and Edward Crockett, Sixth ward; I. D. Lewis and J. D. Atkins, Ninth ward; Samuel Pickett and R. D. Hall, Tenth ward; H. D. Wells, Twelfth ward; C. G. H. Humphries and J. H. Robinson, Fourteenth ward. The Rev. Dr. S. B. Birchmore was chosen as head of the grievance committee.

The officers of the club also issued a warning last evening to all candidates for office and campaign managers not to consider any one claiming to represent the Negro Voters' Welfare organization as all business must be transacted through the club secretary, Edward Crockett.

The next meeting of the organization will be held Tuesday evening at the Coachmen and Porters' club. The club also is planning for a mass meeting to be held within the near future at which the principal speaker will be Attorney R. L. Vann of Pittsburg, who is a candidate for judge in Allegheny county.

Political - 1927

Suffrage

South Carolina.

"Race Won't Vote In S. C."— Sen. Blease

Former Governor Makes Startling Revelations.

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier).

BY LOUIS RLAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 20.—Frequent references to disfranchisement in the South drew from Senator Cole L. Blease, Democrat, of South Carolina, the statement that the same constitutional provision applies to both races in the exercise of the elective franchise in that state.

Senator Blease spoke last Wednesday and Thursday in opposition to the maternity and infant hygiene bill, which the Senate had under consideration. He based his opposition to the measure on the ground that it is a violation of the doctrine of State rights. In the course of his remarks he asserted his friendship for colored people and discussed the question of their not voting in South Carolina. He also declared that he would vote to seat Senators-elect Frank L. Smith of Illinois and William S. Vare of Pennsylvania.

By the admissions of Senator Blease, in the first primary election in South Carolina last year there were only 173,639 votes polled in the race for governor. In the second race there were only 163,231 votes polled. In the senatorial race of 1924 there were only 199,151 votes polled. In the general election in 1920, his colleague, Senator E. D. Smith, received only 64,388 votes. This year Senator Smith received only 14,560 votes. South Carolina has a possible vote of 455,000.

"I do not know why these conditions exist," said Senator Blease, "but I do know that the colored people of my State are not anxious to vote. I have never heard of them making any special clamor for the privilege of voting. One of the particular reasons for it is the fact that they have not a decent party of what they believe is their political faith to follow in the State of South Carolina.

"We have a constitutional provision which does not keep any man from voting. The same constitutional provision that applies to the white man applies to the colored man. The same constitutional provision that applies to the colored woman applies to the white woman. It is a question as to whether or not they go and receive their registration certificate.

Senator Blease stated that "when a man receives the Democratic primary nomination he is the same as elected, because he has no opposition, for there is not anybody there to vote against him."

When he was the governor of his state, Senator Blease said, he "pardoned more colored people than all of the other governors of South Carolina put together have pardoned up to date." He referred to the state prison as a "tuberculosis incubator" and stated that it took him four years to abolish it, and build a tuberculosis hospital for the care of those into whose bodies the State of South Carolina had put the disease.

He mentioned his pardoning of colored persons "to show that I have not been and I am not today an enemy of the colored man." He has in his office, he said, messages from colored people in his state. "The President of the State colored normal and industrial college, a well-educated man, a man who uses as good English as I ever heard any man speak, and who writes a beautiful letter, the Reverend Doctor Wilkinson, only a few days ago sent to Mrs. Blease a beautiful, well-cooked splendid fruit cake, and said that he was sending it because of my kindness to him and his students while I was governor. For 16 Christmases such a cake has come,' Senator Blease said.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.
JAN 14 1927

Negroes To Buck G. O. P.

H. E. C. Bryant, veteran Washington correspondent and former Charlotte newspaper man, says negroes have recently assembled in Washington and organized a drive for more Pullman car service and more offices in the Republican party.

They threaten to bolt the G. O. P. if their requests are turned down, and as they hold the balance of power at the polls in any number of Northern States we may well imagine that some big promises will be made to Sambo from now until after the conventions have been held.

The negroes favor Chicago for the National Republican convention base, because they can be sure of a better break there, relative to temporary hotel accommodations, mobilization and accessibility to the blackbelt of the South.

While the negro has lost his rabbit's foot, generally speaking, in the South, it cannot be denied that he swings a big stick in national affairs, since he has the vote and all the rights of any other voter up there, and if he should vote in a bloc, a fashion he often threatens, and sometimes carries out, he could defeat half the members of Congress, and possibly the Republican nominee for President.

Political - 1927

Tennessee.

Suffrage

FIGHTS FOR FIREMEN COPS AND ZOO



"Bob" Church, Memphis Politician who has promised to lick the present mayor on this issue. Mayor Paine says it would violate southern traditions to open the city zoo to all races.

CHURCH SEEKS TO OUST MAYOR OF MEMPHIS

Thousands Of Voters In City Register For Coming Election

CITY'S ZOO OPEN FOR WHITES ONLY

Mayor Paine Also Refuses To Appoint Colored Cops And Firemen

MEMPHIS, TENN.—'Bob' Church is out to get the scalp of Mayor Rowlett Paine, white, in the coming election.

Church, known as the national Republican leader who names postmasters in this state and fires United States' marshals, has declared 99.9 of the colored people in this city will vote against Paine on election day.

To defeat Paine, Church has formed the West Tennessee Civic and Political League now at work registering voters in every ward, bringing in speakers from out of town for that purpose.

War was declared on Paine when he declined to lift the ban which exists now on the city's public parks and especially the city's zoo whereby all colored people are excluded.

Police and Firemen

Paine also has declined to appoint colored men as firemen and police.

Paine who has served two terms, says he believes in better colored schools and better hospital facilities but he'd be false to his own convictions of what is best for both races and disloyal to the ideals and traditions of the South if he permitted colored citizens to visit the city zoo.

MEMPHIS

TENNESSEE

JUL 24 1927

NEGROES BUSY IN 25TH.

Front Porch Campaign Planned to Organize Votes in Ward.

A concerted effort to organize the colored voters of the Twenty-fifth Ward will begin tomorrow night with a series of "front porch" rallies urging them to register and pay their poll tax at the proper time. Notice of the meeting places will be announced from time to time. The concluding meeting will be at 587 Alston Avenue. Speakers will be furnished from the Tennessee Civic and Political League. The I. C. Quartet and other musical features will enliven the meetings. M. Thornton is chairman of the arrangements.

EXERCISE YOUR FRANCHISE

If our trustee should attempt to prevent Negro voters of Knox county from casting their votes in the approaching city election, a howl would go up that could be heard almost around the globe. Not that the efficient county official has any inclination in that direction, but on the other hand, he is insistent that members of the racial group qualify themselves to vote. Yet, there are those by the hundreds who have not gone down to the office of the trustee and paid their 1926 poll tax which will enable them to vote in the important city election that will be held on September 11. Not only the hard-working, laboring class of men in many instances have overlooked this important duty, but many of the educated members of the group appear as unconcerned about this duty as though it was of little importance.

The city of Knoxville needs your interest to the extent that you will vote in the election of September. The law provides that every voter must hold a poll tax receipt with a date showing that the tax was paid sixty days before the day of election. In order to comply with the law and become qualified to vote, the tax must be paid on or before next Monday, July 11.

The tax must be paid eventually, and in addition a penalty will be added. Let every voter, man or woman, prepare themselves along this line and get to the office of the trustee before next Monday.

Ministers of the local churches should consider the matter of advising their hearers at the services of next Sunday to prepare themselves to vote by paying their poll tax.

Whites Bomb Negro Meeting

Listening to Instructions On Voting

NO ONE IS HURT

Seemingly Organized Plan to Intimidate Negroes

Memphis, Tenn., Nov. 17—(PNS)—It appears that there are a number of whites here who are inclined to be filled with an undue amount of fear lest the activities of the Negroes in this city under the leadership of Lieut. B. W. Lee, a distinguished race man who has started a movement to organize the race voters of Memphis and at the same time teach them the simple and rudimentary elements of citizenship and how to exercise the right of suffrage.

Just prior to the last election more than a thousand men and women were assembled in the Overton-Davis school being tought how to vote intelligently a group of whites, alleged to be unknown to the police, placed a bomb under the school building and set it off while the meeting was in progress. The explosion created considerable consternation, although no one was hurt.

A meeting was going on at the same time in the New York Prospect Baptist Church and a few minutes later a minor explosion occurred there frightening the attendants considerably. Police were notified of the trouble and started a search for those responsible for the disturbance.

The bomb tore a large hole in the floor of the church. Some one lifted the covering of the basement door and pitched the bomb into the cellar.

Several months ago the Negroes of Memphis started this Americanization movement and when the whites learned that the Negroes planned to mass their voting strength with the purpose in mind of securing better housing, sanitation, lighting, police protection, as well as political representation in the form of appointments as clerks, etc., in the municipal and county offices, it is said that numerous diplomatic efforts on the parts of the whites have been made to dissuade the Negro leaders from carrying out their plans of organizing the Negroes into a solid voting unit.

The Memphis white papers attempted to make light of the situation by printing stories of how frightened the Negroes were of "skyrockets" and fire crackers apparently placed in the buildings by someone seeking to play a prank on the Negroes.

Leading Negroes of Memphis declare that these cowardly attempts to deter them and their people from the purpose of racial solidarity has only made them a more determined set of citizens who will seek more ardently in the future to secure their full citizenship rights, and especially assert themselves at the polls on election days.

Sheriff Knight said that the bomb was of the harmless kind. He says that it may or may not have been thrown for political effect. That does not matter. It may have just been a political joke. Regardless of that there is room in the county jail for persons who do such dastardly tricks regardless of what political side they favor. This office will do all in its power to find the perpetrator.

SUPREMACY OF WHITES MADE ISSUE BY PAINE

Mayor Attacks Program of Negro Civic League.

ASKS OVERTON TO SPEA

Only "a Carpetbagger" Won Submit to Demands of Leagu Says the Mayor in Formal S ai ment to the Press.

Characterizing the published pro gram of the West Tennessee Civic and Political League, a negro organization, as "the greatest menace to white supremacy in this city since reconstruction days," Mayor Rowlett Paine issued a statement yesterday vetoing the major items of the league's program.

The aspirations of the league were recently published over the signature of M, S. Stuart. They embodied a desire for negro policemen in the large colored wards, access to the parks, particularly the Overton Park Zoo, better treatment at the hands of the police and higher pay for colored school teachers.

Simmons Pleaded the Cause.

These stipulations have been made the rallying cry for the organization of thousands of negro voters who registered last month and are now engaged in a campaign of poll tax payments. Roscoe Conklin Simmons, noted negro orator, came down from Chicago during the registration period and urged upon his people the necessity of using the ballot to better their station in society.

Another plank in the platform of the league opposes the herding of the negro vote by professional politicians. Up to date the league officials have disavowed any alliance with either the city or the county political organizations.

The statement of the mayor is generally regarded as having put to an end any possible entente between the league and the city administration.

In fact, the mayor wants it so in the record.

"I have spoken," he said yesterday, "now it is up to Mr. Overton to declare himself."

Overton in Conference.

Mr. Overton was in consultation with his friends yesterday afternoon and declined to make any comment until the matter had been gone into further.

It is not known that any delegation from the league made any formal demand on the mayor to approve or disapprove the program. The mayor acted on his own initiative after reading a published account of the league's stand and a newspaper article which quoted E. H. Crump as saying that 99.1 per cent of the negro vote would go to Watkins Overton.

The text of the mayor's statement follows:

The West Tennessee Civic and Political League, a negro political organization, has publicly announced that it intends to ask for the appointment of negro policemen, negro firemen and the general admission of negroes into Overton Park, including the zoo, at all times.

I deeply deplore the political activities that led to the formation of a negro organization that voices such demands at the beginning of the municipal campaign. The politicians who herded the negroes and voted them in droves in the state Democratic primary last year paved the way for the situations now confronting the people of Memphis and constituting the greatest menace to white supremacy in this city since reconstruction days.

Evils Aggravated.

The evils of the situation have been aggravated by the recent appeals for racial solidarity and political mass action by the negroes.

There are many intelligent, law-abiding negroes in Memphis, and there is nothing to fear from the votes of this class, nor is there any impropriety in candidates for office making any legitimate appeal for the support of a negro who votes his own convictions.

It is a vastly different situation, however, when a negro political club has been organized with the thought that it can dominate the politics of the city of Memphis, and no white man whose political morality is above the level of the carpetbagger, will give aid and comfort to a political organization of negroes that has as its principal object the con-

(Continued on Page Two)

SUPREMACY OF WHITES MADE ISSUE BY PAINE

(Continued From Page One)

trol of city elections with the solid negro vote.

Answer Is "No."

There is no use in mincing words about the matter, and my answer to the demands of this negro political league is the direct and positive statement that there will be no negro policemen, no negro firemen, nor removal of the restrictions now governing the admission of negroes to the white parks of the city, including the Overton Park zoo, as long as I have any voice in the control of the city government.

This answer to the demands above referred to of the West Tennessee Civic and Political League is also my answer to the boast publicly announced in a daily paper by the white political boss that the ticket which bears his name will receive 99.1 per cent of the negro vote.

Believes Protest Due.

I would be false to my own convictions of what is best for both races, and disloyal to the ideals and traditions of the south if, as a candidate for re-election to the chief executive office of a southern city, I failed to protest with all the vigor of which I am capable against political activities that will give the negro, organized into a political club, the balance of the power in the political affairs of the city of Memphis.

During my two terms of office, I have endeavored to be just and fair in my treatment of the individual negro, and no legitimate appeal of his race has been denied. I have interested myself in providing for the negro better schools, more hospital advantages, an extension of park facilities, improved sanitation, notably sewer and water connections, and I intend to continue dealing at all times fairly and squarely with the negro race.

A Challenge.

However, the unusual activities of the negroes along political lines now prevailing in this city, the admittedly large number of illegal negro registrations, the organization of this negro political club, its publicly announced demands, these constitute a challenge to every white man and white woman in the city of Memphis to become a qualified voter—to be prepared to exercise the right of suffrage.

Voters who are due to pay a poll tax must do so by Saturday, Sept. 10, in order to be qualified to vote in the November election.

ROWLETT PAINE.

MEMPHIS
TENNESSEE
AUG 5 1927

ACTIVITY IN THE 25TH

Front Porch Meeting in Campaign to Organize the Colored Vote.

A front porch meeting will be held tonight at 7:30 o'clock at 888 South Wellington Street as part of the campaign going on to organize the colored vote of the city. Speakers will be furnished by the West Tennessee Civic Club and Political League. The purpose of these meeetings is to urge the negroes to pay their poll taxes and register next week. M. Thornton is chairman of the special 25th ward organization and R. T. Diggs is secretary.

MEMPHIS, TENN. Scimitar
OCT 5 1927

Republican Ticket Talk Revived as Check Shows Huge Negro Registration

By RALPH MILLETT

Forty per cent of the voters who registered in the biennial registration are negroes, according to Paine workers. Statisticians at the Paine headquarters completed a check-up Wednesday which they say showed 11,800 negroes and 17,706 white voters are registered.

While only 6,766 negroes have paid poll tax, many are over the age limit. Old politicians generally figure that the number of voters who do not have to pay poll tax is equivalent to one-third of those who have paid.

The Paine figures bear this out. Of the 29.506 registered voters, 9700 gave their age as over 50, which means they are not required to pay poll tax. If the same proportion holds true among the negro voters, 3933 have registered who are over the tax age. This number added to the poll tax total of 6766 gives 10,699, which either indicates that 1,201 are registered who have not paid their poll tax or that the percentage of negroes over 50 who have registered is greater than the percentage of both negroes and whites who registered.

The figures are especially interesting in view of efforts being made to launch a Republican ticket. Reports were circulated Wednesday that Bob Church, negro politician, has promised to give the ticket his support.

He is generally credited with power to control the West Tennessee Civic and Political league that has been given credit for the large negro registration and poll tax payments.

The Republicans were to hold another meeting Wednesday. They still refuse to give out names of various men who have been mentioned as candidates. S. W. Moore, Jr., real estate man, and Jim Woods, of the Fischer Lime and Cement Co., have been discussed. A prominent lumberman was decided upon for mayor, but when he was approached he told the committee that he would not run against Paine.

Leaders of the movement for a Republican ticket claim they have assurances from many business men that they would support a third ticket, as they are opposed to "both Crump and Paine."

Political - 1927

Tennessee

Suffrage.

8,000 VOTERS DEFEAT MAYOR IN MEMPHIS

Hoodlums Bomb Church Where Bob Church Addresses Political Rally

RACE VOTE SOLID FOR DEMOCRATS

11-19-27

Count In Colored Precincts Shows But Few Payne Ballots Cast

MEMPHIS, TENN.—Despite the explosion of a bomb in the basement of Prospect Baptist Church as Robert R. Church spoke at a closing political rally Wednesday night, nearly 8,000 race voters went to the polls Thursday and helped to relegate their antagonist, Mayor J. Rowlette Payne, to private life.

The bomb, which damaged the church, and threw the meeting into a near panic, was hurled by white sympathizers of the Payne forces, as one of the usual tricks to intimidate voters and keep them away from the polls.

Violence Feared

Leaders of the W. Tennessee Civic Republic League declared that more men and women would undoubtedly have voted had there not been some fear of serious disturbance. Between 7,000 and 8,000 voted, according to Robert R. Church.

It is known that there are around 11,000 eligible colored voters in the city. More than 7,000 registered as Democrats before the recent primary. An analysis of the vote, however, which gave Overton, the Crump and Church candidate, 19,806 and Payne 7,026, showed that the group vote was not only a vital factor in the election, but the balance of power.

Race Issue Dominant

Early in the campaign, Payne made the race issue the dominant factor. Every trick known in the political trade to arouse prejudice was used. In the Payne headquarters on Main street, a large portrait of Robert Church was hung, under which was placed this statement to stir prejudices of white men and women:

"Will Southern white men and women allow this Negro man to name the Mayor of the great city of Memphis, and defeat a Southern white woman?"

On the day before the election there appeared full page advertisements in the white press appealing to white prejudice to block the ambitions of colored voters who sought to have colored policemen, firemen and free use of "white" parks, and holding up Church as "intoxicated with his success in matters of Federal patronage and aiming to become real dictator in local politics."

On the night before the election, Payne declared in a final appeal: "Church and his aides are engaged in the most sinister political activities ever undertaken in the city. Victory through their votes and influence means that in the future candidates for office in this city, like applicants for Federal appointment, must see 'Bob' Church."

Is Church Victory

The election of Overton is regarded not only as a Church victory, but as an evidence that even many white voters will not support a man of the Payne politics on the race issue.

Eight years ago Payne was elevated to Mayor on a citizens' better government ticket supported by colored voters. In the 1924 election he again appealed to colored voters and made promises which he failed to keep, according to leaders here. The last straw came when he persisted in placing a crematory near the new high school over protests of colored citizens.

Overton's Pledge

Overton is said to have pledged that "He will deal fairly and honestly with every citizen." What this means was not made specific in the campaign, and, on the whole, the switch to the Crump candidate was regarded more as a fight against the Republican, Payne, than a fight for the Democrat, Overton.

Hot Time In Old Town

"There'll be a hot time in the old town tonight," shouted men in the monster parade headed by Overton and Crump shortly after returns showed them victors and as they marched down Beale avenue where a huge throng was gathered around headquarters.

Vote Solid For Demmies

Some further idea of how solidly the Negro vote was against Payne can be gleaned from figures in precincts almost wholly colored. The second precinct of the 10th Ward gave Overton 128 and Payne 7. The first precinct of the 11th Ward, also colored, gave Overton 425 and Payne 39, while the second precinct of the 14th Ward gave Overton 221 and Payne 64. In the first precinct of the 29th Ward Overton got 257 and Payne 6.

Political - 1927

Texas.

Suffrage

Texas Negroes Organize to Push Poll Tax

—o—

AUSTIN, Texas. (ANP)—A vigorous and active campaign to encourage and stimulate the Negroes of Texas to qualify for the elections of 1928, was formally launched here recently at a statewide conference held under the auspices of the Independent Colored Voters' league of Texas. R. T. Evans, well known Waco lawyer, is state chairman, and C. F. Richardson, editor of the Houston Informer, is secretary-treasurer.

The meeting, which was largely attended by a group of representative and deetrmined Negro leaders of the Lon Star State, has issued an appeal to the Negro citizenry of Texas, urging them to pay the poll tax or secure an exemption fo certificate by January 31, 1928. No person can vote in Texas elections who does not pay the poll tax or secure exemption certificate between October 1 and January 31.

With $1 of every poll tax going into the fund for the public schools of the state, and since Texas is doing more for Negro education than any state in the "far South", the conferees have drafted an appeal showing that the race has absolutely nothing to lose, but everything to gain, by paying the poll tax 200,000 strong.

Efforts will be made to perfect county organizations in all counties possessing large Negro populations, with county chairman, secretary and executive committee, latter composed of chairmen from every voting precinct.

The conference adopted the following slogan: "Pay your poll tax now and help enlarge the public educational fund of Texas!"

DALLAS, TEX.

DEC 11 1927

Bonds Indorsed By Negro Chamber

Complete indorsement has beer given by the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce to the Ulrickson bond program to be voted on next Thursday and circulars have been sent to 3,000 negro voters asking them to vote for each of the fifteen bond propositions. The same indorsement has been given to all of the thirty-nine proposed city charter amendments, except proposition 13, which would empower the city to approve segregation agreements. The circular letter sent to voters urges a vote against this measure, on the ground that it is unnecessary and unconstitutional.

Indorsement was given by the organization, the letter says, after a complete study of the entire program by officers of the Negro Chamber of Commerce and officers of the Parents, Students and Teachers' Association of Booker T. Washington High School.

A meeting of negro voters will be held at the Washington school on Wednesday night, at which the bond issue plan will be discussed.

Political - 1927 Texas. (Negro Press.)

Suffrage.

WHAT OUR BALLOT SHOULD SECURE FOR US IN THE COMING ELECTIONS.

The Progressive Voters League, an organization which came into existence as the result of the desire that as many Negroes as possible pay their Poll Tax in order that the voting strength of the race be as large as possible, has conceived the idea of a larger program of civic improvements for the race and has drafted a list of the needed things in a civic way for the group. These ideas have been placed in the hands of the prospective candidates for place in the official family of Dallas and The Express presents them herewith that the general public may see them and decide whether or not they constitute the things which our votes should secure. The group asks the following of those who will be elected in the April elections:

1. That there be a continuation of the paving of streets in Negro sections.
2. That sewer mains, where needed, be extended in Negro districts and where it is found that property owners are unable to pay for the same, the same be paid out of the city treasury.
3. That Negroes be given a branch of The Carnegie Library as is done in Houston and in other cities in Texas, or that some plan be devised whereby Negroes can obtain books from the present library and get other benefits which this library affords other groups. They feel that this request should be granted since the library is supported by taxes paid by property owners regardless of color.
4. That Negro parks be extended, improved and beautified to the end that they will compare favorably with those in other sections of the city.

Dallas Express

5. That the employment of the Welfare Worker for Negroes and the Public Health nurse be continued.
6. That a larger number of Negroes be given work by the city in the departments where common laborers are employed.
7. That the humane treatment accorded to Negroes by the Police Department under Commissioner Turley be continued and guaranteed.

3-12-27

Dallas, Texas.

8. That Negroes be given ample fire and police protection in the districts where they live.
9. That competent Negro doctors be placed on the staff of the City Hospital to help care for Negro patients.
10. That as soon as is practicable, Negro policemen be put on force to patrol Negro districts as is done in Houston, Galveston, San Antonio, Beaumont, and Austin and in other section of the South. It will lessen crime and give to Negroes a greater respect for the law enforcing bodies of the city.

The Express believes that this program of improvements should be definitely sought by every person of voting age who has paid his poll tax and that the choice of tickets should be made in accordance with the expression of every candidate on the things mentioned in this statement. THESE ARE THE THINGS WHICH NEGROES IN DALLAS NEED. THEY ARE ESSENTIAL TO MORE DECENT LIFE HERE THAN HAS BEEN HAD. THEY DO NOT CONSTITUTE ANYTHING OUT OF THE ORDINARY FOR CITIZENS TO EXPECT FROM ANY ADMINISTRATION. THEY BENEFIT THE GROUP GENERALLY. AND IF THEY ARE WORTH HAVING, THEY ARE WORTH VOTING FOR. VOTING ON ANY OTHER BASIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A WASTE OF OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE TO THE RACE.

It may be that many of the candidates will consider such a statement altogether out of the question and that they will pay scant heed to it. Let such candidates do as they desire; for such action on the part of candidates gives opportunity for just such action on the part of voters and they too CAN DO AS THEY SEE FIT. AND ANY PERSON WHO MIGHT SEEK OR CANVASS A NEGRO VOTE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO FORGET THAT NEGROES ARE SEEKING TO USE THEIR BALLOTS TO SECURE BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS IN DALLAS and that other considerations than a greater share in the benefits of the city are beside the point. LET EVERY NEGRO VOTER THINK ON THESE THINGS. LET HIM REMEMBER THEM. LET HIM ASK THE ATTITUDE OF EVERY CANDIDATE ON THEM. LET HIM REMEMBER THAT THE BALLOT IS HIS ONLY MEANS OF SECURING THEM. THE EXPRESS WILL WATCH CLOSELY THE TEND OF THE WHOLE CAMPAIGN AND WILL AT SOME TIME IN THE NEAR FUTURE PICK A TICKET WHICH, IN ITS OPINION, COMES NEAREST TO BEING OF THE SORT FOR WHICH NEGROES SHOULD VOTE. IF CONDITIONS DO NOT WARRANT THE CHOICE OF WHOLE TICKETS, THE EXPRESS WILL SPLIT THEM. IF NONE OF THEM SHOW THE PROPER SORT OF SPIRIT, THE EXPRESS WILL INDICATE THAT. IF CERTAIN CANDIDATES SEEM GOOD ON ONE TICKET AND OTHERS ON ANOTHER, THE EXPRESS WILL SAY THAT. IT CONCEIVES THAT THE THING FOR EVERY NEGRO TO DO IN THIS CAMPAIGN IS TO VOTE FOR THE TICKET WHICH SEEMS MOST DISPOSED TO CONSIDER NEGRO NEEDS SERIOUSLY ALONG WITH THOSE OF OTHER CITIZENS OF DALLAS. AND EVERY VOTER WHO TAKES THE SAME VIEW OF THE COMING ELECTION CAN DO MUCH TO ADVANCE THE SITUATION OF HIS RACE IN A CIVIC WAY FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. IF VOTES DO NOT SECURE GREATER BENEFITS, THEY ARE NOT USED TO SECURE BETTER CONDITIONS. THEY ARE NOT WORTH HAVING.

The Race Decision

By JAMES E. FERGUSON

Former Governor of Texas

[In the Ferguson Forum]

The supreme court of the United States last week held that the law passed during the Neff administration, denying the Negro the right to vote in the Democratic primary, was unconstitutional and void. The decision went further and held that damages against election officers could be recovered if any Negro possessing the other legal qualifications was denied the right to vote in the primary.

Governor Moody now says that some law can be passed to accomplish the purpose of the Neff law and that he is in favor of its early passage.

4-2-27

I am glad to say that the decision of the Supreme court was timely. If the Texas law had been permitted to stand and one race be allowed to vote on account of race, then the spirit of fanaticism, which is now sweeping the country, would have soon entered other fields of legislative action. If a law can be passed, denying the right to vote to the Negro race, then it won't be long until some of this same crowd will want to pass a law excluding the Jewish race from elections and then when that law gets on the statute books it won't be but a short time until they will pass a law excluding the Bohemian race, and then it will be easy to say that a law should be passed excluding the Mexican race. And then to cap the climax a lot of people, who are still mad about the war, will raise up and demand that a law be passed excluding the German race from primary elections and then, in truth and in fact, the Constitution will become a scrap of paper. Every good citizen should rejoice in the fact that the supreme court has stepped in and promptly declared for the perpetuation of the God-given right of suffrage.

Let me venture a bit of advice to the Colored people of Texas, and that is as the supreme court has now affirmed the right and privilege of the Colored man to participate in primary elections, let the Colored race begin at once to make themselves worthy of this sacred right. The abuse of the voting privilege in the past, by the Colored man, furnished the argument to exclude him from elections. Now it is time for the leaders of the Colored race to start a campaign of education among their people that will bring about less criticism in the future than there has been in the past, of the disgraceful actions of Colored voters.

Let the Democrats of Texas understand that this decision of the supreme court puts us face to face with new conditions. Let us all be at once advised that it will do no good to continue to raise the Race issue in elections. The Constitution says plainly that it is illegal to do so and that all men are equal before the law.

Political - 1927

Texas. (Negro Press.)

Suffrage.

WHAT OUR BALLOT SHOULD SECURE FOR US IN THE COMING ELECTIONS.

The Progressive Voters League, an organization which came into existence as the result of the desire that as many Negroes as possible pay their Poll Tax in order that the voting strength of the race be as large as possible, has conceived the idea of a larger program of civic improvements for the race and has drafted a list of the needed things in a civic way for the group. These ideas have been placed in the hands of the prospective candidates for place in the official family of Dallas and The Express presents them herewith that the general public may see them and decide whether or not they constitute the things which our votes should secure. The group asks the following of those who will be elected in the April elections:

1. That there be a continuation of the paving of streets in Negro sections.
2. That sewer mains, where needed, be extended in Negro districts and where it is found that property owners are unable to pay for the same, the same be paid out of the city treasury.
3. That Negroes be given a branch of The Carnegie Library as is done in Houston and in other cities in Texas, or that some plan be devised whereby Negroes can obtain books from the present library and get other benefits which this library affords other groups. They feel that this request should be granted since the library is supported by taxes paid by property owners regardless of color.
4. That Negro parks be extended, improved and beautified to the end that they will compare favorably with those in other sections of the city.
5. That the employment of the Welfare Worker for Negroes and the Public Health nurse be continued.
6. That a larger number of Negroes be given work by the city in the departments where common laborers are employed.
7. That the humane treatment accorded to Negroes by the Police Department under Commissioner Turley be continued and guaranteed.
8. That Negroes be given ample fire and police protection in the districts where they live.
9. That competent Negro doctors be placed on the staff of the City Hospital to help care for Negro patients.
10. That as soon as is practicable, Negro policemen be put on force to patrol Negro districts as is done in Houston, Galveston, San Antonio, Beaumont, and Austin and in other section of the South. It will lessen crime and give to Negroes a greater respect for the law enforcing bodies of the city.

The Express believes that this program of improvements should be definitely sought by every person of voting age who has paid his poll tax and that the choice of tickets should be made in accordance with the expression of every candidate on the things mentioned in this statement. THESE ARE THE THINGS WHICH NEGROES IN DALLAS NEED. THEY ARE ESSENTIAL TO MORE DECENT LIFE HERE THAN HAS BEEN HAD. THEY DO NOT CONSTITUTE ANYTHING OUT OF THE ORDINARY FOR CITIZENS TO EXPECT FROM ANY ADMINISTRATION. THEY BENEFIT THE GROUP GENERALLY. AND IF THEY ARE WORTH HAVING, THEY ARE WORTH VOTING FOR. VOTING ON ANY OTHER BASIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A WASTE OF OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE TO THE RACE.

It may be that many of the candidates will consider such a statement altogether out of the question and that they will pay scant heed to it. Let such candidates do as they desire; for such action on the part of candidates gives opportunity for just such action on the part of voters and they too CAN DO AS THEY SEE FIT. AND ANY PERSON WHO MIGHT SEEK OR CANVASS A NEGRO VOTE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO FORGET THAT NEGROES ARE SEEKING TO USE THEIR BALLOTS TO SECURE BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS IN DALLAS and that other considerations than a greater share in the benefits of the city are beside the point. LET EVERY NEGRO VOTER THINK ON THESE THINGS. LET HIM REMEMBER THEM. LET HIM ASK THE ATTITUDE OF EVERY CANDIDATE ON THEM. LET HIM REMEMBER THAT THE BALLOT IS HIS ONLY MEANS OF SECURING THEM. THE EXPRESS WILL WATCH CLOSELY THE TEND OF THE WHOLE CAMPAIGN AND WILL AT SOME TIME IN THE NEAR FUTURE PICK A TICKET WHICH, IN ITS OPINION, COMES NEAREST TO BEING OF THE SORT FOR WHICH NEGROES SHOULD VOTE. IF CONDITIONS DO NOT WARRANT THE CHOICE OF WHOLE TICKETS, THE EXPRESS WILL SPLIT THEM. IF NONE OF THEM SHOW THE PROPER SORT OF SPIRIT, THE EXPRESS WILL INDICATE THAT. IF CERTAIN CANDIDATES SEEM GOOD ON ONE TICKET AND OTHERS ON ANOTHER, THE EXPRESS WILL SAY THAT. IT CONCEIVES THAT THE THING FOR EVERY NEGRO TO DO IN THIS CAMPAIGN IS TO VOTE FOR THE TICKET WHICH SEEMS MOST DISPOSED TO CONSIDER NEGRO NEEDS SERIOUSLY ALONG WITH THOSE OF OTHER CITIZENS OF DALLAS. AND EVERY VOTER WHO TAKES THE SAME VIEW OF THE COMING ELECTION CAN DO MUCH TO ADVANCE THE SITUATION OF HIS RACE IN A CIVIC WAY FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. IF VOTES DO NOT SECURE GREATER BENEFITS, THEY ARE NOT USED TO SECURE BETTER CONDITIONS. THEY ARE NOT WORTH HAVING.

Dallas Express

3-12-27

Dallas, Texas.

The Race Decision

By JAMES E. FERGUSON

Former Governor of Texas

[In the Ferguson Forum]

The supreme court of the United States last week held that the law passed during the Neff administration, denying the Negro the right to vote in the Democratic primary, was unconstitutional and void. The decision went further and held that damages against election officers could be recovered if any Negro possessing the other legal qualifications was denied the right to vote in the primary.

Dallas Texas

Governor Moody now says that some law can be passed to accomplish the purpose of the Neff law and that he is in favor of its early passage.

4-2-27

I am glad to say that the decision of the Supreme court was timely. If the Texas law had been permitted to stand and one race be allowed to vote on account of race, then the spirit of fanaticism, which is now sweeping the country, would have soon entered other fields of legislative action. If a law can be passed, denying the right to vote to the Negro race, then it won't be long until some of this same crowd will want to pass a law excluding the Jewish race from elections and then when that law gets on the statute books it won't be but a short time until they will pass a law excluding the Bohemian race, and then it will be easy to say that a law should be passed excluding the Mexican race. And then to cap the climax a lot of people, who are still mad about the war, will raise up and demand that a law be passed excluding the German race from primary elections and then, in truth and in fact, the Constitution will become a scrap of paper. Every good citizen should rejoice in the fact that the supreme court has stepped in and promptly declared for the perpetuation of the God-given right of suffrage.

Let me venture a bit of advice to the Colored people of Texas, and that is as the supreme court has now affirmed the right and privilege of the Colored man to participate in primary elections, let the Colored race begin at once to make themselves worthy of this sacred right. The abuse of the voting privilege in the past, by the Colored man, furnished the argument to exclude him from elections. Now it is time for the leaders of the Colored race to start a campaign of education among their people that will bring about less criticism in the future than there has been in the past, of the disgraceful actions of Colored voters.

Let the Democrats of Texas understand that this decision of the supreme court puts us face to face with new conditions. Let us all be at once advised that it will do no good to continue to raise the Race issue in elections. The Constitution says plainly that it is illegal to do so and that all men are equal before the law.

Supreme Court Ban Asked on White Primary Law

Attorneys retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with headquarters in New York, argued before the Supreme Court that the Texas "White Primary" law, enacted May 1923, barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State, is unconsttutional, urging that the Texas law was a violation of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution and of Sections 1979 and 2004 of the United States Statutes.

The case before the Supreme Court arose out of an action brought in the Texas courts by Dr. L. A. Nixon, of El Paso, who, being a bona fide Democrat with poll tax receipt and entitled to vote in Precinct Number 9 of El Paso county, was on July 26, 1924, barred from voting in the party primaries in pursuance with the contested Texas law of 1923. The Judge and Associate Judge of elections in that district, Messrs. C. C. Herndon and Chas, Porras, issued a certificate to Dr. Nixon confirming that they had declined to permit him to vote.

Dr. Nixon in this test case, financed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is claiming damages in the sum of $5,000. The case has come to the Supreme Court on appeal from the Federal District Court for the Western district of Texas.

The text of the contested Texas law is as follows:

"All qualified voters under the law and constitution of the State of Texas who are bona fide members of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic party primary election, provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party primary elections; however in no event shall a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

Fred C. Knollenberg, of El Paso, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in behalf of Dr. Nxon, argued that as Democratic party primary elections in Texas are recognized and regulated by law, casting a ballot in such an election is an act of voting within the meaning of the 15th Amendment; and the immunity against discrimination on account of race or color guaranteed in that amendment, protects the Negro in his right to vote in such a primary.

Mr. Kollenberg's brief further recites: "The Democratic primary in Texas is the only real election in that State, and the general election in November is nothing more than a formal ratification of the results of the Democratic primary. The same is true to a greater or less extent in a number of other States. If such an enactment under such conditions be valid, 'government of the people, for the people and by the people,' was an idle dream, and the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted in vain.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded, no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of Whites and of Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could, and did, legally cast their ballots; but Nixon, because of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator."

The brief characterizes the Texas law, as "such a flagrant, unjust discrimination against a citizen solely on account of his race and color; such a brazen attempt to banish him from a party of his choice and brand him with a mark of inferiority, as an outcast unfit to exercise the privilege which other citizens enjoy of affiliating with the party of his choice and exercising the freedom of judgment in selection of officers under whom he shall serve, that we are constrained to believe this court in the exercise of the high powers reposed in it by the Constitution and Laws, will find some means of protecting this class of citizens against such ignominy and shame even though we may have failed in our efforts properly to point the way."

Associated with Mr. Knollenberg in the case are Moorfield Storey of Boston, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Judge James A. Cobb of Washington, and Robert J. Channell of El Paso, Texas.

DECISION WILL HAVE FAR REACHING EFFECT.

One of the most significant rulings of the United States supreme court in many years was the one dealing with the Texas primary law, at which time the highest court granted Negroes the right of participating in primary elections. The effect will be far-reaching, and will provide an opportunity for all citizens of this, our great country, to have a voice in the selection of our law makers.

The action of the supreme court reassures the Negro race of that body's fair and impartial rulings on questions affecting the rights of the people of our land. It remains now for congress to enact laws that will guarantee citizens of all sections of the United States proper protection as they go about to exercise their franchise.

PROMINENT JURISTS INTERESTED IN TEXAS PRIMARY HEARING

Washington, Jan. 15--(ANP)—The prosecution of the "right to vote" case of L. A. Nixon of El Paso, Texas, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, before the United States Supreme Court which began here Tuesday, has aroused interest not only among the members of the court but also in the halls of congress.

Nixon is suing because he was denied by a Texas law from voting in the Democratic primary in that state because he is a Negro.

The Texas law and its adherents contend that the provision of the United States Constitution which give the Negro the right to vote restrict this right to the elective franchise and not to voting to choose party candidates. It held by counsel for the Association that should the Texas law be sustained Negroes in the South would be effectively disfranchised by state legislation restricting their rights in the primaries, because in the south the real contest over candidates occurs in the primaries and the general elections are merely perfunctory. According to the Associated Press members of the court showed a deep interest in the issues presented and asked numerous questions. Those put by Justice Butler seemed to reflect the view that the primaries were only for the purpose of selecting party candidates and did not deprive a voter of the ballot right at the general elections and that the case seemed to present only the question of the right of a Negro to participate in the selection of party candidates.

Chief Justice Taft seemed to attach more importance to the case, stating that if Negroes could be excluded from voting in Democratic primaries in Texas the state would be at liberty to provide by law that no one except Negroes should vote a Republican primary. Justice Sutherland referred to decisions of the court which had interpreted the right to vote, as stated in the constitution, confining the meaning of the term to the right to exercise the elective franchise.

NEGRO PRIMARY VOTE SEEN IF NEW CHARTER IS PUT ON BALLOTS

Negroes would have been legally entitled to vote in the city democratic primary May 25, if City Council had added the proposed city manager charter proposal to the primary ballot, Councilman Harry York, of the Sixth, contended Tuesday. Mr. York was one of the opponents to setting a date without first having the request that the charter election be placed on the ballot considered by the charter revision committee of City Council.

"Council could not take such a step," Mr. York said. "It would have meant the disruption of the primary. Every citizen under the law is entitled to vote on the kind of government he is to live under.

"There would be only two possible results if the primary ballots carried the charter election provision—Negroes would vote or, denied the privilege, would go into court and prevent the election on the ground that they have a right to cast their ballots on the form of government they are to live under."—Atlanta Constitution.

THE NEGRO AND THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

If the Supreme Court decision in the Texas case does no other good, it will effectuate a stop to Democrats from calling a party primary a white primary. An end to this iniquity has been effectually set up by our Supreme Court. So Councilman Harry York and those who are willing to manipulate politics for racial advantages need not be alarmed or frighten themselves into the belief that Negroes are going to take charge of Democratic primaries. But the Negroes are still Republicans, and are not going to break into Democratic primaries, so long as the Democratic Party stands for political oppression and disfranchisement. But Mr. York and his school of thinkers had just as well take notice now, that the Negro is going to take advantage of every right the Supreme Court decision clothes him with, whenever the opportunity presents itself. In local matters, if it is to his advantage to enter Democratic primaries to defeat bad men and bad measures, he is not going to hesitate to do so—it matters not whether the charter question is involved or any other question affecting the government that he must live under.

Councilman York said a lot and more than he thinks he said or intended to say, when he said the Negro has a perfect right to vote for, and in any government he must, or expects to live under. The Negro is eligible to vote in the primary called by the Democratic Party May 25, 1927, charter or no charter, and Atlanta government, both visible and invisible may sit up and take notice.

Political – 1927 I.

Texas. (Negro Press)

Suffrage.

ESTABLISHES NEGRO'S RIGHT TO VOTE

That the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution cannot be violated with impunity is the real meaning of the decision of the Supreme Court in its decision in the case of L. A. Nixon, in the Texas Democratic primary. The Supreme Court set aside a law of Texas denying the right of a colored person to vote in a Democratic primary as a violation of the Constitution. No state according to this decision has the right to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws. Mr. Nixon showed that he had been a Democrat for years and that he had voted the Democratic ticket for years prior to the passage of the laws denying Negroes the right to vote at Democratic primaries.

The Supreme Court answered this question by saying that all persons have equal standing before the laws of the several states and they cannot be discriminated against because of their color.

Eagle 3-11-27

The Supreme Court in its decision quoted from the Louisville segregation case won by the N. A. A. C. P. in 1917, as follows:

> "That Amendment (the Fourteenth) not only gave citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any State the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws. . . . What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the blacks as for the whites; that all persons whether colored or white shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the Amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color."

Wilmington, N.C.

This decision of the Supreme Court should have a most salutary effect in the South where, for years, colored men have been denied the right to vote which denial was in direct conflict with the Constitution of the country.

This decision of the Supreme Court may be more far reaching than appears on the surface. For years the colored voter of the South has been denied the right to vote because the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth amendments were not enforced. Should the time come when these Amendments will be enforced it will take more than a nominal vote to elect a Senator from the Southern States. As in the case of Mississippi it will require more than 30,000 votes to elect eight Congressmen from that State.

WHY SO MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING?

If, as some of the Texas solons are reported as saying anent the supreme court decision holding the democratic primary statute of this state unconstitutional, few Negroes will exercise their suffrage rights, why have Governor Dan Moody and some of his political followers become unduly alarmed and unnecessarily excited at the trend the case has taken, and why make so much ado about nothing?

Informer

It will be remembered that the present governor of Texas was attorney-general of the state when the brief was originally filed before the supreme court in the Nixon case, and newspaper reports at the time of the original filing by the attorneys for Dr L. A. Nixon, the El Paso physician of color who appealed his case after losing same in all the courts of Texas, stated that Governor elect Dan Moody of Texas was present and asked the supreme court justices time in which to prepare Texas' answer to the Nixon brief.

3-12-27

Having filed the state's rebuttal in this now celebrated case it is quite natural that the loss would be keenly felt by our ex-attorney-general and present governor; but he should be a good sport and demonstrate that he is truly a big man (in all the term denotes and implies) by cheerfully taking his medicine.

On the contrary, the fiery and youthful governor of Texas has stated through the public press that he will recommend legislation to the state legislature that will stand the test and insure and assure "white supremacy" in the Lone Star State, politically speaking.

Houston, Texas.

Undoubtedly, our governor and his political advisers broke into newspaper print before digesting the supreme court decision, for this highest legal tribunal held that any denial, on the part of the state, of the right to vote to any citizen because of color, is diametrically at variance with the basic laws of the land and therefore unconstitutional, null and void.

The supreme court held that any law is invalid that discriminates against the Negro because of color alone, the body concurring unanimously that color can not be made the basis for a statute affecting the right to vote.

Going a bit further, the highest court also held that it was not even necessary to take into consideration the fifteenth amendment to the American constitution, which grants Negroes the right to vote; because the injustice of the Texas statute was sufficiently apparent when considered merely in the light of the fourteenth amendment, which expressly prohibits and forbids the states from making any law to abridge the rights of American citizens on account of race or color.

The argument of the attorney-general of Texas that the matter was purely political and did not come within the purview of legal tribunals, was answered by the supreme court in these words: "The objection that the subject matter of the suit is political, is little more than a play upon words." This is merely another way of saying that the Lone Star State's legal representative did not "know his onions," and this declaration on the part of the highest legal body in America has reflected both upon the legal ability of the attorney-general and the judges and justices presiding over the Texas courts where the case was argued and decided against the colored plaintiff-in-error, Dr. Nixon.

The question naturally arises, Can the state government, through organized political parties, sanction and endorse any type of discrimination (even in the democratic primary elections) that denies the right of any citizen to vote in said primaries merely because of color, creed or class?

Furthermore, if Negroes can not be denied the right to vote in tate primary elections held by the democratic party, how do these emocratic leaders hope to exclude Negroes from participation in ıy primary election, city, county or state?

If the state can not deny the right of suffrage to American tizens because of color, how can a county or municipal governent hope to accomplish what the state is expressly forbidden by e national government to do? Are we to understand that coun-s, cities and political leaders can arrogate unto themselves cer-n powers and prerogatives that the supreme court holds states ı not exercise or invoke?

If the black man is an American citizen under the provisions of e federal constitution, and has certain inalienable and inherent ghts as a citizen of this democratic commonwealth, why all this)position to said black man participating in any election, and :ercising his elective franchise rights just like other American itizens, both native and naturalized?

If the Negro has sense enough to vote for charter amendments,)ond issues and other propositions requiring more than ordinary ability and judgment, why the stiff and stubborn opposition on :he part of partisan leaders to the same Negro casting a ballot in a primary election for some candidate?

Is "white supremacy" endangered by a few thousand black men and women casting their votes for democratic candidates in a state :hat is overwhelmingly democratic, and where nomination in the primary election by the democratic party is tantamount to elec-:ion?

The Informer has always held to the opinion that class legisla-:ion, whether enacted and enforced by the city, county, state or national government, is unconstitutional; and that if legally opposed and properly carried to the highest appellate court in this country, the constitutional provisions and guarantees would be upheld by said supreme court.

The fourteenth amendment to the constitution, which formed the basis of the supreme court's decision in the Texas primary matter, specifically sets forth the following:

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

If Governor Moody or his political advisers can enact and enforce a disfranchisement statute that can nullify and render negative this amendment, and the fifteenth amendment to the same constitution, then our astute and brilliant chief executive should seek a place as justice or chief justice of the supreme court of the United States; and his partisan advisers, supporters and adherents should find some method whereby the Texas governor can be placed on the supreme court bench, and hand down another opinion similar to the Dred Scott decision to the effect that "the Negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

The Informer agrees with the sentiment expressed by some democratic leaders of Texas that the ruling of the supreme court will not seriously affect the political situation in Texas, nor present any serious problem—not unless certain demagogues endeavor to concoct some scheme or plan whereby the supreme court decision will be over-ruled or negatived by arbitrary actions and high-handed machinations on the part of party leaders and election officials.

In a democratic republic such as America professes and essays to be, the voter is sovereign, and the man without a vote is both voiceless, helpless and impotent, and thus becomes a political serf and outcast and a partisan orphan.

It remained for an East Texan (Dr. Nixon is a native of Marshall, Texas,) to strike a telling blow in defense of the political rights of his people in Texas and the entire South, and here's hoping that the race will contest and oppose in court other discriminations and inequalities now foisted upon our group in this state, such as "jim-crow" railroad accommodations, the poll tax law as a prerequisite to voting, et cetera.

"Right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin."

DAMAGES OF $5,000 GRANTED DR. NIXON OF EL PASO, AND UNANIMOUS DECISION OF BENCH OF JUDGES GRANTS NEGROES RIGHT TO VOTE IN EVERY PRIMARY ELECTION IN TEXAS. DEMOCRATIC LEADERS WORRIED

WASHINGTON, March 12—The Texas "white" primary election law, denying the right to Negroes to vote in Democratic primary elections, was held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in a unanimous opinion delivered Monday, deciding the case of Dr. L. A. Nixon, a resident and qualified voter of El Paso, Texas, brought against Chairman Herndon and Charles Porras, El Paso County election officials.

Dr. Nixon, attempted to vote in the State-wide Democratic primary election of July 26, 1924, and was denied the right.

At his request the election official issued him a certificate to the effect that he had not been permitted to vote as per instructions given in ballot boxes to the election holders. The incident became the basis of a suit for damages in the sum of $5,000, filed by Dr. Nixon in the Federal Court for the Western District of Texas.

Loses in Texas Court

The lower court dismissed the case, sustaining the motion of defendants, who contended that the subject matter of the suit is political and not within the jurisdiction of the court and that no violations of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution were shown. A writ of error was taken to the United States Supreme Court.

In reversing the case Justice Holmes, who delievered the opinion held that the Texas law was clearly violative of the fourteenth amendment and said the court found it unnecessary to consider the fifteenth amendment. The court held that the guarantees given by the Constitution as to the right to vote in general elections also applied to primary elections.

The specific provision of the Texas law which came under attack, was an act of the State Legislature at the first called session of the Thirty-Eighth Legislature and reads:

"All qualified voters under the laws and Constitution of the State of Texas, who are bona fide members of the Democratic party, shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic primary election, providing such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party primary elections; however, in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

In announcing the opinion of the court holding the Texas law to be unconstitutional, Justice Holmes said that the objection that the subject matter of the suit is political "is little more than a play upon words."

The opinion declared if the defendants' conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result.

"The important question is whether the statue can be sustained. But although we state it as a question, the answer does not seem to us to us open. We find it unnecessary to consider the fifteenth amendment, because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the fourteenth. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed as we know with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them. That amendment not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any State the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws' * * * What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons whether Colored or white shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and in regard to the Colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color.

The statute of Texas, in the teeth of the prohibition referred to, assumes to forbid Negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone. States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color can not be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case."

No appearance was made in the Supreme Court in behalf of the defendant election officials' office. At the time the case was argued, Jan. 4 last, Gov. Dan Moody, then completing his term as Attorney General of Texas, was in the Supreme Court room during the argument, at the conclusion of which he informed the court that the State knew nothing about existence of the suit until he found it on that day's assignment, and obtained permission from the court for the Attorney General of the State to file a brief. This was done later by Attorney General Claude Pollard and D. A. Simmons, his first assistant.

Negroes of Nation Pushed Case

Interest in the Nixon suit was manifested by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters in New York, which advanced the case in Nixon's behalf, and was represented in court by Fred C. Knollenberg of El Paso and Arthur B. Spingarn of New York. Upon that occasion Knollenberg told the court that if the Texas laws were upheld "it will be but a short time until other laws will be passed keeping others out of primaries." In a press statement issued by the national association at the time of the arguments it was declared that

Political -1927 II. Texas. (Negro Press.)

Suffrage.

the Supreme Court ban was being asked of "white primary laws."

In presenting the case to the court attorneys for the national association contended that the Democratic primary in Texas is the only real election in the State, since it is decisive of the result of the general election.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded," said the brief of the national association's attorney, "no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of whites and Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could and did legally cast their ballots, but Nixon, because of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator."

It was suggested to the court by Attorney Knollenberg that the court had not yet defined the term "vote" as applied to the right of suffrage, but that such was the crux of the case.

"370,000 Negro Voters."

Bound according to the brief of Moorfield Storey of Boston, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 370,000 Negro voters in Texas had been excluded as ineligible to participate in Democratic primary elections There was no contention that this number of Negroes wanted to vote in the Democratic primary, but was presented as showing the abstract application of the Texas law which denied partipation in the Democratic primary elections for no other reason than their color.

The court's opinion, although brief in its discussion of the principle, adopted that view, and further sustained the case on the ground that the rights and guarantees of the Federal Constitution given Negroes in the matter of general elections applied also to primary elections. In other words, the Negro can not be barred from participation in Texas Democratic primary elections by the manner of open declaration found in the article under attack.

The brief of the State of Texas, which was received by the court late in the case, makes no secret of the fact that the Democratic primary election in Texas is a "white man's affair," and denied that a nominating primary is in any sense a public election under the Constitution of that State. Being a party affair, which the party has the right to regulate, the State contended that its operatins were not controlled by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution.

A large question in the case, and one causing discussion, is how close the decision brings the Federal authority over primary elections, in the matter of saying who may be permitted to participate in them. The court divided in the Newberry case over the issue of whether the Federal power rested over primary elections, but in that case there was nothing about the right of an individual to vote. In the Texas case that was the sole question.

Real Contest In Primaries In Dixie, Brief Points Out

New York, March 8.—A stirring reply to the contentions of the State of Texas has been framed by attorneys for the N. A. A. C. P., in the "white primary" case now before the U. S. Supreme Court, arising out of the Texas statute of 1923 which prohibits any Negro from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State.

The N. A. A. C. P. brief is signed by Louis Marshall of New York, famous authority on constitutional law and member of the N. A. A. C. P. Board of Directors; Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the N. A. A. C. P.; Arthur B. Spingarn, Vice-President of the Association and Chairman of its National Legal Committee; and by Messrs. Fred C. Knollenberg and Robert J. Channel of El Paso.

Real Contest in Primary

The brief characterizes as a "contemptible platitude that is in itself an insult to the Constitution" the statement of the Texas Attorney General that the Democratic part of the State is a white man's party." It points out that party lines in Southern States are so drawn "that a nomination in the Democratic primary is equivalent to an election," and continues: "The real contest takes place in the primary or preliminary election. The general election is nothing more than a gesture, in which but few participate, everything having been determined for all practical purposes at the primary election;—if, therefore, Negroes, who are in good faith, attached to the principles of the Democratic party and are otherwise qualified, are prevented from voting at a Democratic primary, they are virtually denied the right to vote, so far as the right possesses any value. The mere fact that they, too, may go through the form of casting a vote at the general election, in ratification of what has been done at the primary, is a tragic joke.—Though citizens, they are rendered negligible, because their votes, to all intents and purposes, have been nullified. To them the right of suffrage would cease to be that thing of substance which it was intended to be, and would be converted into a useless toy, a Dead Sea apple, the lifeless corpse of a constitutional right, if the legislation now under consideration were to be upheld."

The N. A. A. C. P. brief points out that the 15th Amendment to the Constitution forbids denial of within those terms. Every white man and every white woman who possesses the qualifications mentioned in the act, however ignorant or degraded, or mentally unfit, whether naturalized or native, may vote without let or hindrance, and every Negro, though possessing all the qualifications prescribed by the statute, however intelligent and patriotic and industrious and useful a citizen he may be, though he and his ancestors may have lived and labored within the State from the time of its organization, is denied that right.

"We are not here concerned with a political question. It is one that transcends all politics. It is one which involves the supremacy of the Constitution both in its letter and in its spirit."

the "right to vote" and must apply to voting for any purpose, not excluding primaries. In conclusion, the N. A. A. C. P. brief, after citing numerous court decisions, opinions and books on civil rights, says of the Texas "white primary" law:

HEADS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE BREAKING OF THE PRIMARY

The decision last week of The United States Supreme Court, handed down by Chief Justice Holmes, son of the famous poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes, broke the iniquitous Democratic Primary system which for many years has successfuily disfranchised the Negro voters of many southern states. The reaction most noticeable was the complete demoralization of the heads of the Democratic Party in the many states of the south where that system had been in operation. The Governor of Texas felt disposed to have the Legislature pass special legislation which would stand the test of another court case. Other leaders in still other states made their pronouncements in regard to the hope that more legislation could be devised which would effectually bar Negro Americans from participation in the councils of what amounts to the only party in the south.

The mind of the American white man, particularly in the south is peculiar in its operation in regard to the Negro question. It has never been devoid of hysteria. On that particular question it never functions rationally. To think that in this day there should be such a well defined fear of "Negro domination" as wash an evanescent thing as the old harridan of "social equality," as to voting of Negroes and use of the ballot in the choice of their state officials. It is ludicrous to say the least. Negroes cannot help to choose those who will serve them along with all other citizens of the state and yet they are capable of owning property, paying taxes, handling schools, voting for bond issues, in the majority of cases, of choosing their city officials, of suing and of being sued. Ludicrous hardly describes the spectacle which is presented in this instance.

Just four years ago this same Democratic party through some of its leaders who are so loud in their Primary decision made special efforts to get a large Negro vote in the election to the office of governor of the now famous Ferguson regime. That was in the general election and it marked the first time since 1881 that the primary elections had not been equivalent to final election. But that election brought more grief to Texas than could have any other series of elections of the primary kind in which Negroes took part. It is a poor commentary upon the real spirit of the white south when it seeks to perpetuate its control of affairs upon the avowed denial of Constitutional rights to a large part of its citizenry and at the same time would pronounce to the world that it has hopes of making definite progress. Those same Democratic leaders would, almost in the same breath, have told of the provisions for Negro schools and have pointed to the many examples of Negro ability in their various communities. Verily, the maintenance of "Nordic supremacy" hangs upon a very slender thread when its main hope of continuation is the reversal of the spirit and sentiment of the basic document of the land. Consideration of this spectacle of the Democratic leaders brings forcibly to mind the famous lines of MacBeth who declared that it was "better to be those whom we destroy than by destruction, live in doubtful joy." And surely the joy of the proponents of additional legal hin practise in their profession, if along with their belief in drance to the voting of Negroes in the Democratic Primary their capacity for these things, they did not feel qualified will be doubtful. Negro Democrats will continue to desire to vote for those to cast their ballots. As American citizens they have the right. And more and more of the stamp of Dr. Nixon will be found. They will test out the validity of the statues which bar them. Why other wise would they desire to live, receive education, acquire property, maintain homes,

Political - 1927 II. Texas, (Negro Press.)

Suffrage.

the Supreme Court ban was being asked of "white primary laws."

In presenting the case to the court attorneys for the national association contended that the Democratic primary in Texas is the only real election in the state, since it is decisive of the result of the general election.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded," said the brief of the national association's attorney, "no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of whites and Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could and did legally cast their ballots, but Nixon, because of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator."

It was suggested to the court by Attorney Knollenberg that the court had not yet defined the term "vote" as applied to the right of suffrage, but that such was the crux of the case.

"370,000 Negro Voters."

Bound according to the brief of Moorfield Storey of Boston, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 370,000 Negro voters in Texas had been excluded as ineligible to participate in Democratic primary elections There was no contention that this number of Negroes wanted to vote in the Democratic primary, but was presented as showing the abstract application of the Texas law which denied partipation in the Democratic primary elections for no other reason than their color.

The court's opinion, although brief in its discussion of the principle, adopted that view, and further sustained the case on the ground that the rights and guarantees of the Federal Constitution given Negroes in the matter of general elections applied also to primary elections. In other words, the Negro can not be barred from participation in Texas Democratic primary elections by the manner of open declaration found in the article under attack.

The brief of the State of Texas, which was received by the court late in the case, makes no secret of the fact that the Democratic primary election in Texas is a "white man's affair," and denied that a nominating primary is in any sense a public election under the Constitution of that State. Being a party affair, which the party has the right to regulate, the State contended that its operatins were not controlled by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution.

A large question in the case, and one causing discussion, is how close the decision brings the Federal authority over primary elections, in the matter of saying who may be permitted to participate in them. The court divided in the Newberry case over the issue of whether the Federal power rested over primary elections, but in that case there was nothing about the right of an individual to vote. In the Texas case that was the sole question.

Real Contest In Primaries In Dixie, Brief Points Out

New York. March 8.—A stirring reply to the contentions of the State of Texas has been framed by attorneys for the N. A. A. C. P., in the "white primary" case now before the U. S. Supreme Court, arising out of the Texas statute of 1923 which prohibits any Negro from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State.

The N. A. A. C. P. brief is signed by Louis Marshall of New York, famous authority on constitutional law and member of the N. A. A. C. P. Board of Directors; Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the N. A. A. C. P.; Arthur B. Spingarn, Vice-President of the Association and Chairman of its National Legal Committee; and by Messrs. Fred C. Knollenberg and Robert J. Channel of El Paso.

Real Contest in Primary

The brief characterizes as a "contemptible platitude that is in itself an insult to the Constitution" the statement of the Texas Attorney General that the Democratic part of the State is a white man's party." It points out that party lines in Southern States are so drawn "that a nomination in the Democratic primary is equivalent to an election," and continues: "The real contest takes place in the primary or preliminary election. The general election is nothing more than a gesture, in which but few participate, everything having been determined for all practical purposes at the primary election;—if, therefore, Negroes, who are in good faith, attached to the principles of the Democratic party and are otherwise qualified, are prevented from voting at a Democratic primary, they are virtually denied the right to vote, so far as the right possesses any value. The mere fact that they, too, may go through the form of casting a vote at the general election, in ratification of what has been done at the primary, is a tragic joke.—Though citizens, they are rendered negligible, because their votes, to all intents and purposes, have been nullified. To them the right of suffrage would cease to be that thing of substance which it was intended to be, and would be converted into a useless toy, a Dead Sea apple, the lifeless corpse of a constitutional right, if the legislation now under consideration were to be upheld."

The N. A. A. C. P. brief points out that the 15th Amendment to the Constitution forbids denial of within those terms. Every white man and every white woman who possesses the qualifications mentioned in the act, however ignorant or degraded, or mentally unfit, whether naturalized or native, may vote without let or hindrance, and every Negro, though possessing all the qualifications prescribed by the statute, however intelligent and patriotic and industrious and useful a citizen he may be, though he and his ancestors may have lived and labored within the State from the time of its organization, is denied that right.

"We are not here concerned with a political question. It is one that transcends all politics. It is one which involves the supremacy of the Constitution both in its letter and in its spirit."

the "right to vote" and must apply to voting for any purpose, not excluding primaries. In conclusion, the N. A. A. C. P. brief, after citing numerous court decisions, opinions and books on civil rights, says of the Texas "white primary" law:

HEADS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE BREAKING OF THE PRIMARY

The decision last week of The United States Supreme Court, handed down by Chief Justice Holmes, son of the famous poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes, broke the iniquitous Democratic Primary system which for many years has successfuily disfranchised the Negro voters of many southern states. The reaction most noticeable was the complete demoralization of the heads of the Democratic Party in the many states of the south where that system had been in operation. The Governor of Texas felt disposed to have the Legislature pass special legislation which would stand the test of another court case. Other leaders in still other states made their pronouncements in regard to the hope that more legislation could be devised which would effectually bar Negro Americans from participation in the councils of what amounts to the only party in the south.

The mind of the American white man, particularly in the south is peculiar in its operation in regard to the Negro question. It has never been devoid of hysteria. On that particular question it never functions rationally. To think that in this day there should be such a well defined fear of "Negro domination" as wash an evanescent thing as the old harridan of "social equality," as to voting of Negroes and use of the ballot in the choice of their state officials. It is ludicrous to say the least. Negroes cannot help to choose those who will serve them along with all other citizens of the state and yet they are capable of owning property, paying taxes, handling schools, voting for bond issues, in the majority of cases, of choosing their city officials, of suing and of being sued. Ludicrous hardly describes the spectacle which is presented in this instance.

Just four years ago this same Democratic party through some of its leaders who are so loud in their Primary decision made special efforts to get a large Negro vote in the election to the office of governor of the now famous Ferguson regime. That was in the general election and it marked the first time since 1881 that the primary elections had not been equivalent to final election. But that election brought more grief to Texas than could have any other series of elections of the primary kind in which Negroes took part. It is a poor commentary upon the real spirit of the white south when it seeks to perpetuate its control of affairs upon the avowed denial of Constitutional rights to a large part of its citizenry and at the same time would pronounce to the world that it has hopes of making definite progress. Those same Democratic leaders would, almost in the same breath, have told of the provisions for Negro schools and have pointed to the many examples of Negro ability in their various communities. Verily, the maintenance of "Nordic supremacy" hangs upon a very slender thread when its main hope of continuation is the reversal of the spirit and sentiment of the basic document of the land. Consideration of this spectacle of the Democratic leaders brings forcibly to mind the famous lines of MacBeth who declared that it was "better to be those whom we destroy than by destruction, live in doubtful joy." And surely the joy of the proponents of additional legal hin-practise in their dance to the voting of Negroes in the Democratic Primary their capacity f will be doubtful. Negro Democrats will continue to desire to vote for those to cast their ballots. As American citizens they have the right. And more and more those of the stamp of Dr. Nixon will be found. They will test out the validity of the statues which bar them. Why other wise would they desire to live, receive education, acquire property, maintain homes,

SEEK BARRIER AGAINST VOTE OF TEX. NEGRO

Southerners Take New Steps To Exclude Voters Subsequent To U. S. Court Decision.

AUSTIN, Texas, March 1 — (Special) Texas democrats are planning a modified law in lieu of that declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court and preventing the Negro suffrage in the Texas democratic primary elections.

Following the news that the law, passed in 1923 the Texas legislature was unconstitutional and that the Negro could vote in the primaries, democratic leaders here were surprised and recognized the potentiality of the Negro vote in Texas, there being approximately 800,000 Negroes living in the state. Possibly a fourth could qualify as voters.

Will Amend Law

Senator R. S. Bowers of Caldwell, author of the measure, gave notice that he would attempt to amend the law so as to meet legal objections and still eliminate Negroes from the primaries if Governor Moody would submit the proposition at the special session of the legislature due to be called in April.

The act was declared unconstitutional following the attack in 1924 of L. A. Nixon of El Paso, Negro doctor.

Moody For Disfranchisement

Moody, who as attorney general, took the only action in behalf of the state when he filed a brief in defense of the act before the federal tribunal, said he favored new legislation delegating to party committeeman the right of saying who can vote in a primary and who can not.

"Thus the same end will be reached," Moody said as by direct state regulation, represented by the displaced statute.

D. W. Wilcox of Georgetown chairman of the state democratic executive committe, endorsed Moody's stand, but said he thought it was impractical to call a meeting of the committee on the matter.

Could Carry Primary

Veteran legislators said the decision of the Supreme Court was "inevitable" as the act was contradictory to the fourteenth amendment. Some said that the practical effect, will be negligible, while others said a solid Negro vote mustered to full strength in some sections could carry primary issues.

WE GAIN A POINT

In unanimously declaring unconstitutional the Texas statute passed in 1923, which barred Negroes from voting in a Democratic Primary in that state, the United States Supreme Court helped us a long way on our journey toward full citizenship rights granted us by the three Amendments to the Federal Constitution passed after the Civil War. It was a red letter day for us when on March 7th, 1927, the venerable Justice Holmes delivered the memorable opinion.

The disregard for the plain provisions of the Federal Constitutional Amendments were so evident that there was no doubt of the final outcome of the suit instituted by Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, against the county election officials. Said Justice Holmes, "We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them." And continuing, he said, "States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case." Whereupon the legal talent defending the jim crow political law for Texas retired from the court room in defeat. The American citizen of color had gained a big point.

The Texas statute having been declared unconstitutional and the way legally opened for the participation of black citizens in the Democratic Primary, it will be interesting to see how Texas officials will try to get around the decision. Having the law in his favor is one thing and getting it enforced in his favor is another, as every Negro knows, particularly in the Land of Cotton. There are extra-legal methods that can be, and have been, brought into use to keep the Negro citizen from exercising his political rights. In the midst of our joy over this decision, it is well to consider the customs of the section and the temper of the dominant group. After all, El Paso is one of the most liberal cities in the state of Texas. Unquestionably there are scores of communities in that great commonwealth which are exceedingly unhealthy for Negroes who have the temerity to present themselves at the polls for participation in the Democratic Primaries, or indeed, to vote at all. Only recently Senator Reed of Pennsylvania charged that on a recent regular election day in Texas, the polls were not opened at all because the issues and choice of officials had already been decided to the satisfaction of the white people in the Democratic Primary.

Indications are not wanting of the probable action of the law-abiding officials of the Lone Star State to circumvent the ruling of the supreme tribunal of the Republic. Democratic Party leaders of the state have already expressed alarm over the possibility that a solid Negro vote could carry primary issues in some sections of Texas as a result of the ruling of the United States Supreme Court. According to press reports many of the white political gentlemen consider the practical effect of the law's displacement to be negligible since, as they rightly hold, few Negroes now qualify to vote even in the general election, although a number of the counties have a preponderance of black voters. Of course, the reason why these Negroes avoid participation in politics is due to their fear of reprisals in the form of floggings and lynchings. Still, in view of the new attitude of the post-war Negro everywhere, the white legislators deemed it expedient to pass the discriminatory statute and be on what they doubtless considered the safe side.

But Governor Dan Moody, former Attorney General of the state and now the successor of the late lamented "Ma" Ferguson, feels that something more than fear of reprisals is necessary to keep the Democratic Primary "white" in his beloved state. Says the Governor, "Some legislation will be necessary to protect the ballot and give that guaranty of good government which the voided statute was designed to offer. Certainly the Legislature can give the Party Executive Committee power to fix qualifications of primary voters. I take it that such a statute would not contravene the Fourteenth Federal Amendment." This statement is an augury of what the course of action of white Texas will be to circumvent the ruling of the United States Supreme Court. Does anyone doubt that these "qualifications" will lay great stress on Caucasian ancestry as an "Open Sesame" to the ballot box on Primary Election Day? Note that the youthful Governor Dan speaks authentically for the majority opinion of white Texas when he assumes that "protecting the ballot" and "guaranteeing of good government" are synonymous with "white only" primaries.

Nevertheless, the ruling is again for the Negroes in that their white fellow citizens will have to cudgel their brains for other means of keeping the Negro voter politically impotent. By conquering the means, step by step, we attain our end: equal citizenship rights. With increasing intelligence and self-assurance, it will become more and more difficult to hamper the Negro's advancement by such crude methods, and more subtle means will have to be adopted, which in themselves will be a recognition before the world of the growing capacity of the Negro to take his rightful place in our national life. Even the white South will some day generally recognize the obvious fact that it has nothing to lose and everything to gain in allowing this large native American group to participate freely in its political, social and industrial life.

Political- 1927
Suffrage

Texas. (Negro Press).

THE TEXAS PRIMARY CASE

"Democratic Party Does Not Need the Colored Man's Vote in the South --- Does Supreme Court's Decision Accord Negroes Rights Only in Abstract?"

I ATTENDED the session of the Supreme Court on last Monday to hear the argument of the New Orleans segregation case. While I missed the specific thing I went for, I was more than doubly repaid by the privilege of listening to Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes, the venerable jurist of eighty-six years, deliver the judgment of the court in the Texas Primary Case. The decision was clear-cut and decisive from beginning to end. Judge Holmes delivered the unanimous opinion of the court, including Judge McReynolds of Texas.

It may not be without significance that the last three affirmative decisions of that august tribunal touching the constitutional rights of the Negro have met with unanimous concurrence. Democratic and Republican judges, those from the North and those from the South, have united in overthrowing the grandfather clauses of State constitutions, in denying to the State or the municipality, the creature of the State, the right to restrict the use of property on the ground of race and color.

We might also note in passing that the covenant intending to restrict such use of property did not receive the affirmative approval of the Supreme Court, although there was unanimous agreement that the case as brought did not come within the purview of Federal jurisdiction.

May not this remarkable unanimity indicate that the North and South have come to an agreement on the race issue, and that politics are adjourned when they deliberate upon race issues in united council? Does it indicate a liberalized attitude; or merely a generous agreement to accord the Negro his rights in the abstract, with the reserved understanding that they will not be clothed with concrete realization?

The grandfather clauses were negatived by the Supreme Court more than ten years ago; and yet it is to be doubted whether a single additional Negro has actually voted on the basis of this decision.

The segregation decision of 1916 has not had the slightest diminutive effect upon segregation. Will the Negro in Texas and elsewhere actually participate in the franchise by reason of this legal victory; or is it to remain an abstract ethical victory of pure legalism?

The case in litigation was a curious one. A Negro in Texas demanded his citizenship right to vote in the Democratic primary. The members of the Supreme Court must have cracked their sides when they turned aside from the technical legal aspect of the case to indulge in a lighter vein. A Negro insisting upon his right to vote in Texas —in a Democratic primary! Who has ever heard of greater political absurdity.

I was in the city of Waco several years ago when a case of this character was presented for the first time. I talked with the colored attorney who pushed it to successful issue in the court of first resort, only to be overruled by a higher jurisdiction.

Let it be noted, also, that this case has absolutely no political advantage to the Grand Old Party, the Negro's erstwhile philosopher, guide and friend.

The drama was staged wholly within the confines of the Democratic Party. Whatever political advantage comes to the race, the indirect credit must go to the Negro's traditional political enemies.

But the Democratic Party does not need the black man's vote in the South. It serves purely as the negative cause of a positive result.

The most significant feature of this decision consists in the fact that it is not based on race or color, but fundamentally upon citizenship rights. Mr. Justice Holmes waived aside the Fifteenth Amendment as being unnecessary to the issue. The decision falls flatly upon the citizenship guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment, which has become the palladium of American liberty of all men, regardless of race or color.

Under this decision, any citizen who has been deprived of the right to vote on equal terms with all other citizens will have a case in damage against the State or agent of the State who frustrates the clear meaning of the Constitution. Thus, any Negro in Mississippi or Georgia who through fraud or intimidation has been refused his political rights can bring suit for monetary damage. This puts the case in its most favorable and feasible light.

Theodore Roosevelt was the last statesman who brought forth a feasible plan for the Negro to function politically in the South. He hoped to build up a strong opposition party, under the leadership of the most courageous and capable local men who believed in the equal rights of all men and who possessed courage to give their political faith effective expression.

He felt that, for the time, the leadership must fall, for the most part, in the hands of white men. His rejection of the leadership of colored men was not because of their color, but because of their capabilities.

Can the Negro today lead a successful political organization which intends to function locally in the South?

Of course, I do not mean the brand of statesmanship played by Perry Howard and Ben Davis. They have no intention of functioning locally. Their objective is to hold together the skeleton of a Republican organization with the hope of influencing national patronage when the Grand Old Party is in power.



DEAN KELLY MILLER.

Let us concede that this minor role has great advantage for the race. When the colored man finds favor in the eyes of the court, his race is the incidental beneficiary. While these national committeemen would not dream of the temerity of nominating colored men for local Federal office, nevertheless no white man can get by without their O. K. This gives great advantage which may be used for racial good.

But this brand of statesmanship would never get the race very far in politics. It will never confer the unchallenged right for every Negro to vote for every officer by whom he is to be governed in the community in which he lives. Without this privilege politics are practically meaningless.

Why is there no competing political organization in the several Southern States as we have in the North? Is a purely Negro party desirable? Has the Negro at present the experience, courage, initiative and means to project and sustain such organizations?

In Maryland the Negroes are relatively as numerous as they are in Texas. And yet, there is not the slightest attempt to deny or abridge this citizenship rights. The same thing is true of Delaware, West Virgiina, Missouri and Kentucky.

The real question growing out of this decision is whether white men in Texas and the other Southern States will undertake to organize a new party with broad principles appealing to all citizens whose rights have been guaranteed and confirmed.

The only feasible alternative is for the Negro to imitate the litigant in the present case and vote the Democratic ticket in primaries and in the general election, whether the maangers want them to do so or not.

I see that Senator Blease has raised the scare-cry of Negro domination. If women, with their political ineptitude, cannot dominate masculine politics, how can the Negro, who is in the minority, and, at the same time, without wealth and experience, dominate the whites?

Although women have the franchise on equal terms with men, they serve mainly as political ciphers to give political power to the masculine figures. How much domination do the Negroes in Maryland exert upon the State; or Delaware, or West Virginia, or Kentucky, or Mississippi?

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS RIGHT OF TEXAS VOTE

Dr. L. A. Nixon Wins His Case Against Lone Star State Election Men

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Decision Considered Great Victory For the Race By U. S. Leaders

BULLETIN

Special To The Arizona Times

AUSTIN, March 11 — Democratic party leadres throughout the state, viewing with alarm the action of the supreme court in the Primary Law Contest, were planning tonight to devise a new law prohibiting Negroes from voting in Texas primary elections.

* * *

By SARAH TAFT SIMS

WASHINGTON, March 7 —Special From The Times' Bureau).—Another victory for the Negro was won today when the supreme court upheld the right of colored people to vote in state primaries, in deciding a case brought before it by Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, Texas, who was denied the right to vote in the Texas primaries.

Declaring that colored people cannot be deprived of the right to vote by state laws, the supreme court, in explaining the decision, stated that private damages could be caused by a denial of political rights.

According to court, the Texas law prohibiting Negroes from voting in the primaries of that state, was in violation of the 14th amendment to the constitution with especial reference to the Negro's constitutional rights.

The court said the amendment, "not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any state the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws."

In others words, the decision continued, "that the law of the state shall be at the same time for the blacks as well as for the whites. That all persons regarless of color, stand equal before the laws of the state, and that no discrimination shall be made against Negroes because of their color.

Because of color alone, the Texas law was declared an invalid discrimination against the Negro. Color cannot be made the basis for a statue affecting the right to vote, the high court's decision concluded.

AROUSES DISCUSSION

The supreme court's decision provoked considerable comment among official circles in Washington today. Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, who has many times been quoted for his views on the disfranchisement of colored people, declared to a Times reporter that the supreme court's decision "unquestionably meant that in elections is the business of congress to determine, and not a matter to be settled by state legislatures

Mr. Borah several months ago raised a storm of protest among leaders when he asserted in a speech at Macon, Georgia, that the enfranchisement of colored people was a mistake

TO INVOLVE SMITH

With the decision of the supreme court, the fight to unseat Senator elect Frank L. Smith from Illinois on the ground of excessive in his campaign, took on a new angle. The decision it is said, will have a fresh effect upon the attempts by certain

Texas Primary

STIRRING REPLY TO TEXAS MADE IN PRIMARY CASE

Statement is Branded As A "Contemptible Platitude Insulting To U. S."

By Exchange Press

AUSTIN, March 10 Political leaders were laying plans today to defeat the ruling of the United States supreme court in upholding the right of colored people to vote in Texas primaries, by formulating a law to supplant the statue denying the right held unconstitutional by the high court.

* * *

Special To The Arizona Times

NEW YORK, March 10—Upon hear ing that Texas is planning to defeat the ruling of the supreme court in holding the Texas primary law unconstitutional, Louis Marshall, noted constitutional lawyer who fought the case against the Lone Star state, stated he would be prepared to fight the new movement.

By FANNIE BURT COLE

"Times" Staff Correspondent

(Special From The Times' Bureau)

WASHINGTON, March 10 —A stirring reply to the contentions of the state of Texas was made by Louis J. Marshall. noted constitutional lawyer, in the 'white primary' case before the United States supreme court.

The brief characterizes as a "contemptible platitude that is in itself an insult to the Constitution," the statement of the Texas attorney general that the Democratic party of the state is "a white man's party.

It points out that party lines in southern states are so drawn that "a nomination in the Democratic primary is equivalent to an election."

And continues: "The real contest takes place in the primary or preliminary election. The general election is nothing more than a gesture, in which but few participate, everything having been determined for all practical purposes at the primary election * * * *. If, therefore, Negroes who are in good faith attached to the principles of the Democratic party are prevented from voting in a Democratic primary, they are virtually denied the right to vote, so far as the right possesses any value.

"The mere fact that they too may go thru the form of casting a vote at the general election, in ratification of what has been done at the primary, is a tragic joke. Thought citizens they are rendered negligible, because their votes, to all intents and purposes have been nullified.

"To them the right of suffrage would cease to be that thing of substance which it was intended to be, and would be converted into a useless toy, a Dead Sea apple, the lifeless corpse of constitutional right, if that legeislation now under consideration were to be upheld."

15th AMENDEMENT CITED

The brief points out that the 15th amendment to the constitution forbids the denial of the "right to vote" and must apply to voting for any purpose. not exclusing primaries. In conclution, the brief, after citing numerous court decisions, opinions and books on civil rights, says of the Texas "white primary" law:

"If this is not arbitrary classification by race and color; if it does not constitute a complete deprivation of the equal protection of the laws; if it is not an abridement of privileges of any acts which come within those terms. Every white man and every white woman who possesses the qualifications mentioned in the act, however ignorant or degraded, or mentally unfit, whether naturalized or native may vote without let or hindrance, and every Negro, though possessing all the qualifications prescribed by the statute, however intelligent and patriotic and industrious and useful a citizen he may be, though he and his ancestors may have lived and labored within the State from the time of its organization, is denied that right.

"We are not here concerned with a political question. It is one that transcends all politics. It is one which involves the supermacy of the Constitution both in its letter and in its spirit."

Political – 1927

Suffrage

Texas. (Negro Press.)

6

WEEK'S BEST EDITORIAL

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION ON THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

(Norfolk Journal and Guide)

The main significance of the Supreme Court's decision in the Texas Democratic primary case is that it restores efficacy to the power of the fourteenth amendment to protect Negro citizens against laws which discriminate on account of race and color. By the same processes of reasoning the court will eventually set aside existing subterfuges which deprive the race of certain property rights, and which support and give legal color to certain other discriminatory measures which impede the race's economic progress.

Negroes are not so particular about voting in a Democratic party primary, or in a Republican party primary, but they are interested in keeping inviolate their constitutional right to vote and to have that vote counted. Anything which takes away that right, whether it is a State law regulating party primaries or a party rule which derives its authority from a State law, is in contravention, declares the Supreme Court now, of our constitutional guarantee as vouchsafed by the fourteenth amendment.

That the decision removes the principal instrument for nullifying the political rights conferred upon the Negro by fourteenth and fifteenth amendments goes without saying. Whether Negroes will exert any more noticable activity in party primaries is another question. For limiting Negro suffrage those inclined so to do will have to depend largely upon the restrictions set up by State laws based upon educational and property qualifications, which are still in force, and which have been generally upheld by the Supreme Court, because in the letter of the law at least, they apply to both races. But the Negro's educational and economic advancement enable him to meet these requirements where the laws are fairly administered.

The so-called white primary has operated to disqualify the qualified colored voter. One might meet the severest test prescribed by any State law and still find it impossible to vote with any effect on account of the manipulation of elections through the so-called white primary system. That the system is intended to bar the Negro voter from any participation in elections or in the final analysis to make his vote of no effect, is generally admitted. In the last primary election held in Virginia, it was charged by Democrats of sterling character, that white Republicans not only voted in Democratic primaries, but that they are solicited to vote in such primaries. Which, for all practical purposes, of course, made the primary the principal and decisive factor in selecting those who are to govern, and made the general election a mere formality in which only a relatively small percentage of the electorate took the pains to participate.

It was for that reason that Negroes carried the white primary to the Supreme Court, and it is for the same reason that Negroes will carry other subterfuges which deprive them of political and economic justice to the same court.

HELPFUL COURT DECISION

The decision of the U. S.Supreme Court declaring the Texas "white" primary state law unconstitutional to which we have given much space and with the great soldier victory of the Natl. Equal Rights League and honor to Attys. practically all our editorial space, is a helpful one, especially in an emphatic renunciation of the Colored American's right to vote as a citizen. Such a bold and outright color deprivation could hardly have been decided otherwise. We thank attorneys Morfieldo Storey and the other big white lawyers. It is a credit to the N. A. A. C .P, under which they acted.

Here again is demonstrated the value of the 14th Amendment, which gave us citizenship, value to white as wel las Colored. This is shown in the following editorial comments by the white press.

The Boston Traveler said:—Efforts of certain states to discriminate against the Negro citizen have usually been disguised in "grandfather clauses" or similar cloaks. It remained for Texas to enact a law which specifically and in plain language denied the right of a Negro to vote in any caucus of the Democratic party.

Political observers are quick to draw from this supreme court decision the inference that Congress has a right to exercise control over primary elections. Senator Borah is quoted to this effect: "The logic of the decision is that the national government has control of the senatorial and congressional primary. This is not directly decided but it is the logic of the decision."

Congress, in probing the corrupt practices and scandalous expenditures by which some congressmen have won their nominations, has inclined to the view that it possesser no real authority over those matters.

The supreme court decision now lends a gleam of hope, though a faint one, that Congress may, if it will, lay a restraining hand upon those seeking nomination to either of the national chambers.

The Boston Post, a real friend, said:

The Supreme Court of the United States solemnly declared yestedlay, by what appears to have been a unanimous opinion, that the law in Texas prohibiting Colored citizens from voting in Democratic primaries is unconstitutional and out of harmony with the federal guaranty of equal rights for the races. And the question immediately arises in the minds of those who know the South and its political habits: What of it?

The Constitution also guarantees to the colored man or woman the right to vote at elections, but in most of the Southern States adroit laws have been enacted preventing him from doing .

The same thing is likely to happen in Texas as to the phimaries with the same new, more cleverly-drawn statute, by mere indifference. We know well enough that a ukase of the Supreme Court does not always carry out itself, in the absence of federal law to do it. And Congress has fought consistently shy of any legislation to enforce constitutional rights of the colored race down South.

Of course, if the Colored citizen can begin to collect damages for the denial of his prerogatives, as hinted by Justice Holmes, a different situation would arise. General success would make such a dent in the finances of the States that they would have to change their ways merely for self-protection. But as to that we shall see.

One good thing may come out of this decision and that is an awakened feeling on the part of a majority of Congress that the dark-skinned voter below the "line" is, after all, a citizen of the United States and entitled to what the Constitution says belongs to him.

South must be reduced in proportion viction that the representation of the Once let that feeling reach a conis it denies votes to the colored folk, is is the clear mandate of the Constitution, things may change a bit. Congressman Tinkham, of this State, is hot on that trail, and he may at last get somewhere with it."

REPUBLICAN SENATOR EXPOSES SOUTHERN VOTING CONDITION

Washington, Mar., 18, (CPB) No since the days of the late Senator Hy Cabot Lodge have the Democratic mehods of evading the Constitution, as t is twisted to apply to Negroes of the South, been exposed and condefned in the halls of Congress, as when Senator David Reed, Republican, of Pennsylvania, during the closing days of the Sixty-ninth Congress reviewed the election evasions of the Solid South, so successful in keeping the Negro vote away from the polls. In doing so,the Pennsylvanian read in to the record the total vote of ward after ward and county after county in Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas. He told the Senate that he had complete statistic dealing with every Southern State, and urged that if the Democratic sponsors of the investigation resolution of Senator Reed of Missouri insisted upon delving into Pennsylvania and Illinois elections, they might as well make a clean sweep by venturing into the Solid South and investigating the suppression of the Negro vote there.

Citing instance after instance, the Republican Senator from Pennsylvania cited Montgomery, Ala., and said "The city of Montgomery, Ala., has a population of 43,000 persons. Among them are 19,800 Negroes. Out of the 19,800 Negroes there were only FOURTEEN VOTES for the Republican candidate for the Senate of the United States. It seems too plain for argument that out of 19,800 citizens of that race there were not more than 14 who paid their poll taxes and had the educational qualifications and to vote for the Republican candidate for the Senate."

Commenting further upon the vote suppression of Negroes in the South Senator Reed of Pennsylvania showed a number of ratios between votes actually cast for Republican candidates and the eligible Negro voting population, as follows:

County	Vote Cast		Eligibles
Bullock	8	out of	8,840
Choctaw	19		4,949
Green	5		7,057
Hale	23		8,346
Lowndes	5		9,818
Marengo	17		12,360
Monroe	22		6,796
Perry	25		8,203
Pike	29		6,579
Russell	14		8,816
Sumter	28		9,217
Tallapoose	1		4,282

"I think," concluded the Republican Senator, "I have given enough to indicate there was at least ground for a reasonable suspicion that the free exercise of the suffrage which we have all longed to see extend throughout th country does not obtain in Alabama, at least, on the face of the returns to the extent that the most ardent advocate of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would have wished."

Senator Stephens of Mississippi George of Georgia, and Caraway of Arkansas, debated weakly with Senator Reed, but were glad to become quiescent when Reed asked them whether the Federal Constitution could be applied to State primaries Senator Blease, of South Carolina realizing the harm which an investigation would do in his State, fought his Southern collegues vigorously to prevent any encroachment upon State Rights in election matters.

After continued debate, with Reed of Pennsylvania lashing the DemocraticSouth with every breath, the resolution of Senator Reed of Missouri was defeated; and Southern Democrats breathed a sigh of relief when they realized that for the time being their suppression of Negro votes will remain safely within their own bosoms.

A SIGNIFICANT DECISION

The decision rendered Monday by the United States supreme court, that the Texas primary law which restricts members of the Race from voting in the Democratic primaries is unconstitutional, was not altogether unexpected. In spite of the strange decisions handed down by that court and other American law bodies in recent months, there was the hope maintained that justice was not entirely dead in this country.

The Texas Democratic primaries constitute an election, as there is no Republican party functioning in that state; therefore, to prohibit a citizen from voting in the primary is to keep him from having any voice whatever in his government. And this law, passed by Texas in 1923, had for its sole purpose the aim of excluding citizens of our Race from taking part in choosing Texas officials. It was an attempt to evade the Constitution, and had been held valid by the highest courts of Texas.

Heretofore southern states have gone about passing primary laws in direct conflict to the federal Constitution, and declaring that they were secure in their conduct because the Constitution made no provision for primaries. Even Tom Heflin, United States senator from Alabama, declared openly that the Democratic party possessed "the inalienable right to bar Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries."

Monday's decision, as read by Associate Justice Holmes, declares that the Constitution was meant to cover any part of the election, which includes primaries, therefore to exclude the Race from voting at primaries is a direct violation of the 14th and 15th amendments.

This decision will have far-reaching effect in more ways than one. Although as rendered in this particular case it applied only to Texas and the race question, it can be interpreted as linking the primaries throughout the country with the federal laws governing regular elections, and will apply in any state where the federal statute has been violated. Illinois and Pennsylvania may even come under its ruling in connection with recent primary elections about which there have been questions.

What has happened in regard to the Texas primary law is an indication of what can be done where a people persistently demand that to which they know themselves to be entitled. Had the people of Texas acquiesced in the law as passed by the Democrats of that state, similar laws would have been passed in other states. With Heflin haranguing members of the senate with his vicious propaganda, and with others like him spreading the doctrine of injustice and unfairness throughout the country, it is easy to see what results could have been. But Texas citizens, through their leaders and associates, fought until our highest tribunal was compelled to decide one way or the other, and the Constitution won. And the supreme court has vindicated itself

Supreme Court Decision Routs The Southern Democrats

WASHINGTON, March 7. — A decision involving primary elections that may assume far-reaching importance was handed down by the Supreme Court today.

The decision invalidates a Texas statute forbidding Negroes to vote in Democratic party primaries. A Negro man, Dr. Nickson of El Paso, Texas sought $5,000 damages from election officials for refusing him the right to vote in the primary of the Democratic party of which he is a member.

"If the defendant's conduct was wrong to the plaintiff," said the court "the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary that may determine the final result."

The decision recalls the recent discussion in the Senate of the disfranchisement of Negroes by the Southern States. Senator Hefin, Democrat, Alabama, asserted that the Democratic party possessed an inalienable right to bar Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries. That it cannot be done constitutionally by law is the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court.

"The important question," says the opinion, written by Associate Justice Holmes, "is whether the statute can be sustained. But although we state it as a question, the answer does not seem to us open to a doubt. We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment, because it seems to us hard to imagine a more obvious violation of the Fourteenth. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

A prior decision is quoted declaring that the Fourteenth Amendment "not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any State the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws. . . . What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States and in regard to the colored race for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color?"

"The statutes of Texas, in the teeth of the prohibitions referred to," Justice Holmes continued, "assumes to forbid Negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone. States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case.

THE TEXAS PRIMARY LAW DECISION

The Supreme Court of the United States has by a decision in which the nine members of the court concur, declared the "white primary" law of Texas unconstitutional. Whether this decision will affect the primary laws in other Southern States can not at this time be asserted. The Texas law was bold and raw, and mentioned Negroes specifically, so that it was apparent on its face that it was in contravention of the plain provisions of the Constitution.

Of course, if there are primary laws in other States which exclude Negroes by name, they fall by this decision. But how other primary laws, made with a view to prevent Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries are affected can be determined only by a careful study of their provisions and of this decision.

This decision is most gratifying, and, taken in connection with the decisions declaring "grandfather" provisions of Southern Constitutions and residential segregation laws and ordinances unconstitutional, goes far to assure the Negro that his fundamental constitutional rights will be safeguarded by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The country at large is more interested at this time, in the effect the decision will have on the seating of Vare and Smith by the Senate than in the aspects of the case as it relates to the Negro's right of suffrage. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is to be congratulated on the outcome of the Texas case.

SEEK NEW JIM CROW VOTE LAW IN TEXAS

Austin, Texas, June 10.—In direct opposition to the recent decision of the United States supreme court, which declared unconstitutional the Texas primary law barring citizens of Color from voting in the Democratic primaries, the Texas house last Monday voted unanimously for a statutory provision having for its purpose the barring of these same citizens.

The original measure was amended by the author, but the change made last week has the same purpose as the bill introduced. It authorized the state executive committee to "determine the qualifications of the voters of the party" instead of barring the citizens altogether.

The author of the bill declared emphatically that members of our Race must be denied the right to vote.

Representative Sinks of Gidding in defending the bill declared that "no supreme court would be able to find any flaw in this bill." Another statesman said that the bill "would block any black menace on the horizon."

The author of the bill shouted that he wanted "all you follows afflicted with damnable color-blindness to vote against the bill."

WHITE PRIMARY BILL PASSED

AUSTIN, TEXAS. — Adhering to their threat to bar race voters in Texas, in disregard of the United States Supreme Court primary decision, the Texas House of Delegates passed the Smith Bill Monday, which aims to give political parties right to prohibit colored citizens from voting in primary elections.

The measure, which gives to parties the right assured by the state in the white primary law, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, to prescribe their own membership qualifications, is aimed directly at the Negro vote.

Two Edged Sword

That the bill may be a two edged sword and may give the state committees power to bar white voters also was pointed out by Representative Sanders, who was whole heartedly against the measure. He declared the new measure more dangerous than the old law, because it would give thirty men the right to bar a baldheaded man from voting if they wanted to.

He also stated that he favored giving every man in the state a right to vote and declared the measure contrary to the principle of equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

PRINCIPLE AND THE PRIMARY LAW

(The Houston Chronicle

The legislature's efforts to leave the democratic party free from state regulation and control, and at the same time lay down a lot of rules and regulations as to how it shall conduct its affairs is comparable leading to some incongruous suggestions.

If the democratic primary or any other primary, is indeed a part of the official election machinery of the state, then state controle of it is proper, and by no manner of turning and squiring can the state avoid its obligation of allowing the Negro, or members of any other race, the right of voting in that primary.

On the other hand if the democratic party is entirely a private institution, if its affairs are to be considered strictly its own affairs, as are those of any fraternal, religious or business organization, then whom it shall accept as members or whether it shall hold primaries or conventions.

The assertion of the state right to regulate the method of voting in the democratic primary in general, while authorizing party officials to exclude Negroes and do other things that the state has no right under the federal constitution to do, looks entirely too much like trying to eat our cake and have it, too—although some of us will not agree that the "cake" is worth the having or eating either.

If the state retains control over the party machinery, except in so far as Negro voting is concerned, then apparently the state is remaining in exactly its old position except that it is trying to delegate to party officials certain rights and authorities that it, as a state, does not possess.

The position is one that offends our sense of logic, and one that still further offends ouh sense of duty to observe the spirit as well as the letter of the federal constitution.

There would never be more than a handful of Negroes to vote in the democratic primaries of Texas in any case. If there were danger that Negroes might dominate the party, it duty is conceivable that we feel it our duty to ignore the provisions of the federal constitution in order to safeguard the white man's civilization; but no one believes there is any such danger, that there is, in fact, any likelihood that the Negro vote would be at all influential in the party.

The only well-grounded fear is that the door would be opened somewhat to corruption; that politicians might traffic in the purchasable element of the Negro vote. However, our safeguard there should be stricter regulations insuring honest elections, and perhaps, a stiffer test of party membership.

It is very doubtful if the primary bill now before the legislature is any more valid than the law just declared void by the supreme court. It seems to attempt by subterfuge what the old law attempted to do openly and aboveboard. If the supreme court of the United States can't see this it will have lost a good deal of its cunning since its last sitting.

Whatever else we do let's stop standing before the country as a violator of the federal constitution, or as a would-be violator of it. If we must an absolute ban on Negro voting in the primary, then let's make the parties entirely free and independent, allowing them no more official standing than any other organized group of people in the state. But the party primary is to be retained as an integral part of our state election machinery, then let's lay down rules for it that will insure honest elections, and ones conducive to attracting the most capable men as candidates, but let's not violate the constitutional provision that there shall be no racial discrimination in official elections.

Political-1927
Suffrage.

Texas. (Negro Press)

White Man's Primary Opposed By Counsel In El Paso Litigation

Argument of Lone Star State Attorney-General Answered By Eminent Constitutional Lawyers—Case Attracting National Attention—Fundamental Amercan Rights Involved—Disfranchisement of Negro Doctor Forms Basis of Cause—Legality of Texas Law Questioned.

New York City.—A stirring reply to the contentions of the state of Texas has been framed by attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the "white primary" case now before the U. S. supreme court, arising out of the Texas statute of 1923 which prohibits any Negro from voting in the democratic party primaries of the state.

The N. A. A. C. P. brief is signed by Louis Marshall of New York, famous authority on constitutional law and member of the N. A. A. C. P. board of directors; Moorfield Storey of Boston, president of the N. A. A. C. P., Arthur B. Spingarn, vice president of the Association and chairman of its national legal committee; and by Messrs. Fred C. Knollenberg and Robert J. Channel of El Paso.

The brief characterizes as a "contemptible platitude that is in itself an insult to the constitution" the statement of the Texas attorney general that the "democratic party of the state is a white man's party."

It points out that party lines in Southern states are so drawn "that a nomination in the democratic primary is equivalent to an election," and continues: "The real contest takes place in the primary or preliminary election. The general election is nothing more than a gesture, in which but few participate, everything having been determined for all practical purposes at the primary election. . . . If, therefore, Negroes, who are in good faith attached to the principles of the democratic party and are otherwise qualified, are prevented from voting at a democratic primary, they are virtually denied the right to vote, so far as the right possesses any value. The mere fact that they, too, may go through the form of casting a vote at the general election, in ratification of what has been done at the primary, is a tragic joke. . . . Though citizens, they are rendered negligible, because their votes, to all intents and purposes, have been nullified. To them the right of suffrage would cease to be that thing of substance which it was intended to be, and would be converted into a useless toy, a Dead Sea apple, the lifeless corpse of a constitutional right, if the legislation now under consideration were to be upheld."

The N. A. A. C. P. brief points out that the 15th amendment to the constitution forbids denial of the "right to vote" and must apply to voting for any purpose, not excluding primaries. In conclusion, the N. A. A. C. P. brief, after citing numerous court decisions, opinions and books on civil rights, says of the Texas "white primary" law:

"If this is not arbitrary classification by race and color; if it does not constitute a complete deprivation of the equal protection of the laws; if it is not an abridgment of privileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States, then it is impossible to conceive of any acts which come within those terms. Every white man and every white woman who possess the qualifications mentioned in the act, however ignorant or degraded, or mentally unfit, whether naturalized or native, may vote without let or hindrance, and every Negro, though possessing all the qualifications prescribed by the statute, however intelligent and patriotic and industrious and useful a citizen he may be, though he and his ancestors may have lived and labored within the state from the time of its origination, is denied that right.

"We are not here concerned with a political question. It is one that transcends all politics. It is one which involves the supremacy of the Constitution both in its letter and in its spirit."

Washington, Jan. 15—The attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today presented the case against the Texas White Primary law which bars all Negroes from voting in Democratic State primary elections in the State of Texas. The N. A. A. C. P. was represented by Fred C. Knollenberg, of El Paso, Texas and by Arthur B. Spingarn, Vice-President of the Association and Chairman of its National Legal Committee.

At the conclusion of argument by Mr Spingarn, Attorney General Dan Moody of Texas, who had been sitting in the Supreme Court Watching, jumped up, declared the State of Texas had not known about the suit and asked 30 days time in which to file a brief for the State. The Supreme Court granted permission, whereupon Mr. Spingarn asked that an additional two weeks be allowed the N. A. A. C. P. to file a reply to the Texas State brief, this being likewise granted.

Texas Attorney-General Backs Negro Ban From State Primaries

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—The right to exclude Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries in Texas was asserted by Attorney General Pollard of that state in a brief filed today in the Supreme Court, in a case brought by L. A. Nixon.

Contending that primaries are not elections within the meaning of the Federal Constitution, the brief asserted that the right to inject one's self into the nominating primary of a political party is not a right which can be enforced in the Federal courts.

Nixon was denied the right to vote in a Democratic primary at El Paso, under orders of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Answer Made Texas White Primary Case

N.A.A.C.P. Attorneys Frame Stirring Reply Brief For Supreme Court

New York, Feb. 25—A stirring reply to the contentions of the State of Texas has been framed by attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the "white primary" case now before the U. S. Supreme Court, arising out of the Texas statute of 1923 which prohibits any Negro from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State.

The N. A. A. C. P. brief is signed by Louis Marshall of New York, famous authority on constitutional law and members of the N. A. A. C. P. Board of Directors; Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the N. A. A. C. P., Arthur B. Spingarn, Vice-President of the Association and Chairman of its National Legal Committee; and by Messrs. Fred C. Knollenberg and Robert J. Channel of El Paso.

The brief characterizes as a "contemptible platitude that is in itself an insult to the Constitution" the statement of the Texas Attorney General that the "Democratic party of the State is a white man's party." It points out that party lines in Southern States are so drawn "that a nomination in the Democratic primary is equivalent to an election", and continues: "The real contest takes place in the primary or preliminary election. The general election is nothing more than a gesture, in which but few participate, everything having been determined for all practical purposes at the primary election: If, therefore, Negroes, who are in good faith attached to the principles of the Democratic party and are otherwise qualified, are prevented from voting at a Democratic primary, they are virtually denied the right to vote, so far as the right possesses any value. The mere fact that they, too, may go thru the form of casting a vote at the gen-

eral election, in ratification of what has been done at the primary, is a tragic joke. Though citizens, they are rendered negligible, because their votes, to all intents and purposes, have been nullified. To them the right of suffrage would cease to be that thing of corpse of a constitutional right, if the legislation now under consideration were to be upheld."

The N. A. A. C. P. brief points out that the 15th Amendment to the Constitution forbids denial of the "right to vote" and must apply to voting for any purpose, not excluding primaries. In conclusion, the N. A. A. C. P. brief, after citing numerous court decisions, opinions and books on civil rights, says of the Texas "white primary" law:

"If this is not arbitrary classification by race and color; if it does not constitute a complete deprivation of the equal protection of the laws; if it is not an abridgment of privileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States, then it is impossible to conceive of any acts which come within those terms. Every white man and every white woman who possesses the qualifications mentioned in the act, however ignorant or degraded, or mentally unfit, whether naturalized or native, may vote without let or hindrance, and every Negro, though possessing all the qualifications prescribed by the statute, however intelligent and patriotic and industrious and useful a citizen he may be, though he and his ancestors may have lived and labored within the State from the time of its organization, is denied that right.

"We are not here concerned with a political question. It is one that transcends all politics. It is one which involves the supremacy of the Constitution both in its letter and in its spirit."

Texans Pray To Cast Votes As Democrats

EL PASO, Tex., Feb. 10.—Praying themselves into the Democratic party in Texas is a new slant on local political history which was originated by the Negro colony here.

During the El Paso Democratic primaries of 1924, Dr. Nixon, a prominent race physician, was refused permission to vote in the primaries, although he declared he was a Democrat. He took the case to the local courts, where the local Democratic officials were upheld. Dr. Nixon appealed the case and it is now before the United States Supreme Court for final decision.

Negro citizens of the city gathered at the Second Baptist Church recently and held a prayer service for the favorable decision in the case by the Supreme Court. The fact that the Democratic ticket almost always wins in Texas makes the Negro claims more interesting, as they hold that they are disfranchised unless allowed to vote the Democratic ticket.

THE PRIMARY LAW

The repeal of the present Primary law is now before the Supreme Court of the State for its decision for or against its continuance. It is a question that most vitally concerns the present and the future interests of not only the politicians and the bosses but mainly the people themselves.

To go back to the old and obsolete convention system, antiquated, slow and easy of manipulation and control by the few, will be a backward step and contrary to the needed programs and reforms in the processes of free and uncontrolled nominations and election of candidats by the people themselves.

The present Primary law was inaugurated to stop many of the abuses of the old convention system by which delegates handpicked or chosen without the consent or will of all or any part of the voters at large, instructed or pledged to cast their votes for certain picked condidates whether or not their past performances or future promises were inimical to the interests of those they had or were proposed to serve or not.

In plain language the direct primary, in spite of some few imperfections, is preferable to the old convention system and most especially for our group where a free field will preclude any particular political leader or faction delivering us, bagged, tagged and ticketed to our enemies, or utilizing the power delegated under the convention method against our best interests, but for selfish ends. By all means let the people retain the direct primary as their political weapon of defense and control.

U.S. COURT VOIDS 'WHITE PRIMARY' IN STATE OF TEX.

High Court Declares Law Of Texas Setting Up Primary Bar Is Unconstitutional

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 9.—Declaring in no uncertain terms that the Democratic party has not the shadow of a right to bar a man from voting simply because he is colored, the United States Supreme Court, in a decision handed down here Monday, reversed the judgment of the lower court which had denied $1,000 as damages to Dr. L. A. Nixon, El Paso, Texas, who asked that amount as damages for refusal of Texas Democrats to permit him to participate in what is popularly known as the "White Man's Primary."

Dr. Nixon was denied the right to vote in a primary election under a law passed by the Texas Legislature in 1923, that provided that no person of color should be permitted to vote in the Democratic Primary and that if such person should vote, the vote must be thrown out. The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, in a masterly opinin written by Associate Justice Holmes, son of the illustrious Oliver Wendell Holmes, holds this law unconstitutional.

Decision Unanimous

All judges concurred in the opinion of Justice Holmes, which, among other things, said:

"The important question," says the opinion written by Associate Justice Holmes, "is whether the statute can be sustained. But although we state it as a question, the answer does not seem to us open to a doubt. We find it unnecessary to consider the fifteenth amendment, because it seems to us hard to imagine a more and obvious violation of the fourteenth. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

A prior decision is quoted declaring that the fourteenth amendment "not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any state the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws. . . . What is this but declaring that the law shall be the same for the black as for the white, that all persons, whether colred or white, shall stand equal before the law and, in regard to the colored race, for whose potection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color?

"Discrimination"

"The statute of Texas, in the teeth of the prohibitions referred to," Justice Holmes continued, "assumes to forbid Negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone. States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification aecting the right set up in this case. Judgment reversed."

The opinion for the most part, sustains the contention of the brief filed in the Supreme Court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by Louis Marshall, of New York, famous authority on constitutional law, Moorfield Storey of Boston, and Arthur B. Spingarn, chairman of the N. A. A. C. P. legal committee, who were joined with Messrs. Fred C. Knollenberg and Robert J. Channel of El Paso in this work. This brief declared:

"That a nomination in the democratic primary is equivalent to an election," and continues: "The real contest takes place in the primary or preliminary election. The general election is nothing more than a gesture, in which but few participate, everything having been determined for all practical purposes at the primary election.

. . .

Primary Elects

If, therefore, Negroes, who are in good faith attached to the principles of the democratic party and are otherwise qualified, are prevented from voting at a democratic primary, they are virtually denied the right to vote, so far as the right possesses any value. The mere fact that they, too, may go through the form of casting a vote at the general election, in ratification of what has been done at the primary, is a tragic joke. . . . Though citizens, they are rendered negligible, because their votes, to all intents and purposes, have been nullified. To them the right of suffrage would cease to be that thing of substance which it was intended to be, and would be converted into a useless toy, a Dead Sea apple, the lifeless corpse of a constitutional right, if the legislation now under consideration were to be upheld."

The brief points out that the 15th amendment to the constitution forbids denial of the "right to vote" and must apply to voting for any purpose, not excluding primaries. In conclusion, the brief, after citing numerous court decisions, opinions and books on civil rights, says of the Texas "white primary" law:

Rank Proscription

"If this is not arbitrary classification by race and color; if it does not constitute a complete deprivation of the equal protection of the laws; if it is not an abridgment of privileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States, then it is impossible to conceive of any acts which come within those terms. Every white man and every white woman who possess the qualifications mentioned in the act, however ignorant or degraded, or mentally unfit, whether naturalized or native, may vote without let or hindrance, and every Negro, though possessing all the qualifications prescribed by the statute, however intelligent and patriotic and industrious and useful a citizen he may be, though he and his ancestors may have lived and labored within the state from the time of its origination, is denied that right.

"We are not here concerned with a political question. It is one that transcends all politics. It is one which involves the supremacy of the Constitution both in its letter and in its spirit."

Texas Seeks Reprisal

Immediately upon receipt of the news that the law had been declared unconstitutional and invalid, Texas officials and legislators declared that they would remedy the law in such a way as to make it constitutional and yet accomplish the purpose of disfranchising citizens of color.

In a message to the House of Representatives Governor Dan Moody (who, as Attorney General, wrote the brief for the State of Texas) urged that the legislature pass laws to meet the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in striking out that portion of the law "forbidding Negroes to participate in the primaries."

"The Democratic party is a voluntary organization, and certainly laws can be passed giving the committees of the party the power to prescribe rules as to who can participate in a party primary." the Govenor said.

Political-1927
Suffrage

Texas. (Negro Press.)

A WHITE PRIMARY IN TEXAS

Senate Passes Bill To Exclude Colored American From Voting in the Lone Star State

AUSTIN, Tex., June 8—With every member of the senate favoring the passage of a "white man's" primary law, differences everywhere to vest the power of determining the qualifications of participants in political party primaries led to several hours' debating. An amended substitute bill was finally passed and will now go to the house for concurrence.

Can Say Who Will Vote

The bill as passed gives to the state executive committee of political parties the right to determine who shall participate in democratic primaries and the power to prescribe the qualifications of the members of the party.

Another amendment prohibits any persons from being denied the right to participate in a primary because of previous political views or affiliation or membership or non-membership in political parties. "All I want a person to do is to announce his willingness to support the democratic nominees, and then he is a democrat," said Lewis in offering his amendment.

Anything To Bar Negro

Although voted down by the senate, several senators were in accord with the Parr amendment which would vest the power of determining qualification of members of parties with the county executive committee.

"We would then have 252 different varieties of test then," said Lewis in opposing the amendment. "A man might be a democrat in one country and in the next country he would be a republican," Lewis claimed.

Downs Bill

"If a Negro is a good democrat, why doesn't he have the right to vote in the democratic primary?" asked Senator Parr. "I am opposed to passing separate laws for whites, yellows and blacks," Parr said.

The passage of the this bill comes after a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring that the Texas statute passed in 1923 which prevented Negroes from voting in the primary election was unconstitutional and a violation of the fourteenth and fifteenth constitutional amendments.

Senators Bailey and Holbrook favored the Parr amendment giving the county executive committees the right to decide on qualifications. "I trust the men in my country," said Bailey, "and I know they're not going to bar anyone they ought not to."

House Vote Advances Bill Which Provides For Exclusion Of Colored Voters In Primaries

CALLED TWO EDGE SWORD

Bill Would Empower Party With Right To Prescribe Its Own Membership Qualifications

AUSTIN, Texas, June 1.—Adhering to their threat to bar the colored American from voting in Texas primaries no matter what might be the ruling of the federal government on the issue, the house Monday engrossed the Smith bill which provides for the empowering of political parties with the implied right to prohibit colored citizens from voting in primary elections. Objection raised by a few representatives claiming the bill would confer monarchial power upon party executive committeemen and should be written so that it would absolutely affect only the colored voters, was ignored

Seek to Dodge Ruling.

Since the recent ruling of the U. S. Suprem Court, declaring the Texas "white primaries" unconstitutional, expert law-makers have been busy drawing up a measure whereby the ruling could be avoided and barring of the Negro might continue "legally."

Many see the present measure as an act of "cutting off the nose to spite the face." It leaves to parties the right, assured by the state in the "white primary" law declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, to bar Negro voting by indirectly empowering parties to prescribe their own membership qualifications.

Seen As Two-Edge Sword.

Representative Sanders, attacking the measure as an effort to evade the Supreme Court ruling, declared it "more dangerous than the old law, because it would give thirty men the right to bar a bald-headed man from voting if they wanted to.

Disagreeing with the entire purpose of the bill, Sanders declared both it and the old law contrary to the "principle of equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

Aim to Get Negro.

"We are trying to write a political bible," he said and added that he favored letting Negroes ,China men, Japanese and all vote.

The house later adopted Representative Nabors' amendment to prevent executive committees from barring voters because of former political affiliations or membership in secret orders.

This partially met objections of Representatives Sanders, Purl, Fly and others, who argued aganist giving party committeemen blanket power to determine party membership. All except Sanders, however, indorsed the main idea of barring the Negro vote. The house voted down a move favored by Purl to send the bill back to the committee room for revision.

Austin, Tex., June 22.—(P.C.N. B.)—In a damnable attempt to offset the nullification of the "white primary law," held unconstitutional by a recent United States supreme court decision, Representative Smith of Tyler, in arguing before the State Legislature recently in support of his bill to bar Negroes from voting in primary elections, said that as God created the white man first and superior to the Negro, that no attempt should be made to "tear down" the alleged divine distinction.

Replying to Smith's argument, Representative Snelgrove wanted to know if Smith could "quote scripture" to that effect.

Representative Sanders causticallv assailed the entire spirit and purpose of the bill. He branded it as a "subterfuge seeking to accomplish indirectly what the supreme court ruled unconstitutional in its direct form."

Bill Engrossed

The bill was engrossed after being attacked as creating evils in political dominations comparable to the "situation" it seeks to remedy nullification of the "white primary law," by a United States supreme court decision holding it unconstitutional.

An amendment by Representatives Nabors, Story and Murphy, designed to meet the objections, was adopted.

It provided that voters cannot be barred because of former political parties to determine their own qualifications for membership

OBSTINATE TEXAS

As we predicted in an editorial written at the time the United States Supreme Court declared the Texas primary law unconstitutional, steps are now being taken by the misguided white politicians of the state to bar the Negro citizens from voting in the Democratic Primaries while at the same time staying within the bounds of the decision of the court. The lower house of the Texas legislature has passed the bill and it is rumored that Dan Moody, the youthful Governor, heartily approves of it. The amended bill as passed reads:

"Section 1. That Article 2107 of the Revised Civil Statutes of Texas, 1926, as amended so as to hereafter read as follows:

"Nothing in this chapter shall be taken to prevent any political party, through its State executive committee or its State convention, from determining and prescribing the qualifications for membership, and for the voting therein, to secure adherence to its tenets, principles and qualifications, for the accomplishments of its objects and purposes as lawfully exercised and practiced by said party aforetime."

It is significant that most of the opposition to the bill was on the ground that it might be used as a weapon against certain white people. But there were one or two legislators with courage, intelligence and manliness enough to speak out boldly in favor of granting Negroes the full right to vote in all primaries, Democratic or otherwise. One Representative Sanders said that he "Saw no black menace," and further stated that the bill is undemocratic, gives the executive committee too much power, shows contempt of the Supreme Court and is an attempt to nullify the law by subterfuge. He favored letting Negroes vote.

Poor, old, obstinate Texas! Still living fifty years behind the times! Still ignorant of the tremendous benefit that would accrue to the state if its more than half million black population were allowed a voice in its government! The author of the bill, Representative Smith of Smith County, a savage section in East Texas, says that "If Negroes are permitted to vote, they will be used as the tool of unscrupulous politicians." Without pausing longer than to add that among intelligent people the last two words are pretty much synonymous, it strikes us that this is a pretty poor excuse. What if the Negroes are so used? If so, they will be not one whit different from the mass of white voters in Texas and elsewhere. Should citizens be disfranchised because of the possibility of their being made tools by politicians, then the United States would overnight cease to be a democracy.

Would Bar Negroes From Voting in Democratic Primaries Yet Keep Within Bounds of Recent Supreme Court Decision. Has Many Opponents Who Claim Too Much Power Given to Democratic Executive Committee.

According to the news story sent from The Austin Bureau of The Dallas News and published in that paper on Tuesday morning, the disagreement of Texas politicians with the recent decision of The United States Supreme Court has shown itself in the passage of a bill which will prevent Negroes from voting in the primary elections by making it possible for the Executive committee of the party to set such restrictions as it deems necessary. There appears to be some opposition to the bill but it is generally understood that its spirit is favored by Governor Moody.

The following is the account as contained in The Dallas Morning News, Tuesday, May 31.

Austin Bureau,
The Dallas News.

Austin, Texas, June 4—A statutory provision having for its purpose the barring of Negroes from Democratic primaries, to meet a United States Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional the present law keeping Negroes out of these elections, was voted by the House Monday, when it engrossed a bill by Representative Smith of Smith County.

The original measure was amended by the author, but the change has the same purpose as the bill first prepared. The first bill authorized the State Executive Committee to determine the qualifications of the voters of the party. The amended bill, as passed, provides:

"Section 1. That Article 2107 of the Revised Civil Statutes of Texas, 1926, be amended so as to hereafter read as follows:

"Nothing in this chapter shall be taken to prevent any political party, through its State executive committee or its State convention, from determining and prescribing the qualifications for membership, and for the voting therein, to secure adherence to its tenets, principles and qualifications, for the accommplishments of its objects and purposes as lawfully exercised and practiced by said party aforetime."

Another amendment was tacked to the Smith bill, offered by Representative Nabors of Hamilton, providing that no person should be denied a right to participate in a primary because of former political view or because of membership of non-membership in any secret organization or other organization or other organization than the political party. This amendment was adopted by 80 to 25.

Meets With Opposition

Spirited opposition developed to the Smith bill on the grounds that it placed too much power in the hands of the State executive committee. Representative Daniel of Wichita Falls moved to refer the bill and amendments to the Judiciary Committee for further consideration, but the motion was lost, 60 to 50.

Answering the argument that his bill was not properly drawn, Smith said he had waited for some of the "older heads" to present a bill. He declared that if Negroes are permitted to vote, they will be used as the tool of unscrupulous politicians. Smith said he was seeking to remedy the situation by action, while many others seemed only to want to talk about it.

Representive Sinks of Giddings, defending Smith's bill, said "no Supreme Court would be able to find any flaw in this bill." He commended him for taking the lead in the proposed legislation.

An amendment by Representaive Faulk specifying that the State executive committee should not disqualify any person because of failure to own property, was voted down. Representative W. M. Fly of Gonzales said the amendment was not necessary. He did not want the Legislature to enact any statutory regulation of this kind, preferring to leave the political parties free to promulgate their own regulations.

Opposing the bill, Representative Sanders of Palo Pinto County saw he "saw no black menace on the horizon." He declared the bill to undemocratic, in that it gives the executive committee too much power. The measure shows conempt of the Supreme Court and is an attempt to nullify the law by subterfuge, he declared. Sanders said he favored letting Negroes vote in Democratic primaries as far as any statutory regulation was concerned

Would Rerefer Bill

Representative Purl of Dallas wanted the bill referred, fearing the Smith measure as drafted gave too much power to the executive committee.

Political – 1927 I.

Suffrage.

Texas. (Negro Press)

THE SUPREME DECISION

The White Primary Law of the state of Texas has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of The United States in its most recent decision. The opinion was handed down by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who is recognized as possessing the Nation's finest legal brain. Justice Holmes is the author of the "Common Law," an acceptable treatise and is the illustrious son of the brilliant author, Oliver Wendell Holmes. The opinion of the highest court in the land is significant and far-reaching. It virtually re-infranchises the black people of the nation who have been denied their constitutional guarantees by the white democratic primary laws of the southern states. It explains and redeclares the meaning of the fifteenth amendment and it buoys up the hope of the American black man.

The south is almost solidly Democratic and the Republican party has existed for all benefits and purposes, as far as state government is concerned, in name only. The Legislatures of the majority of southern states have passed statutes prohibiting black people from voting in white Democratic primaries and thus they have been robbed of their right of suffrage and denied the fundamental guarantee of citizenship. They have prevented black people, even though they expressed faith and fealty to the Democratic party from voting and therefore the Supreme Court has decided that such legislation is "class and color" discrimination in violation of both the letter and spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

If the south continues to invoke such damnable doctrines and by resorting to force and arms intimidate black voters and drive them from the polls even in the face of the Constitution and the Supreme Court no doubt a situation will arise compelling the Government to declare martial law in the offending states. Federal Troops no doubt will again be sent to the southland and all of the festering sores of sectionalism will be re-inflamed and the Nation will again be brought face to face with the immortal pronouncement of Abraham Lincoln that: "A nation divided against itself cannot stand."

Dr. Nixon, of El Paso, Texas, brought suit against the election officials of Texas for Five Thousand Dollars because of discrimination against him when he presented himself at the polls in a Democratic Primary and sought to vote. He was defeated in the Texas Courts and aided by Louis Marshall, of New York, and Moorfield Storey, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was successful in getting his case before the Supreme Court. Thus the signal victory.

The black people of the south must as good loyal citizens exercise their right of suffrage as granted to them by the Constitution and as reassured to them by the recent ruling of the Supreme Court. They should forthwith march up to the polls in the Democratic primaries of the south and cast their ballots. They should insist upon this right in spite of threat, bloodshed and carnage; they should rea[lize] that the United States of America perforce is with them and th[ey] are testing the principles of Liberty and Freedom that are [dear] than life.

SUPREME COURT VOIDS PRIMARY LAW

The Supreme Court last Monday, passing upon the constitutionality of the Texas primary law, voided all primary laws in the South, or any other section of the country in which citizens are discriminated against on the ground of race or color. The court held, "States may do a great deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color can not be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the rights set up in this case." The court further said, "that it was not necessary to take into account the fifteenth amendment, which gives the Negro the right to vote, because the injustice of the Texas statute was sufficiently apparent when considered merely in the light of the fourteenth amendment, which prohibits the states from making any law to abridge the rights of citizens on account of race or color."

While this decision may not affect the Georgia primary law, or the primary laws in many other states which do not name color or race as a qualification for participation in state primaries, but it does settle the question that every primary announced as a white primary, in Georgia and other states, as they usually are announced, is unconstitutional and void, whether these words appear in the statute or not, and it further settles the question that Negroes can vote in any primary that is held by the states, whether they are Democratic or Republican. And the question of preparing two ballot boxes, one for white folks and one for Negroes, as is often done in Atlanta and other places, is out of the question, and when such a practice obtains the election will be void, and the parties or states so offending may be held in damages, under the Supreme Court decision. Speaker Neill and Attorney General Gress both state the primary law in Georgia as it appears upon the statute books. There is no reference to race or color in the Georgia primary law and any party can hold a primary under the law, but no party can set up qualifications for participants on the grounds of race or color. Parties may describe the rules, but these rules must come within the meaning of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Our personal opinion is that Republicans should not want to vote in a Democratic primary, nor Democrats in a Republican primary, unless the two primaries are held on the same day, then they should vote for the candidates of their respective parties, and should not by intrigue, duplicity or otherwise try to determine the choice of the party not of their faith.

SUPREME COURT BAN ASKED ON "WHITE PRIMARY" LAWS

Negroes Make Test Case of Texas Law Barring Them From Democratic Primaries

Washington, Jan. 3.—Attorneys retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with headquarters in New York, today argued before the Supreme Court that the Texas "White Primary" law, enacted May, 1923, barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State, is unconstitutional, urging that the Texas law was a violation of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution and of Sections 1979 and 2004 of the United States Statues. 1-29-27

The case before the Supreme Court arose out of an action brought in the Texas courts by Dr. L. A. Nixon, of El Paso, who, being a bona fide Democrat with poll tax receipt and entitled to vote in Precinct Number 9 of El Paso County, was on July 26, 1924, barred from voting in the party primaries in pursuance with the contested Texas Law of 1923. The Judge and Associate Judge of elections in that district, Messrs. C. C. Herndon and Chas. Porras, issued a certificate to Dr. Nixon confirming that they had decliced to permit him to vote.

Dr. Nixon in this test case, financed by the National Association for the by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is claiming damages in the sum of preme Court on appeal from the Fed- $5,000. The case has come to the Sueral District Court for the Western district of Texas.

The text of the contested Texas law is as follows:

All qualified voters under the law and constitution of the State of Texas who are bona fide members of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic party primary election, provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party primary elections; however in no event shall a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same.

Fred C. Knollenberg, of El Paso, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in behalf of Dr. Nixon, argued that as Democratic party primary elections in Texas are recognized and regulated by law, casting a ballot in such an election is an act of voting within the meaning of the 15th Amendment; and the immunity against discrimination on account of race or color guaranteed in that amendment, protects the

Negro in his right to vote in such a primary.

Mr. Knollenberg's brief further recites:

"The Democratic party primary in Texas is the only real election in that State, and the general election in November is nothing more than a formal ratification of the results of the Democratic primary. The same is true to a greater or less extent in a number of other States. If such an enactment under such conditions be valid, 'government of the people, for the people and by the people' was an idle dream, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted in vain.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded, no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of Whites and of Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could, and did, legally cast their ballots; but Nixon, because of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator."

The brief characterizes the Texas law, as "such a flagrant, unjust discrimination against a citizen solely on account of his race and color; such a brazen attempt to banish him from a party of his choice and brand him with a mark of inferiority, as an outcast unfit to exercise the privilege which other citizens enjoy of affiliating with the party of his choice and exercising the freedom of judgment in selection of officers under whom he shall serve, that we are constrained to believe this court in the exercise of the high powers reposed in it by the Constitution and laws, will find some means of protecting this class of citizens against such ignominy and shame even though we may have failed in our efforts properly to point the way."

Associated with Mr. Kollenberg in the case are Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Judge James A. Cobb of Washington and Robert J. Channell of El Paso, Texas.

Supreme Court at Washington Hears Arguments Monday in Case of Refusal by Democrats of Sufferage of Negroes in Primary Elections. Case Comes up From El Paso.

Washington, Jan. 8—Attorneys retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with headquarters in New York, Monday argued before the Supreme Court that the Texas "White Primary" law, enacted May, 1923, barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State, is unconstitutional, urging that the Texas law was a violation of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution and of Sections 1979 and 2004 of the United States Statutes.

The case before the Supreme Court arose out of an action brought in the Texas courts by Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, who, being a bona fide Democrat with poll tax receipt and entitled to vote in Precinct Number 9 of El Paso county, was on July 26, 1924, barred from voting in the party primaries in pursuance with the contested Texas law of 1923. The Judge and Associate Judge of elections in that district, Messrs. C. C. Herndon and Chas. Porras, issued a certificate to Dr. Nixon confirming that they had declined to permit him to vote.

Dr. Nixon in this test case, financed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is claiming damages in the sum of $5,000. The case has come to the Supreme Court on appeal from the Federal District Court for the Western district of Texas.

The text of the contested Texas law is as follows:

All qualified voters under the law and constitution of the State of Texas who are bona fide members of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic party primary election, provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party primary elections; however in no event shall a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election held in the state of Texas, and should a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same.

Fred C. Knollenberg, of El Paso, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in behalf of Dr. Nixon, argued that as Democratic party primary elections in Texas are recognized and regulated by law, casting a ballot in such an election is an act of voting within the meaning of the 15th Amendment; and the immunity against discrimination on accout of race or color guaranteed in that amendment, protects the Negro in his right to vote in such a primary.

Mr. Knollenberg's brief further recites:

"The Democratic party primary in Texas is the only real election in that State, and the general election in November is nothing more than a formal ratification of the results of the Democratic primary. The same is true to a greater or less extent in a number of other States. If such an enactment under such such conditions be valid, 'government of the people, for the people and by the people,' was an idle dream, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted in vain.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded, no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of whites and of Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could, and did, legally cast their ballots; but Nixon, became of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator."

The brief characterizes the Texas law, as "such a flagrant, unjust discrimination against a citizen solely on account of his race and color; such a brazen attempt to banish him from a party of his choice and brand him with a mark of inferiority, as an outcast unfit to exercise the privilege which other citizens enjoy of affiliating with the party of his choice and exercising the freedom of judgment in selection of officers under whom he shall serve, that we are constrained to believe this court in the exercise of the high powers reposed in it by the Constitution and laws, will find some means of protecting this class of citizens against such ignominy and shame even though we may have failed in our efforts properly to point the way."

Associated with Mr. Knollenberg in the case are Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Judge James A Cobb of Washington and Robert J Channell of El Paso, Texas.

DIXIE VOTE QUIZ KILLED BY SENATE

Resolution For A Probe Of The Alleged Disfranchisement Of Colored Voters Is Rejected

SALE OF U. S. OFFICES QUESTION UNDER FIRE

Judiciary Committee Favors Probe. Hon. Ben Davis And Perry Howard Are Involved.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 27. — The Ernest resolution calling for an investigation of charges that colored citizens have been disfranchised in southern states was rejected by the Senate judiciary committee Tuesday by a vote of 9 to 3. At the same time this committee adopted the Norris resolution, proposing an unlimited inquiry into charges that offices were sold by "officers of political party organizations" by a vote of 9 to 3.

Those who favored the Ernest resolutions were Senators Deneen, Republican of Illinois, Ernest, Republican, of Kentucky, and Gillett, Republican, of Massachusetts.

Negro Statesmen Attacked

Resolutions for investigations were brought up in the Senate about a month ago and referred to a special subcommittee.

Senator Wm. J. Harrison, Democrat of Georgia, made a strong argument for the investigation of federal patronage in his state. He specifically referred to Hon. Ben Davis, Georgian Republican National Committeeman, successor to the late Henry Lincoln Johnson Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, who for several years endeavored to get through a resolution asking that alleged bartering of offices by Hon. Perry Howard, Mississippi National Committeeman be investigated; Senator King, of Utah; and Senator Trammel, of Florida, argued that the resolution be made broad enough to include other states besides Georgia.

Ask Disfranchisement Probe

Republican Senators demanded the investigation of disfranchisement in the south in a counter resolution aimed at what was considered a blow were referred to a special sub-committee.

Will Watch Case

As the resolutions favored by the judiciary committee will lead to a probe of alleged sale of Federal patronage in all the state, and as the two colored national committeemen have seemingly been the center of most attack bearing on the subjects, colored Americans will watch the outcome of the investigation with interest.

Political - 1927 II Texas, (Negro Press)

Suffrage

Supreme Court Ban Asked on "White Primary" Laws of Texas

N. A. A. C. P. Makes Test Case of Statute Barring All Negroes From Democratic Primaries

Amsterdam News 1-5-27

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3. — Attorneys retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today argued before the Supreme Court that the Texas "White Primary" law, enacted May, 1923, barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State, is unconstitutional, urging that the Texas law was a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution and of Sections 1979 and 2004 of the United States Statutes.

The case before the Supreme Court arose out of an action brought in the Texas courts by Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, who, being a bona fide Democrat with poll tax receipt and entitled to vote in Precinct Number 9 of El Paso County, was on July 26, 1924, barred from voting in the party primaries in pursuance with the contested Texas law of 1923.

The Judge and Associate Judge of elections in that district, Messrs. C. C. Herndon and Charles Porras, issued a certificate to Dr. Nixon confirming that they had declined to permit him to vote.

Dr. Nixon in this test case, financed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is claiming damages in the sum of $5,000. The case has come to the Supreme Court on appeal from the Federal District Court for the Western district of Texas.

The text of the contested Texas law is as follows:

All qualified voters under the law and constitution of the State of Texas who are bona fide members of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic party primary election, provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party primary elections; however, in no event shall a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same.

Fred C. Knollenberg of El Paso, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in behalf of Dr. Nixon, argued that as Democratic party primary elections in Texas are recognized and regulated by law, casting a ballot in such an election is an act of voting within the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment; and the immunity against discrimination on account of race or color guaranteed in that amendment protects the Negro in his right to vote in such a primary.

Mr. Knollenberg's brief further recites:

"The Democratic party primary in Texas is the only real election in that State, and the general election in November is nothing more than a formal ratification of the results of the Democratic primary. The same is true to a greater or less extent in a number of other States. If such an enactment under such conditions be valid, 'government of the people, for the people and by the people was an idle dream, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted in vain.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded, no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of whites and of Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could, and did, legally cast their ballots; but Nixon, because of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator."

The brief characterizes the Texas law as "such a flagrant, unjust discrimination against a citizen solely on account of his race and color; such a brazen attempt to banish him from a party of his choice and brand him with a mark of inferiority, as an outcast unfit to exercise the privilege which other citizens enjoy of affiliating with the party of his choice and exercising the freedom of judgment in selection of officers under whom he shall serve, that we are contrained to believe this court in the exercise of the high powers reposed in it by the constitution and laws will find some means of protecting this class of citizens against such ignominy and shame even though we may have failed in our efforts properly to point the way."

Associated with Mr. Knollenberg in the case are Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the N. A. A. C. P., Judge James A. Cobb of Washington and Robert J. Channell of El Paso, Texas.

TEXAS PRIMARY LAW

The decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring political party primaries to be subject to the Federal laws is possibly the greatest and most far-reaching conclusion reached by that august deliberative body affecting human rights since the famous or infamous Dred Scott Decision, the Civil Rights Bill, the "Jim Crow" laws and other equally notable cases passed upon in the last century, either favorably or unfavorably.

The decision is not only a decisive victory in that it (1) gives the Negro the right to vote in any primary in any state, but (2) it makes unnecessary the need to claim the protection of the 14th amendment to vote, it (3) makes it clear that it is illegal for states to bar voters from the polls on account of color, it (4) gives Negroes the right to claim damages in Federal Courts for such denial, it (5) declares that the—

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS CONTROL OVER STATE PRIMARIES,

—thus dealing a death blow (6) to the cry of the South of the "Sovereignty of the States" and a priority over Federal rights.

Because some of the States, and most especially the Southern states have defied, nullified and disregarded some rights of a part of its citizens, it is evident that the wisdom of the founder of the Federal government in centralizing the power in its hands, and of which we hear so much complaint, has been necessary. For the same reason and from the same causes the Supreme court doubtless bases its present just decision.

It is just, fair, equitable, honest, fearless and not only in keeping with the law and the facts, but also with the spirit of the Republic and its liberties, the high intent of its founders, and will meet the approval of millions of honest citizens who have at heart the perpetuation of our great democracy, its principles and its institutions.

The Supreme court overruled every contention of the State of Texas, both as to law and supporting facts, rendering a clean knockout blow to the illegal practices of that section, and at once re-establishing and re-affirming the rights of citizens of the United States of color, limiting and restricting the powers of those states that have heretofore usurped the functions that properly belonged to the Federal government, and set all legislative bodies, including our National Congress, a new precedent. It also serves to keep the States within legal bounds and makes impossible the exercise of any arbitrary powers they may assume.

Dr. L. A. Nixon, of Texas, in whose name the case was carried up, the local Texas and National N. A. A. C. P., whose backing won the case and the attorneys who so valiantly and efficiently fought the winning fight, together with the Honorable Judges of the Supreme Court have earned the permanent gratitude and thanksof the whole Nation. The Supreme Court, like Lincoln, has again preserved the Union.

WHITE PRIMARY ILLEGAL

By unanimous decision, the Supreme Court of the United States on last Monday decided that the nefarious primary laws enacted by white Democrats are illegal. No longer can colored voters be legally prevented from voting in what is called a "democratic primary" or "white primary."

It is amusing to note the attitude taken by several of the southern dailies since the announcement of the decision. Already plans are being made for the enactment of such provisions as will come within the scope of the law by preventing the participation of colored voters. These suggestions emanate from the source that is loudest in protestation against primary election methods of the north, but seemingly unmindful of the moral lapse at home.

The southern white democrats have discounted and nullified the several amendments to the Constitution of the United States and are preparing to further ignore them, and yet announcing to the world that they are "one hundred per cent. American." They are contending vigorously for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. The consistency of the situation should glare them in the face. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments should be their nightmare.

To be truly "one hundred per cent American" all amendments to the Constitution in their entirety.

Political - 1927 II Texas, (Negro Press)
Suffrage

Supreme Court Ban Asked on "White Primary" Laws of Texas

N. A. A. C. P. Makes Test Case of Statute Barring All Negroes From Democratic Primaries

Amsterdam News 1-5-27

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3. — Attorneys retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today argued before the Supreme Court that the Texas "White Primary" law, enacted May, 1923, barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State, is unconstitutional, urging that the Texas law was a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution and of Sections 1979 and 2004 of the United States Statutes.

New Republic 1-19-27

The case before the Supreme Court arose out of an action brought in the Texas courts by Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, who, being a bona fide Democrat with poll tax receipt and entitled to vote in Precinct Number 9 of El Paso County, was on July 26, 1924, barred from voting in the party primaries in pursuance with the contested Texas law of 1923.

The Judge and Associate Judge of elections in that district, Messrs. C. C. Herndon and Charles Porras, issued a certificate to Dr. Nixon confirming that they had declined to permit him to vote.

Dr. Nixon in this test case, financed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is claiming damages in the sum of $5,000. The case has come to the Supreme Court on appeal from the Federal District Court for the Western district of Texas.

The text of the contested Texas law is as follows:

All qualified voters under the law and constitution of the State of Texas who are bona fide members of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic party primary election, provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party primary elections; however, in no event shall a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same.

Fred C. Knollenberg of El Paso, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in behalf of Dr. Nixon, argued that as Democratic party primary elections in Texas are recognized and regulated by law, casting a ballot in such an election is an act of voting within the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment; and the immunity against discrimination on account of race or color guaranteed in that amendment protects the Negro in his right to vote in such a primary.

Mr. Knollenberg's brief further recites:

"The Democratic party primary in Texas is the only real election in that State, and the general election in November is nothing more than a formal ratification of the results of the Democratic primary. The same is true to a greater or less extent in a number of other States. If such an enactment under such conditions be valid, 'government of the people, for the people and by the people was an idle dream, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted in vain.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded, no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of whites and of Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could, and did, legally cast their ballots; but Nixon, because of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator."

The brief characterizes the Texas law as "such a flagrant, unjust discrimination against a citizen solely on account of his race and color; such a brazen attempt to banish him from a party of his choice and brand him with a mark of inferiority, as an outcast unfit to exercise the privilege which other citizens enjoy of affiliating with the party of his choice and exercising the freedom of judgment in selection of officers under whom he shall serve, that we are contrained to believe this court in the exercise of the high powers reposed in it by the constitution and laws will find some means of protecting this class of citizens against such ignominy and shame even though we may have failed in our efforts properly to point the way."

Associated with Mr. Knollenberg in the case are Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the N. A. A. C. P., Judge James A. Cobb of Washington and Robert J. Channell of El Paso, Texas.

TEXAS PRIMARY LAW

The decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring political party primaries to be subject to the Federal laws is possibly the greatest and most far-reaching conclusion reached by that august deliberative body affecting human rights since the famous or infamous Dred Scott Decision, the Civil Rights Bill, the "Jim Crow" laws and other equally notable cases passed upon in the last century, either favorably or unfavorably.

Bee 1-12-27

The decision is not only a decisive victory in that it (1) gives the Negro the right to vote in any primary in any state, but (2) it makes unnecessary the need to claim the protection of the 14th amendment to vote, it (3) makes it clear that it is illegal for states to bar voters from the polls on account of color, it (4) gives Negroes the right to claim damages in Federal Courts for such denial, it (5) declares that the—

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS CONTROL OVER STATE PRIMARIES,

—thus dealing a death blow (6) to the cry of the South of the "Sovereignty of the States" and a priority over Federal rights.

Because some of the States, and most especially the Southern states have defied, nullified and disregarded some rights of a part of its citizens, it is evident that the wisdom of the founder of the Federal government in centralizing the power in its hands, and of which we hear so much complaint, has been necessary. For the same reason and from the same causes the Supreme court doubtless bases its present just decision.

It is just, fair, equitable, honest, fearless and not only in keeping with the law and the facts, but also with the spirit of the Republic and its liberties, the high intent of its founders, and will meet the approval of millions of honest citizens who have at heart the perpetuation of our great democracy, its principles and its institutions.

The Supreme court overruled every contention of the State of Texas, both as to law and supporting facts, rendering a clean knockout blow to the illegal practices of that section, and at once re-establishing and re-affirming the rights of citizens of the United States of color, limiting and restricting the powers of those states that have heretofore usurped the functions that properly belonged to the Federal government, and set all legislative bodies, including our National Congress, a new precedent. It also serves to keep the States within legal bounds and makes impossible the exercise of any arbitrary powers they may assume.

Dr. L. A. Nixon, of Texas, in whose name the case was carried up, the local Texas and National N. A. A. C. P., whose backing won the case and the attorneys who so valiantly and efficiently fought the winning fight, together with the Honorable Judges of the Supreme Court have earned the permanent gratitude and thanksof the whole Nation. The Supreme Court, like Lincoln, has again preserved the Union.

WHITE PRIMARY ILLEGAL

By unanimous decision, the Supreme Court of the United States on last Monday decided that the nefarious primary laws enacted by white Democrats are illegal. No longer can colored voters be legally prevented from voting in what is called a "democratic primary" or "white primary."

Chicago Defender 1-29-27

It is amusing to note the attitude taken by several of the southern dailies since the announcement of the decision. Already plans are being made for the enactment of such provisions as will come within the scope of the law by preventing the participation of colored voters. These suggestions emanate from the source that is loudest in protestation against primary election methods of the north, but seemingly unmindful of the moral lapse at home.

The southern white democrats have discounted and nullified the several amendments to the Constitution of the United States and are preparing to further ignore them, and yet announcing to the world that they are "one hundred per cent. American." They are contending vigorously for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. The consistency of the situation should glare them in the face. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments should be their nightmare.

To be truly "one hundred per cent American" all amendments to the Constitution in their entirety.

BAN IS ASKED ON WHITE PRIMARY LAWS

Washington, Jan. 10. Attorneys retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with headquarters in New York, today argued before the Supreme Court that the Texas "White Primary" law, enacted May 1923 barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic party primaries of the State, is unconstitutional, urging that the Texas law was a violation of the 15th amendment to the Constitution and of Sections 1979 and 2004 of the United States Statutes.

The case before the Supreme Court arose out of an action brought in the Texas courts by Dr. L. A. Nixon, of El Paso, who, being a bona fide Democrat with poll tax receipt and entitled to vote in Precinct Number 9 of El Paso County, was on July 26 1924, barred from voting in the party primaries in pursuance with the contested Texas law of 1923 The judge and associate judge of elections in that district, Messrs C. C. Herndon and Chas. Porras issued a certificate to Dr. Nixon confirming that they had declined to permit him to vote.

Dr. Nixon in this test case, financed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is claiming damages in the sum of $5,000. The case has come to the Supreme Court on appeal from the Federal District Court for the Western district of Texas.

The text of the contested Texas law is as follows:

All qualified voters under the law and constitution of the State of Texas who are bona fide members of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic party primary election, provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party primary elections; however in no event shall a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same.

Fred C. Knollenberg, of El Paso, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in behalf of Dr. Nixon, argued that as Democratic party primary elections in Texas are recognized and regulated by law, casting a ballot in such an election is an act of voting within the meaning of the 15th Amendment; and the immunity against discrimination on account of race or color guaranteed in that amendment, protects the Negro in his right to vote in such a primary.

Mr. Knollenberg's brief further recites:

"The Democratic party primary in Texas is the only real election in that State, and the general election in November is nothing more than a formal ratification of the results of the Democratic primary. The same is true to a greater or less extent in a number of other States. If such an enactment under such conditions be valid, government of the people, for the people and by the people, was an idle dream, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted in vain.

"In the primary from which Dr. Nixon was excluded, no race or color was barred except his. In El Paso thousands of whites and of Mexicans and numbers of Chinese could, and did, legally cast their ballots; but Nixon, because of remote Ethiopian ancestry, was only a spectator.

The brief characterizes the Texas law, as "such a flagrant, unjust discrimination against a citizen solely on account of his race and color; such a brazen attempt to banish him from a party of his choice and brand him with a mark of inferiority, as an outcast unfit to exercise the priviledge which other citizens enjoy of affiliating with the party of his choice and exercising the freedom of judgment in selection of officers under whom he shall serve, that we are constrained to believe this court in the exercise of the high powers reposed in it by the Constitution and laws, will find some means of protecting this class of citizens against such ignominy and shame even though we may have failed in our efforts properly to point the way."

Associated with Mr. Knollenberg in the case are Moorfield Storey of Boston, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Judge James A. Cobb of Washington and Robert J. Channell of El Paso, Texas.

An Important Decision

(New York Times)

In the recent bitter debates in the Senate about political conditions in various States, North and South, frequent reference was made to the Texas primary law. This forbade any Negro, however able otherwise to qualify, to vote in a Democratic primary in that State. This fact was referred to by an Ohio Senator as an instance of gross discrimination against black men. In retort, a Southern Senator pointed to the Constitution of the State of Ohio, which forbids any Negro to hold office. The reply to this was obvious. That provision was long ago put into the Ohio Constitution and has not been removed, but it was made wholly inoperative by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution. In actual fact, colored men have held all kinds of offices in Ohio. All such little skirmishes have now been ended by the important decision of the Supreme Court of the United States yesterday, holding the Texas primary law unconstitutional in so far as it deprives a Negro of his right to vote in a Democratic primary, provided he can meet the other qualifications.

The case is doubly important. It decides not only the immediate issue, but indicates what the decision of the Court must be if other trials involving discriminatory legislation against colored men are got squarely before. This, we believe, is the first time that the Supreme Court has pronounced on the clear issue of the rights of black men, as compared with whites, under the constitutional amendments adopted after the Civil War. In the decision read by Justice Holmes, and concurred in by all the members of the Supreme Court, it is tersely stated that "the laws of all States" must stand for the black the same "as the whites." Much was made before the Court with the argument that the case involved merely a "political question." As a rule, the judges do not interfere with legislation that can properly be described as political — not involving, that is, a fundamental right of which the Court must take judicial notice. In this case Justice Holmes dismissed the contention that the denial to Negroes of their constitutional rights should be regarded as merely political, as being "little more than a play upon words." The Judges had to go to the essence of the matter.

Probably even in Texas it will now be admitted that the statute held invalid by the Supreme Court was all along a mistake. It was quite needless. There cannot be enough Democratic Negroes in Texas to trouble the party managers. A law barring the colored men from the Democratic primary was unnecessary and also offensive, and raised the constitutional issue in a way which, when fought through from the lower courts as it has been by the Association which has made a specialty of seeking to secure the rights of Negroes through the courts, the Supreme Court could not avoid passing upon positively. This it has now done, and the result will be something like a judicial landmark, besides being big with political consequences.

TEXAS HATE LAW RULED OUT BY SUPREME COURT

Decides Primaries Are Subject to Federal Law and Democrats May Not Discriminate Against Negro Citizens—Measure Is Unconstitutional

WASHINGTON, March 7.—Political party primaries in States were held by the Supreme Court today to be subject to Federal laws. The Texas law prohibiting Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries was therefore declared void and unconstitutional.

Deciding a case from Texas, the court held that the States are restricted in their jurisdiction over the primary, and cannot bar voters from the polls on account of color or race.

Justice Holmes delivered the opinion, and no dissent was announced.

Negroes denied the right to vote in a primary on account of color, he said, had ground for damages, since the Constitution guarantees the Negro equal rights.

The court said it was not even necessary to take into account the Fifteenth Amendment, which gives Negroes the right to vote, because the injustice of the Texas statute was sufficiently apparent when considered merely in the light of the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibited the States from making any law to abridge the rights of citizens on account of race or color.

Discriminates Against Negro

"The statute of Texas . . . assumes to forbid Negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone," said the opinion.

"The objection that the subject matter of the suit is political is little more than a play upon word."

The decision was handed down in the case of L. A. Nixon, an El Paso Negro, who sought unsuccessfully in the lower courts to recover damages against election judges who refused to permit him to vote at a Democratic primary elevtion. Moorfield Story of Boston, his counsel, told the Supreme Court that 370,000 Negro voters in Texas had been excluded as ineligible to participate in Democratic primaries. Nixon himself represented that he had voted the Democratic ticket for years prior to passage of the law.

May Recover Damages

"That private damage may be caused by such political action and may be recovered in a suit at law hardly has been doubted for over 200 years and has been recognized by this court," said the opinion. "If the defendant's conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result. The important question is whether the statute can be sustained.

"But although we state it as a question the answer does not seem to us open to a doubt."

THE TEXAS PRIMARY

[The New Republic]

The supreme court has handed down an important decision declaring unconstitutional the Texas law which forbids Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries. As everyone knows, the Democratic primary in Texas is more important than the final election itself, and refusal to permit Negroes to vote in the former amounted to disfranchisement. This is substantially the view of the court, which, in a decision read by Justice Holmes, held the statute unconstitutional on the ground that it contravenes the 14th amendment, as well as the 15th. Needless to say, the victory for the Negro is more apparent than real. Texas will undoubtedly find some other way to maintain this disfranchisement. Every other southern state continues to keep the polls for the white race, either by property and literacy qualifications or by intimidation. No other state, however, so brazenly admitted the existence of the humiliating condition as did Texas. Aside from its importance as setting a precedent of federal authority over state primaries, the supreme court decision will break down one more barrier to the growing racial self-respect of the Negro.

Political-1927

Texas (White Press)

Suffrage

NEW YORK
Herald & Tribune

MAR 9 19

The White Primary

As Associate Justice Holmes said, voicing the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, there was hardly an excuse for arguing the constitutionality of the Texas white primary law of 1923. One article of that law read:

> "In no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void, and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

A civil suit for damages was brought against two primary election officers by a Negro physician who claimed to be a Democratic voter. The Supreme Court reversed the judgment of the District Court for the Western District of Texas which had thrown out the case. Justice Holmes held that such legislation violated the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding a state to deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. He adds that it was not necessary to take into account the Fifteenth Amendment, which says: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

The court did not pass again on the question whether a state Senatorial primary is part of the process of a Senatorial election. But its condemnation of a color test in primaries may easily complicate the problem of Senatorial titles with which the Senate has been so excitedly wrestling.

Are Senators nominated as Democrats in exclusive white primaries entitled to admission when subsequently elected, or is the new rule applied in Pennsylvania and Illinois by Senator James A. Reed and his followers to be followed in all such cases?

Senator Blease, of South Carolina, was the only Democratic Senator from the South to realize the dangers of the Reed theory. He was against the Reed lynchings. He took pains to tell the Senate that in South Carolina the white primary is a private party affair, operated without state supervision or control. "The state has not anything to do with it," he declared. "The returns are made to Democratic county committees and the results are certified by the Democratic State Committee. If the state has nothing to do with the primary it may not be chargeable with denying the equal protection of the laws to the excluded citizens.

Possibly some forms of the white primary in the South are Constitution-proof. The Supreme Court might not invalidate them, although it has now shown its determination to annul state legislation violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. But, unlike the court, the Senate night riders acknowledge no legal limitations.

Colonel Smith was not excluded from the Senate at the last session because he had broken any Federal or state law. He was shut out because the Reed white caps set up extralegal eligibility standards of their own. They claim the right to try him and Mr. Vare, of Pennsylvania, in a drumhead court, where legal restrictions and guaranties are disowned. All they need is a prejudice or a pretext, a personal antipathy of some sort, on which to deny a legally valid title.

Will not the white primary, Texas style, just voided by the Supreme Court, subject Southern Senators to the same sort of attack from a hostile partisan majority? The Missouri Senator and his friends have done what they could to break down the safeguards thrown about Senate titles.

They have been inviting reprisals, sacrificing the future to trifling temporary advantage. Had the Supreme Court's decision come a couple of months ago the Southern Senators would probably not have gambled with facts by excluding an appointee from Illinois with a perfectly legal *prima facie* title. They sowed the wind. [illegible] Blease's protests. They will be lucky if some day they do not find themselves reaping the whirlwind.

TIMES

Wichita Falls Tex

MAR 13 1927

CONGRESS AND THE PRIMARY.

Does the recent supreme court decision on the negro's right to vote in primaries mean that congress has the right to exercise jurisdiction over primaries generally? That question has been raised in states where there is no question of negro voting where the negro is not only permitted, but encouraged, to vote in primaries. It is believed in some quarters that the supreme court's decision supports the theory that the primary is really part of the election, and subject to the same restrictions. So far as federal statutes are concerned, only primaries in which United States senators and congressmen are nominated would be affected.

The point may have an interesting effect on the controversies over the seating of Vare from Pennsylvania and Smith from Illinois. The scandal surrounding these individuals have to do with what happened in the primary, not in the election. It has been contended that the primary is something with which the federal government has nothing to do and that, in effect, it's none of the senate's business how Vare and Smith were nominated.

The supreme court decision tends to upset that theory. It tends to weaken the defense of Smith and Vare and to lessen their chances of being allowed to remain in the senate. And it opens up a vista of interesting possibilities in connection with the primary system.

TIMES HERALD
DALLAS, TEX.

MAR 9 1927

THE OFFICIAL PRIMARY.

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION that negroes cannot be barred from Democratic primaries in Texas shows how far party politics has drifted from its original status.

The decision indicates that the primary is no longer regarded as an informal election held within a party for nominating candidates, but is looked upon by the courts as a full-fledged election.

Ostensibly, a primary is merely the method used by a group of people of one political faith to decide upon men or women to offer as candidates at the legal election, but in reality it is a part of the government machinery for selecting public offices and is being recognized as such by the courts.

The primary was substituted for the convention system of nomination. The convention system was a result of growth. It evolved from the small group meetings held by certain persons who desired to promote certain candidates for office. These groups grew into parties.

Any group of people ought to have the right to meet and decide to back certain candidates for office. That privilege is part of our freedom. And so is the authority to exclude anyone who is objected to by the majority. Originally a political party was strictly a private affair.

When the idea of the primary election was conceived the political parties gave up their rights. In calling upon the state law to support them in the private business of selecting nominees they made their election official.

One of the curses of the country is that we have too many elections. Where one general election was intended we now have two or three primaries, all of which are deemed official "elections," although they do not technically put the candidates in office.

It is doubtful that the state has a right to interfere into the affairs of a private organization, there was in the old-fashioned convention system. except to keep the peace and to protect lives and The primary is no longer merely a party affair, it property. That it should actually officiate in is a function of the state. private nominations is absurd.

The fact that the state is being called upon to assist the party in nominating its candidates gives the courts the authority to say who shall vote for the nominees. Naturally negroes are entitled to vote in an official election.

Our primaries are being taken entirely too seriously. The situation grows worse from year to year. Candidates are spending as much money to win nominations as they are elections. In spite of the numerous laws passed to prevent corruption of the ballot there is more corruption

ply referred to its former and quite old decision in a case of similar character from Louisville, Kentucky. The courts by their interpretations of our laws do not offer solutions for the racial problem.

SPRINGFIELD ILLINOIS

MAR 20 1927

THE SOUTH AND COLORED BROTHER

The United States Supreme court recently invalidated a law of Texas which prohibited a colored man's voting in a Democratic primary. The conviction of white men in a southern state, accused of the practice of peonage upon colored men and women has been upheld by the higher courts. One day this week the United States Supreme court declared unconstitutional the laws of Louisiana which permit city zoning along racial lines. In doing so the court sim-

Political-1927

Texas (White Press)

Sugfrage

NEW YORK

Herald & Tribune

MAR 9 19

The White Primary

As Associate Justice Holmes said, voicing the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, there was hardly an excuse for arguing the constitutionality of the Texas white primary law of 1923. One article of that law read:

> "In no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election held in the State of Texas, and should a Negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void, and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

A civil suit for damages was brought against two primary election officers by a Negro physician who claimed to be a Democratic voter. The Supreme Court reversed the judgment of the District Court for the Western District of Texas which had thrown out the case. Justice Holmes held that such legislation violated the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding a state to deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. He adds that it was not necessary to take into account the Fifteenth Amendment, which says: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

The court did not pass again on the question whether a state Senatorial primary is part of the process of a Senatorial election. But its condemnation of a color test in primaries may easily complicate the problem of Senatorial titles with which the Senate has been so excitedly wrestling.

Are Senators nominated as Democrats in exclusive white primaries entitled to admission when subsequently elected, or is the new rule applied in Pennsylvania and Illinois by Senator James A. Reed and his followers to be followed in all such cases?

Senator Blease, of South Carolina, was the only Democratic Senator from the South to realize the dangers of the Reed theory. He was against the Reed lynchings. He took pains to tell the Senate that in South Carolina the white primary is a private party affair, operated without state supervision or control. "The state has not anything to do with it," he declared. "The returns are made to Democratic county committees and the results are certified by the Democratic State Committee. If the state has nothing to do with the primary it may not be chargeable with denying the equal protection of the laws to the excluded citizens.

Possibly some forms of the white primary in the South are Constitution-proof. The Supreme Court might not invalidate them, although it has now shown its determination to annul state legislation violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. But, unlike the court, the Senate night riders acknowledge no legal limitations.

Colonel Smith was not excluded from the Senate at the last session because he had broken any Federal or state law. He was shut out because the Reed white caps set up extralegal eligibility standards of their own. They claim the right to try him and Mr. Vare, of Pennsylvania, in a drumhead court, where legal restrictions and guaranties are disowned. All they need is a prejudice or a pretext, a personal antipathy of some sort, on which to deny a legally valid title.

Will not the white primary, Texas style, just voided by the Supreme Court, subject Southern Senators to the same sort of attack from a hostile partisan majority? The Missouri Senator and his friends have done what they could to break down the safeguards thrown about Senate titles.

They have been inviting reprisals, sacrificing the future to trifling temporary advantage. Had the Supreme Court's decision come a couple of months ago the Southern Senators would probably not have gambled with facts by excluding an appointee from Illinois with a perfectly legal *prima facie* title. They sowed the wind despite Blease's protests. They will be lucky if some day they do not find themselves reaping the whirlwind.

TIMES

Wichita Falls Ty

MAR 13 1927

CONGRESS AND THE PRIMARY.

Does the recent supreme court decision on the negro's right to vote in primaries mean that congress has the right to exercise jurisdiction over primaries generally? That question has been raised in states where there is no question of negro voting where the negro is not only permitted, but encouraged, to vote in primaries. It is believed in some quarters that the supreme court's decision supports the theory that the primary is really part of the election, and subject to the same restrictions. So far as federal statutes are concerned, only primaries in which United States senators and congressmen are nominated would be affected.

The point may have an interesting effect on the controversies over the seating of Vare from Pennsylvania and Smith from Illinois. The scandal surrounding these individuals have to do with what happened in the primary, not in the election. It has been contended that the primary is something with which the federal government has nothing to do and that, in effect, it's none of the senate's business how Vare and Smith were nominated.

The supreme court decision tends to upset that theory. It tends to weaken the defense of Smith and Vare and to lessen their chances of being allowed to remain in the senate. And it opens up a vista of interesting possibilities in connection with the primary system.

TIMES HERALD

DALLAS, TEX.

MAR 9 1927

THE OFFICIAL PRIMARY.

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION that negroes cannot be barred from Democratic primaries in Texas shows how far party politics has drifted from its original status.

The decision indicates that the primary is no longer regarded as an informal election held within a party for nominating candidates, but is looked upon by the courts as a full-fledged election.

Ostensibly, a primary is merely the method used by a group of people of one political faith to decide upon men or women to offer as candidates at the legal election, but in reality it is a part of the government machinery for selecting public offices and is being recognized as such by the courts.

The primary was substituted for the convention system of nomination. The convention system was a result of growth. It evolved from the small group meetings held by certain persons who desired to promote certain candidates for office. These groups grew into parties.

Any group of people ought to have the right to meet and decide to back certain candidates for office. That privilege is part of our freedom. And so is the authority to exclude anyone who is objected to by the majority. Originally a political party was strictly a private affair.

When the idea of the primary election was conceived the political parties gave up their rights. In calling upon the state law to support them in the private business of selecting nominees they made their election official.

One of the curses of the country is that we have too many elections. Where one general election was intended we now have two or three primaries, all of which are deemed official "elections," although they do not technically put the candidates in office.

It is doubtful that the state has a right to interfere into the affairs of a private organization, there was in the old-fashioned convention system. The primary is no longer merely a party affair, it is a function of the state.

ply referred to its former and quite old decision in a case of similar character from Louisville, Kentucky. The courts by their interpretations of our laws do not offer solutions for the racial problem.

SPRINGFIELD ILLINOIS

THE SOUTH AND COLORED BROTHER

The United States Supreme court recently invalidated a law of Texas which prohibited a colored man's voting in a Democratic primary. The conviction upon colored men and women in a southern state, accused of the practice of peonage upon white men in a similar way, has been upheld by the higher courts. One day this week the United States Supreme court declared unconstitutional the laws of Louisiana which permit city zoning along racial lines. In doing so the court simply

MAR 20 1927

NEW ERA
LANCASTER, PA.

MAR 10 1927

A Strange "Welcome"

Some of our Democratic friends are trying to read in the recent Supreme Court decision on the Texas law excluding Negroes from the primaries a changed status of affairs that does not exist in fact. They loudly proclaim the end of discrimination by their party against the colored race and would have the members of that race feel that they will now be welcomed in the ranks north, south, east or west.

The Supreme Court has declared exclusion as provided under the Texas statute a direct violation of the fourteenth amendment, but the decision has not brought about any change of heart among the Democracy's leaders in the South. The ink was hardly dry on the decision before they announced that they would attempt to work out some way to evade the constitutional question to attain the same result.

"New legislation will be necessary to protect the ballot," says Governor Moody, of Texas. In Virginia, the Secretary of the State Democratic Committee notes that his State has a similar law and suggests that it be rewritten. In South Carolina, the chairman of the Democratic Committee doubts the importance of the Court ruling, since that State has other laws which effectively prevent the Negro from voting. In Georgia, ex-Senator Hoke Smith points out that "our laws provide several qualifications for voting in the Democratic primaries, including payment of all taxes since 1877 and ability to interpret any section of the Constitution." Other States have similar provisions, and the Attorney General of one of them predicts that "the Democratic county registrars in passing judgment upon the ability of Negroes to understand the Constitution, will in the future be quite conservative." The cynicism in that statement is obvious. No matter how intelligent a Negro voter may be, the registrars can arbitrarily rule that he does not understand the Constitution, and consequently, cannot vote.

This is the sort of "welcome" that Southern Democracy is extending to the colored people.

JOURNAL

Racine, Wis.

MAR 10

THE TEXAS PRIMARY CASE.

The decision of the United States supreme court in the Texas primary election case may prove far reaching in its effect. The invalidating of a Texas statute forbidding Negroes to vote in Democratic party primaries is a court decree of no inconsiderable importance. It may result in political parties shunting the primary system to a sidetrack in a purpose to continue in control of their own affairs. If, under primary election laws, political parties are to lose the right of self control it would seem that the only thing for political leaders to do is to go back to the old-fashioned town meeting and convention plan under which any political party would have the unquestionable right to determine who may and who may not participate in its selection of candidates.

We believe now, and always have believed, that only those who subscribe to and indorse the national platform of a political party have any right to participate in its affairs.

If one is unwilling to support with his vote and his influence a certain political party he should be barred from its elections, as he would be—and should be—barred from its conventions.

But to get back to the supreme court's decision in the Texas case.

The court takes the position, apparently, of regarding the primary as an important part of a general election.

With this view most people will differ. They will maintain, as do the Democrats in Texas, that a party primary is a party proposition and should be governed—and regulated in its relation to voters—by the wishes of the controlling forces—the governing forces—of the party conducting it and not by any statutory rule.

It now is, and for quite awhile has been the contention of many party leaders in both the great political parties, that the federal government is overstepping its authority and invading the rights of party government in its endeavor, though the Reed probe, to inquire into the primary election in certain states since in no state was the primary election more than a party selection of a nominee to become a candidate in a general election for United States senator.

It is maintained in party councils that the primaries in which candidates for senator were nominated were purely party affairs—affairs with which neither the federal government nor the senate should be in any way concerned.

The question as to whether congress has authority over primary elections has been the subject of much discussion since the Reed committee has shown so much activity, along with an apparent purpose to blacken the reputations of men with which its chairman—and the lesser lights in its membership—are none too friendly.

Therefore—

It will be interesting to follow all of the developments as result of the supreme court's opinion in the Texas case.

HELENA, MONT.

Record

MAR 17 1927

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT UPHELD.

Notwithstanding the wholesale disfranchisement of colored people in southern states, where they are not permitted to cast a ballot, their constitutional right to vote continues to be upheld by the supreme court of the United States. A new case from Texas has just been decided, and the whole court has said that state laws may not be invoked to deprive the negro of his vote in the primary elections, any more than in other elections. This decision apparently extends the fourteenth amendment to cover all elections, and to protect the colored citizens in their rights to vote at primaries as well as general and special elections.

Nixon, the plaintiff in the case, had been prevented from voting in a Texan primary where both federal and state candidates were elected, and the main question in his case was whether the federal laws have jurisdiction over primaries as well as other elections. The supreme court holds that the negroes not only have all the rights of citizens at the polls, but are fully entitled to equal protection of the laws. The Texan law apparently discriminated against negroes on the basis of color, and hence was invalid.

The decision, it is suggested, may lead to attempts by congress to further extend the control of federal laws over state primaries. The states have the power to fix the requirements prerequisite to the exercise of the franchise, such as registration, residence and the like, but none to deprive the citizen of his right to vote when he has complied with those requirements, and the requirements, of course, cannot be so unreasonable or excessive as to amount to a denial of the franchise.

Efforts to extend federal supervision and restriction to the primaries and to enforce the right of negroes to vote in Southern states may give the American people something to think of in the future.

STANDARD

Salem, Mo

MAR 25 1927

"quainty neighborhood" for fear of what might happen and the colored person would be the corpus delecti in the case and not able to give evidence as to how it happened.

we are of the opinion the recen
ruling of the United States Supreme
Court that negroes in Southern cities
have the right to live anywhere in the
city that they wish, will not encour-
age many of them to move into a

NEW ERA
LANCASTER, PA.

MAR 10 1927

A Strange "Welcome"

Some of our Democratic friends are trying to read in the recent Supreme Court decision on the Texas law excluding Negroes from the primaries a changed status of affairs that does not exist in fact. They loudly proclaim the end of discrimination by their party against the colored race and would have the members of that race feel that they will now be welcomed in their ranks north, south, east or west.

The Supreme Court has declared exclusion as provided under the Texas statute a direct violation of the fourteenth amendment, but the decision has not brought about any change of heart among the Democracy's leaders in the South. The ink was hardly dry on the decision before they announced that they would attempt to work out some way to evade the constitutional question to attain the same result.

"New legislation will be necessary to protect the ballot," says Governor Moody, of Texas. In Virginia, the Secretary of the State Democratic Committee notes that his State has a similar law and suggests that it be rewritten. In South Carolina, the chairman of the Democratic Committee doubts the importance of the Court ruling, since that State has other laws which effectively prevent the Negro from voting. In Georgia, ex-Senator Hoke Smith points out that "our laws provide several qualifications for voting in the Democratic primaries, including payment of all taxes since 1877 and ability to interpret any section of the Constitution." Other States have similar provisions, and the Attorney General of one of them predicts that "the Democratic county registrars in passing judgment upon the ability of Negroes to understand the Constitution, will in the future be quite conservative." The cynicism in that statement is obvious. No matter how intelligent a Negro voter may be, the registrars can arbitrarily rule that he does not understand the Constitution, and consequently, cannot vote.

This is the sort of "welcome" that Southern Democracy is extending to the colored people.

JOURNAL

Racine, Wis
MAR 10

THE TEXAS PRIMARY CASE.

The decision of the United States supreme court in the Texas primary election case may prove far reaching in its effect. The invalidating of a Texas statute forbidding Negroes to vote in Democratic party primaries is a court decree of no inconsiderable importance. It may result in political parties shunting the primary system to a sidetrack in a purpose to continue in control of their own affairs. If, under primary election laws, political parties are to lose the right of self control it would seem that the only thing for political leaders to do is to go back to the old-fashioned town meeting and convention plan under which any political party would have the unquestionable right to determine who may and who may not participate in its selection of candidates.

We believe now, and always have believed, that only those who subscribe to and indorse the national platform of a political party have any right to participate in its affairs. If one is unwilling to support with his vote and his influence a certain political party he should be barred from its elections, as he would be—and should be—barred from its conventions.

But to get back to the supreme court's decision in the Texas case.

The court takes the position, apparently, of regarding the primary as an important part of a general election.

With this view most people will differ. They will maintain, as do the Democrats in Texas, that a party primary is a party proposition and should be governed—and regulated in its relation to voters—by the wishes of the controlling forces—the governing forces—of the party conducting it and not by any statutory rule.

It now is, and for quite awhile has been the contention of many party leaders in both the great political parties, that the federal government is overstepping its authority and invading the rights of party government in its endeavor, though the Reed probe, to inquire into the primary election in certain states since in no state was the primary election more than a party selection of a nominee to become a candidate in a general election for United States senator. It is maintained in party councils that the primaries in which candidates for senator were nominated were purely party affairs—affairs with which neither the federal government nor the senate should be in any way concerned.

The question as to whether congress has authority over primary elections has been the subject of much discussion since the Reed committee has shown so much activity, along with an apparent purpose to blacken the reputations of men with which its chairman—and the lesser lights in its membership—are none too friendly.

Therefore—

It will be interesting to follow all of the developments as result of the supreme court's opinion in the Texas case.

HELENA, MONT.

Record
MAR 17 1927

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT UPHELD.

Notwithstanding the wholesale disfranchisement of colored people in southern states, where they are not permitted to cast a ballot, their constitutional right to vote continues to be upheld by the supreme court of the United States. A new case from Texas has just been decided, and the whole court has said that state laws may not be invoked to deprive the negro of his vote in the primary elections, any more than in other elections. This decision apparently extends the fourteenth amendment to cover all elections, and to protect the colored citizens in their rights to vote at primaries as well as general and special elections.

Nixon, the plaintiff in the case, had been prevented from voting in a Texan primary where both federal and state candidates were elected, and the main question in his case was whether the federal laws have jurisdiction over primaries as well as other elections. The supreme court holds that the negroes not only have all the rights of citizens at the polls, but are fully entitled to equal protection of the laws. The Texan law apparently discriminated against negroes on the basis of color, and hence was invalid.

The decision, it is suggested, may lead to attempts by congress to further extend the control of federal laws over state primaries. The states have the power to fix the requirements prerequisite to the exercise of the franchise, such as registration, residence and the like, but none to deprive the citizen of his right to vote when he has complied with those requirements, and the requirements, of course, cannot be so unreasonable or excessive as to amount to a denial of the franchise.

Efforts to extend federal supervision and restriction to the primaries and to enforce the right of negroes to vote in Southern states may give the American people something to think of in the future.

STANDARD

"quainty neighborhood" for fear of what might happen and the colored person would be the corpus delecti in the case and not able to give evidence as to how it happened.

MAR 25 1927

We are of the opinion the recent ruling of the United States Supreme Court that negroes in Southern cities have the right to live anywhere in the city that they wish, will not encourage many of them to move into a

Political-1927

Texas, (White Press).

Suffrage

NEWS
GALVESTON, TEX.

MAR 9 1927

THE WHITE MAN'S PRIMARY IS HELD UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

Not in a long time has the United States supreme court handed down a decision of more theoretical significance than the one returned Monday holding unconstitutional that provision of the Texas election law which denies negroes the right to vote in democratic primary elections. But in practice it is to be doubted if the decision will have any profound effect on the conduct of politics in Texas. Prominent democratic leaders apparently do not think it will, though it is obvious the decision has taken them by surprise. Little attention had been paid in Texas to the case, brought by an El Paso negro citizen who claimed to be a democrat and who filed suit against election officers in a democratic primary who had refused to permit him to vote. Texas authorities on constitutional law, as a whole, seemed to be secure in the belief that primary elections, being solely party affairs and in effect the equivalent of a nominating convention, did not conflict with either the fourteenth or the fifteenth amendment, and were, in fact, exempt from federal supervision. The supreme court decision appears to establish a new and broader definition of primary elections.

One effect of the decision is bound to be salutary. It will hasten a revision of the complicated and unsatisfactory Texas election law. There is a possibility that it may bring about a return to the convention system of nominations, though in the present disposition of party leaders that outcome is rather improbable. That the election law has been successfully attacked furnishes apt confirmation of a criticism often leveled at it, namely, that too many details are prescribed by law which ought to be governed by party rules. Until the Terrell election law was revised at a called session of the legislature in 1926, the matter of qualifications for voters was left to the determination of county executive committees. Had it remained in that status, it is probable that the present attack on the law would not have arisen, or would not have been sustained.

There is no blinking the fact that the democratic party in Texas is traditionally and in fact a white man's party. As long as that condition continues control of party affairs must remain in the hands of the majority, even to the establishment of rules prescribing the qualifications of members. Possibly not one negro citizen out of a hundred votes the democratic ticket in the general election, and it would be fatal to republican ambitions for implanting the bi-party system in Texas if republican leaders encouraged their partisans to participate in democratic primaries. As a matter of fact, it is not to be expected that many negro voters will desire to participate in democratic primaries. Negro voters of bona fide democratic affiliations can not be debarred from participating in the nomination of democratic candidates, nor is that the aim of democratic leaders. But if party organization means anything at all, it conveys the right to confine exercise of strictly party functions to bona fide members of the party. Unless there is some legally enforceable method of exclusion, the party system breaks down. Party management must remain with the party council, or there is no party.

The democratic party undertakes to safeguard the integrity of its nominating machinery by means of the party pledge, which binds every voter participating in the primary to support the nominees of the party in the general election. The primary system can not be disassociated from the sanctity of that pledge. It is the very crux of the system.

Though trivial in relation to the effect of the decision as a whole, it is natural that interest in Galveston should for the moment concentrate on the bearing of the ruling on the forthcoming city democratic primary. Without doubt it makes negro citizens eligible to participate as democrats in the primary if they so desire. Bearing in mind the pledge which obligates participants in the primary to support the nominees, however, we fail to see wherein the new condition sets up a valid conflict between the present status of the primary and the purpose for which it was originally proposed.

OSHKOSH, WIS.

MAR 10 1927

Effect On Primaries May Be Far-Reaching.

One of the most important decisions in favor of the negro since the civil war is the way many of those working for the advancement of the colored race regard the declaration of the supreme court of the United States that the so-called "white primary law" of Texas is unconstitutional. Efforts to rid Texas negroes of this law began years ago but this is the first time a definite decision has been secured, and it is from the highest court in the land. Most of the southern states have qualified white primary systems, which keep the negroes from voting in important elections, but none of them are considered quite as obnoxious as the Texas law.

As a result of the court decision, primary elections in the future are likely to take on an entirely different aspect than heretofore, particularly in the southern states. However, Texas authorities have lost no time in planning legislation to authorize rules to supplant the Texas statute prohibiting negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. Democratic nominations in that state are usually equivalent to election.

It is believed possible to give the party executive committee power to fix qualifications of primary voters, otherwise, it is feared, a solid negro vote could carry primary issues in some parts of Texas. By making the qualifications sufficiently rigid, it would prevent those not fitted to use the ballot intelligently from functioning. At present, it is claimed, few negroes qualify to vote even in general elections, although in some counties in Texas the blacks outnumber the whites.

The unanimous opinion of the supreme court on the unconstitutionality of the Texas law, delivered by Justice Holmes, and which reversed the lower court, made the point that the statute clearly violated the Fourteenth amendment of the constitution, which protects the black from discrimination.

The ruling held that the law in the states shall be the same for the blacks as for the whites; that all persons, whether black or white, shall stand equal before the law. Therefore no discrimination should be made on account of color.

According to the construction placed on the court decision by some members of congress, it is a vindication of the theory that the federal government has authority to regulate primary elections, in spite of the judgment to the contrary, rendered by the high court in the Newberry case.

If that point is sustained, it will have important effect on the slush fund cases in Pennsylvania and Illinois and may mean that congress will have power to pass legislation affecting both primaries and general elections.

VINDICATOR
YOUNGSTOWN, O.

MAR 21 1927

The Texas Primary Law

That portion of the Texas primary law which prohibits a negro from voting at a Democratic primary, whether or not he is able to qualify at the general election, has been held invalid by the United State Supreme Court. The decision was rendered in the case of L. A. Nixon of El Paso, who for years had been voting the party ticket at regular elections.

The court said: "If the defendant's conduct was wrong to the plaintiff, the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election it for denying a vote at the primary tion that may determine the final result." These words of Justice Holmes, which so closely associate the primary with the final election as possibly to determine its result may prove far-reaching at this time of discussion and investigation of primaries in Northern States to which scandal attached because of the lavish expenditure of money and the hiring of watchers at so much a head.

Texas finds that in its regulation of primaries, as well as of regular elections, it must do so with respect for its constitutional powers which are clearly defined in two amendments

BROOKLYN TIMES

MAR 9 1927

The Decision in the Texas Case.

The decision in the case of Texas is one of primary interest in the Republic. It took the besom of civil war to sweep slavery and its concomitant restrictions on the civil rights of negroes out of the country. The arbitrament was the arbitrament of cannon. The litigation was the litigation of the guns. The Supreme Court of the United States has now decided that Texas cannot nullify the Constitutional rights of the negro by any statute. The law declaring that no negro can participate in a Democratic party primary in that state is manifestly in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Senator Borah hails the decision as a confirmation of his contention that the primary election is an essential part of the electoral process. Unquestionably it is in all the states that have passed statutes governing primary elections and defining membership in political parties. The Texas decision is important in its recognition of the fact that party government, which was remote from the intentions of the founders of the American Constitution, has become an essential part of the process of Republican government.

Yet, it is not beyond the memory of living men when the law took no heed whatsoever of primary elections. Thirty years ago the party organizations were purely voluntary associations of electors holding the same political principles. The old ward associations of the County of Kings were the judges of their own membership and of their own rule of procedure and were quite as jealous of this power which they held to be inherent as the Senate now is of its own powers. The most famous case bearing upon the evolution of party organizations from voluntary associations into recognized agents of the state had its inception in the factional politics of this borough. The conflict between certain South Brooklyn leaders and the late Hugh McLaughlin resulted in a resolution appointing a committee of the Executive Committee of the Democratic organization here to try Michael J. Coffey, then leader of the Ninth Assembly District, on a charge of political heresy. He was defended before the committee by the late Luke D. Stapleton and Isaac M. Kapper, both of whom were members of the Supreme Court later, and one of whom is still on the bench. The Executive Committee expelled Mr. Coffey and on behalf of their client Messrs. Stapleton and Kapper appealed to the court and a battle began as a result of which the Court of Appeals finally decided that political organizations were no longer voluntary associations and that an executive member, chosen under the State Primary law, could not be expelled by his colleagues.

Party government is now an accepted and inextricable party of the machinery of our government, and as the control of parties must still be in accordance with the republican form guaranteed by the National Constitution, state primaries for the choice of leaders and other officers of political parties come within the jurisdiction of the United States judiciary.

TIMES
RALEIGH, N. C.

MAR 8 1927

SOUTH NOW ABLE TO OBEY THE CONSTITUTION IN TOTO

The inevitable has happened in a United States Supreme Court decision which holds that a Texas law which preserves Democratic primaries sacred to white voters is unconstitutional as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Private damage, it holds, can be sustained by the denial of such a political privilege and it was to prevent discriminations on account of color that the amendment was passed. Laws of the State must be the same for the black and the white. Color, it is specifically held, cannot be made the basis of a qualification in respect of voting.

In principle the case on which this decision rests is analogous to a condition which would have obtained had the Eighteenth Amendment been passed in the years immediately following the Civil War and, with no Volstead Act to bolster it, had not only been generally violated, but positively flouted by the laws of States which did not approve. It is the same as if, Prohibition having been declared in the Constitution, it were held, sixty years after the event, to apply to a sale of whiskey over the bar, duly authorized by State enactment!

The question, one will say, is what is the Supreme Court of the United States to do about it? The amendment has been openly violated for three generations. Is a Volstead Act to enforce strictly the ancient war amendments possible?

Naturally, it is not possible, nor is it desired in the shape in which the Prohibition Army is maintained.

But it is possible, even probable, that if it be attempted to continue to conduct primaries for whites only, Congress will act in respect to such practice as it is now acting in regard to primaries held in Pennsylvania and Illinois in respect to the use of money. It will be encouraged to investigate the vote for every Southern member of Congress with special relation to all the direct and indirect rights of negroes to participate therein. Congress can act in these matters, not only with the particularity of a court, but with the general authority given it in connection with the power to pass on the qualifications of its own members.

There is to be anticipated no direct trouble with negro voters attempting anywhere to control or exert a balance of political power in Southern Democratic primaries. Their numbers are too few and the leadership of their own race too wise to attempt a course which would once more arouse a long laid bitterness.

But the decision should go far toward preparing the way to do away with the primary system which has been adopted for the purpose of negativing elections as real tests of political opinion. It should tend to promote the reestablishment in the South of true party divisions based on something better than instinct and habit. It should tend to restore the practice of representative government, even in party organizations, as it obtained before the direct primary came along with its spurious plea of political morality.

For years it was as morally impossible for the South to obey the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as it now is for New York, Pennsylvania or New Jersey to obey the Eighteenth. But the time has come, sixty-two years after Appomattox, when the South can afford to obey both without hurt and with betterment to itself.

PLAIN-DEAL...
CLEVELAND, O.

MAR 9 1927

Federal Primaries?

Monday's supreme court decision invalidating a Texas statute which forbids Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries is held in some quarters to foreshadow federal control of congressional nominating machinery. If this sequence is followed, however, it will be not because the national government hungers for the responsibility but because the states in conspicuous instances have neglected their own obligation.

In brief, the court says that by attempting to discriminate against Negro voters in primary the state has collided with the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution which guarantees to citizens "the equal protection of laws." If this runs counter to the decision of the same court in the Newberry case, as some allege, the change of attitude may be due to developments in primary practices since then.

The states, and a few of them conspicuously, have permitted primaries to run riot. Unlimited expenditures have been winked at, questionable practices tolerated. Illinois and Pennsylvania are the latest exhibits; the Newberry case is remembered. States jealous of their prerogatives must take care lest a higher authority step in to perform duties they neglect.

Texas will endeavor to meet the new condition brought about by the supreme court decision. Extension of the theory of federal concern in primaries may wait on developments.

FARGO, N. DAK.

Forum

MAR 11 1927

Cannot Derive Negro of Vote

In declaring the Texas primary law partly unconstitutional, the Supreme Court of the United States has disposed of an important political question which has given cause to much trouble and many Congressional arguments during recent years. The Court's decision holds that it is unconstitutional to deprive a negro of his right to vote in a Democratic party.

This is an important decision. Besides disposing of the Texas question, it indicates the mind of the Court on the whole question of the negro vote. There are communities in the South where the negro has been disfranchised, despite the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, and this discrimination has given rise to considerable difficulty in recent years. The matter has been referred to again and again in the Senate. Certain sections of the South, however, have persisted in their disrespect for that part of the Constitution.

The Court's decision, written by Justice Holmes and concurred in by all the other members, leaves no doubt as to its attitude. It is the first time that the Supreme Court has pronounced on the rights of the negro as compared with whites since the two Constitutional amendments were adopted, and it makes the most of its first finding. "The laws of all States must stand for the black the same as the white," the decision says.

There is a way then to force those Southern States now denying the vote to the negro to give him his Constitutional rights. If no one else will look to it, the negro himself can do so. He can demand the vote and get it.

Some commentators see more in the decision than there is. The Philadelphia Public Ledger, for instance, declares that "the ruling has an added interest because of its possible application to the question of the jurisdiction of the Congress over primary elections, in cases involving the qualifications of members of either House." This application seems farfetched. The decision does not cover the right of Congress to review a primary election. It simply concerns a Texas law which was in direct conflict with two provisions of the United States Constitution. Wiping out that feature of the Texas law because of its unconstitutionality does not mean that the legislative branch of the Government has particular control over a primary election. It simply clears up a question of personal rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Political - 1927

Suffrage

Texas, (White Press.)

TIMES HERALD
DALLAS, TEX.

MAR 1 1 1927

NEGROES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES.

WHAT WILL BE THE RESULT if negroes are no longer legally barred from Democratic primaries? This question has been raised by the Supreme court's ruling that the state statute barring them is void.

The percentage of negro voters in the state as a whole is so small that their ballot can have no effect so far as state officers are concerned. If Texas had two parties of about equal strength the negroes could, by voting solidly, hold the balance of power, but in Texas the Democratic party is vastly in the majority, and indications are that it will remain so for many more years.

Most of the negroes of Texas vote the Republican ticket by tradition. Whether they will go into the Democratic primaries is doubtful. Of course it is entirely possible that some of them would vote in the primaries and then vote the Republican ticket in the general election. But unless the negroes vote in the primary and then support the party nominees their ballots will not greatly change the present situation.

The effect of the negro vote in primaries could be felt only in county elections in counties where the colored population is in the majority in some commissioner's districts. Undoubtedly, with the negroes voting with the Democrats, negro commissioners could be elected in a number of counties in the state. Only in a few counties is the negro vote large enough to control the election of county officers at large. They could elect justices of the peace and constables in many counties.

But in counties where the negroes could now in the general election control certain districts they do not do so. Only in rare instances have negroes been elected, or white men who catered particularly to the negro vote. The negroes do not pay their poll tax or go to the polls in these counties on general election day in sufficient numbers to affect the result of the elections.

The complaint is that the negroes are intimidated in such counties and stay away from the polls to avoid trouble. The same kind of intimidation may be applied in the primary elections. The virtue of the law that kept negroes out of the primaries was that it made intimidation unnecessary. It tended to keep down race clashes.

It is doubtful that many Texas negroes are clamoring for an opportunity to vote in the Democratic primaries. The case on which the Supreme court's ruling was based was that of a single negro in El Paso who had been barred. Organizations of the colored race in the North have watched the case with interest because they felt that it was a test, but the rank and file of Texas negroes, especially those in counties where there is a large negro population, have paid little attention to it.

If the Democratic party bows to the ruling and no other legal barrier is set up it is doubtful that primaries will be invaded by the negroes of Texas. Most educated negroes have too much self-respect to inject themselves where they, obviously, are not wanted. They realize the absolute necessity of living in harmony with the whites in a state where they have less than 16 per cent of the total population.

Obviously, any law that discriminates between races is contrary to the federal constitution. If the Democrats or Republicans of Texas desire to keep the negroes from assisting in selection of nominees they must bring about the repeal of the primary election laws. That an association of private individuals, a political party or any other body, has a right to restrict its membership as it sees fit is also guaranteed by the constitution, but when an organization asks the state to make laws concerning its membership, the party becomes official and is no longer a private affair.

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA

MAR 2 0 1927

"NULLIFICATION"

United States Senator Cole L. Blease has hurried home from Washington to advise the South Carolina Legislature that action in the matter of the State's primary law is necessary, in view of the United States Supreme Court's decision concerning the Texas primary law. The sort of action he has in mind, he didn't state, but it is easy to guess what it is. He would have a new primary law that will prevent Negroes fro mvoting, while avoiding conflict with the decision of the Supreme Court.

Blease voted against any extension of the Reed committee's investigation in the freely expressed fear that examination of election conditions in the South might result. That, he said, might threaten white supremacy.

In Virginia there is talk of rewriting the State primary laws, in the same spirit. Texas statesmen are, of course, at work on the problem.

Political leaders in other Southern States are examining their defenses against ill-effects from the Supreme Court decision.

It is a problem that can pretty well be left to the South to solve. From its very nature, indeed, it must be. Any solution from outside the South can only be made effective by the use of force and the rest of the country is not prepared to consider such a solution.

But, out of the situation that has been created, it may be hoped that a little enlightenment will filter into the minds of certain southern and other statesmen—the statesmen of the Anti-Saloon League, for example. Among these there has been much talk of "nullification" on the part of such States as New York and Wisconsin because he latter have openly sought some method of making the present prohibition amendment fit the desires of their people.

The Southern statesmen who, by their votes, prevent any adjustment of prohibition to suit the temper of other States, are doing exactly what they protest must not be done to the South in the matter of the voting privilege. They are claiming an exclusive right to nullify the United States Constitution, if nullification it is to circumvent the purpose of the fifteenth amendment.

Time has caused many thoughtful citizens of the North as well as the South to doubt the wisdom of granting the vote to the colored race at the time of their liberation from slavery.

If law is the most important thing in the land, then Federal troops should be engaged now in enforcing the fifteenth amendment. If the mere fact of law enforcement is more important than the effect of law enforcement, then the Government should be appropriating millions annually for a fifteenth amendment bureau, like the present prohibition bureau. Army, Navy, coast guard and under cover agents should be on the job, with a Wayne Wheeler to steer their steps.

There are Southern statesmen who sincerely believe in prohibition, no doubt; just as there are Southern statesmen who only vote dry for political reasons, while drinking wet for personal reasons. But neither class can long continue to base their votes on their pretended reverence for the United States Constitution. Not while their Legislatures are engaged in finding new ways of getting around a constitutional amendment that was adopted quite as regularly as the eighteenth amendment.

LEADER
Van Alstyne, Tx

MAR 17 1927

NEGROES CAN VOTE IN TEXAS PRIMARIES

The United States Supreme court has just handed down a decision setting aside a judgment of the Texas Supreme court in reference to permitting negroes to take part in primary elections in this state and declaring that the Texas law barring them from participation violates the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

It is only in keeping with the modern theory of government which permits state and federal authorities to invade the domain of private affairs and to exercise control over matters which do not come under public jurisdiction. It is the legitimate outcome of the abandonment of those fundamental principles upon which our government was established and which were for more than a hundred years the cornerstone of the democratic party.

When the Terrel election law was passed on the statute books of this state, this editor, through the columns of his paper, the files of which will bear testimony, declared such a law subversive of the inalienable rights of the individual and an invasion of the sacred principles of democratic government. To attempt to regulate party primaries is, under any circumstances, foreign to the legitimate functions of the state, as its duty lies solely in seeing that elections are conducted fairly and honestly and that the will of the people prevails. We pointed out that the election of officers to administer the affairs of a government like ours is not a political matter, from the government's standpoint, and cannot be made such. The government recognizes no political party, and should not recognize it, for laws apply to the citizen without regard to political affiliation.

It was our belief, and the late decision of the highest court of the land bears us out, that whenever our people, for the sake of expediency, depart from the principles underlying free government and enact laws in violation of state and individual

rights, they enter upon a dangerous course that will in the end be destructive of our republican form of government. We have permitted politicians who have ends to serve to lead us far astray, and we now see something of the results of our folly. For what can we do now? The federal government says that we cannot even conduct a white primary election in Texas. Recognizing the right of the state to regulate political primaries, we must recognize the right of the federal government to do likewise, that right is now to be asserted.

What are we to have next?—Sherman Democrat.

N. Y. WORLD

MAR 24 1927

NULLIFICATION IN THE SOUTH

A friendly editorial in the Beaumont (Tex.) Journal takes exception to a recent statement in The World regarding nullification of the Fourteenth Amendment in the South. The Journal disagrees with the Governor of Texas about the necessity for "new legislation to protect the ballot"—the Supreme Court having declared unconstitutional a Texas law limiting Democratic primaries to white voters. The Journal doesn't think that new legislation is desirable. It believes, in fact, that "the Supreme Court never did a better day's work than when it knocked this Texas law in the head." As for the future: "It is idiotic for States to enact statutes that are clearly intended to repeal the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States." Besides, "there is a wiser and, incidentally, quite as effective a way of going at the thing."

It is not clear what the Journal means. It may mean, as it seems to mean, that there is a wiser and "quite as effective" way of keeping Negroes from voting than passing laws about it. Or it may mean that the South is all wrong in its attitude toward Negro voting, and always has been, and that the right thing to do is to enforce the spirit and the letter of the Fourteenth Amendment. In either case it does not seem to us that the Journal really disputes The World's statement that nullification is actually in progress, whether or not it ought to be, throughout the South. Evidence of that fact is to be found in the practical non-existence of a Negro vote, in the many State laws deliberately designed to make it impossible for Negroes to qualify, and in the statements of State officials like the Attorney General of Mississippi that, regardless of the Supreme Court's decision, "practically all Negroes are disqualified" anyway.

As its comment at the time of the Supreme Court's decision showed, The World was not attempting to lecture the South about nullification of the Fourteenth Amendment. It simply pointed out a certain similarity between nullification of the Fourteenth Amendment in the South and nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment in the North. If the Beaumont Journal really wishes to prove that there is no nullification in the South it will have to argue that Negroes actually do enjoy the same political privileges to-day as white men. Could it seriously assert this to be true?

TIMES
TRENTON, N. J.

MAR 13 1927

OUR NEGRO POPULATION

"The Southern Colored Voters of Trenton" is hardly a happy name to be selected by those who have grievances to urge of a political and social type. These protestants, according to common understanding, left the South because dissatisfied with conditions there and they surely have fared better in the North or they would not stay here. It is always a good sign to witness a desire for improvement in any class of citizens, but there are other ways, besides stressing political claims, to get ahead.

The city has given the race unusual advantages in the matter of education, and industrially they are enjoying opportunities that the wiser ones among them have utilized in the acquirement of homes and the building up of good bank accounts. Colored women are engaged in large numbers in domestic service at excellent wages. There appears to be adequate church accommodation.

It is timely to express satisfaction with the improved character and habits of Trenton's colored population. The race has made unmistakable progress in this city. Like other races, it has varying social grades and this should be remembered when less desirable elements too often gain unpleasant publicity. The gratifying fact which should be dwelt upon is that the proportion of law-abiding, respectable Negroes in the community constitutes a larger percentage than ever before and that it is constantly growing.

NEW ERA
LANCASTER, PA.

MAR 10 1927

A Strange "Welcome"

Some of our Democratic friends are trying to read in the recent Supreme Court decision on the Texas law excluding Negroes from the primaries a changed status of affairs that does not exist in fact. They loudly proclaim the end of discrimination by their party against the colored race and would have the members of that race feel that they will now be welcomed in the ranks north, south, east or west.

The Supreme Court has declared exclusion as provided under the Texas statute a direct violation of the fourteenth amendment, but the decision has not brought about any change of heart among the Democracy's leaders in the South. The ink was hardly dry on the decision before they announced that they would attempt to work out some way to evade the constitutional question to attain the same result.

"New legislation will be necessary to protect the ballot," says Governor Moody, of Texas. In Virginia, the Secretary of the State Democratic Committee notes that his State has a similar law and suggests that it be rewritten. In South Carolina, the chairman of the Democratic Committee doubts the importance of the Court ruling, since that State has other laws which effectively prevent the Negro from voting. In Georgia, ex-Senator Hoke Smith points out that "our laws provide several qualifications for voting in the Democratic primaries, including payment of all taxes since 1877 and ability to interpret any section of the Constitution." Other States have similar provisions, and the Attorney General of one of them predicts that "the Democratic county registrars in passing judgment upon the ability of Negroes to understand the Constitution, will in the future be quite conservative." The cynicism in that statement is obvious. No matter how intelligent a Negro voter may be, the registrars can arbitrarily rule that he does not understand the Constitution, and consequently, cannot vote.

This is the sort of "welcome" that Southern Democracy is extending to the colored people.

ROCHESTER, N. Y

Union

MAR 10 1927

Negro Voting In The South

The Supreme Court of the United States has just invalidated the Texas law which excludes Negroes from the Democratic primary in that state. Fittingly enough, the venerable Oliver Wendell Holmes, a veteran of the Civil War, handed down the decision. But all the rest of the court concurred.

The Supreme Court in recent years has tended to take a more rigorous view of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, designed to protect the Negro in his civil rights and in the right of suffrage. A few years ago it set aside as unconstitutional the so-called grandfather clause in the constitution of Oklahoma. By this clause white voters, whose fathers or grandfathers had voted before 1867 were exempted from the tests prescribed for other voters. Though, on its face, there was here no discrimination against the Negro race, the court set aside the provision as unconstitutional.

In the Texas case it has gone considerably further. Constitutional requirements for the exercise of suffrage are one thing. Prescriptions of membership in a political party are a different thing. It has been contended that a political party is a voluntary association, and that the conditions of membership in it are not regulated by the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendments. This contention must now fall to the ground.

It does not follow, however, that the decision handed down on Monday will greatly affect the practical situation in the South. Southern ingenuity has found plenty of ways to disfranchise the Negro in the general elections, ways which have run the gamut of the Supreme Court. Some of the same methods, no doubt, can be employed in the regulation of the primary. There is very little doubt that the state of Texas will not seek to evade the full implications of the decision.

As to the future, no prediction can be made. The attitude of the Supreme Court seems to be changing. For more than a quarter of a century before 1920 its attitude was virtually one of non-interference. Whether this point of view is to be still further altered is an interesting speculation—and nothing more.

NEW YORK
Herald & Tribune

MAR 16 1927

The Texas Primary Case

To the New York Herald Tribune:

In your excellent editorial on the Texas white primary case there is one slight omission which I should like the privilege of rectifying. You say that suit was brought against the Texas election officers by Dr. Nixon. Technically this is true. Actually, this case was financed from beginning to end and fought by attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which recognized in the principle at issue one of the most important that has been raised since the Civil War amendments to the Constitution. We believe that with the present decision we are one step closer to confronting the nation with the South's bare-faced disfranchisement of colored citizens in defiance of those amendments.

Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
New York, March 9, 1927.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON,

Political-1927

Suffrage

BANNER

Texas, (White Press)

Tramp Ly

MAR 17 1927

U. S. SUPREME COURT RULING RE: NEGRO IN PRIMARY

Again the right of the state to deprive a person of political rights on account of color has come to the front. Texas passed a law in 1923 prohibiting negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. Negroes under the Federal Constitution have the right to participate in state primaries and cannot be deprived of that privilege by state laws, was the decision of the Supreme Court last week in the case of L. A. Nixon, who, under a state statute, was prevented from voting in a Democratic primary at El Paso, Texas, at which both federal and state candidates were selected. It is thought that this decision will have some influence over the much mooted question of federal jurisdiction over primaries, raised in the Smith and Vare cases from Illinois and Pennsylvania.

The foregoing comes to this paper from a news-gathering agency at Washington. The decision of the Supreme Court has Texas democrats "up in the air", so to speak. Judge Keeling of our own State Supreme Court is quoted as saying that the finding of a practical way to bar Texas negroes from democratic primaries can be found—and such a way most probably will be found.

Without any thought of discussing the constitutional aspects of the problem it is not amiss to look back at some of the conditions antecedent to the passage of the law which the Federal Supreme Court declares unconstitutional. Every man in Smith county who was exercising the voting right back in the Nineties and the first few years of this century can recall the conditions which in fact paved the way for the exclusion of the negro from any effective political participation in the activities of the democratic party. We might as well tell the plain facts about it—but in doing so we do not mean to say that there were not among the colored people many citizens who did not abuse their political privileges and rights, who were neither corruptible nor venal with their vote. But the thing which many of the colored voters did in those days was laid at the door of all colored people—and hence the enactment of the law in the years following long after.

In those days it was a common thing for unscrupulous white politicians to buy votes among the colored people. It got to be notorious the way certain so-called white leaders would "buy the influence" of certain colored leaders—unscrupulous colored men who professed to have the votes of the average colored voter "in their vest pocket." For weeks preceding an election in those days it was not uncommon to see certain dressy, pompous negro men driving over the county with the very best rigs that could be obtained at the best livery stables of the county—and it was an open secret that these pompous negroes had their buggies loaded down with whiskey, and their pockets lined with money, with which to "fix" the colored voters. In the preliminary campaigns for the nomination of public officials it was necessary to campaign with and among the negro voters of the county. Most of these colored voters would promise each candidate full and unqualified support—and they rarely failed to leave the way open for the candidate to offer them money, or treats, or favors of some other kind. In this way the candidates had enormous and unbearable expenses—and they found it necessary to go out to colored meetings held at all hours of the night, if not of the day; and these meetings were often boisterous and turbulent. That situation was one of rottenness and absolute disgust.

Then, to make the matter worse, and granting that a given candidate did win the nomination for the November general election, he would often find that those colored people who participated in the preliminary choices would not stand hitched to the democratic wagon. The white folk got tired of allowing negroes under the foregoing circumstances to participate in the selection of candidates to go before the people in the general election—and then seeing these negroes turn over and vote against all the democratic nominees when the general election day rolled around.

It was a state of political corruption and rottenness that at the time was nauseating to all decent citizens of every political party and of both races. It was a situation that for shame and abuse of the high privilege of the franchise was but a step removed from the carpetbagger era that marked the period of reconstruction that the county had to work out of during the preceding two decades. It could not have existed but for the presence of the saloon and the whiskey traffic which was all-powerful in many of the elections coming along during those years—and all-powerful, be it said, in spite of the purposes and desires of the best citizenship of the county who, believing strongly in the doctrine of personal liberty as respects to liquor, tolerated the saloon while fighting its evil and pernicious influence in political matters.

The first blow to the unspeakable evil and to the way it was used to manipulate the negro vote came with the adoption of prohibition in this county and section. But the memory of the way ignorant negroes had been made a tool of, of how they had been corrupted with whiskey and other means of vote-buying, of how unconscionable white "leaders" and "influence-peddlers" among their own race had arrayed them against the best white citizenship and against the best and most wholesome public interests—the memory of all these matters caused the white people who were aware of the disgraceful and rotten state of things politically to cast about for means by which the negro could be totally (without regard to the integrity of any of them) eliminated from political affairs.

The situation in this county was duplicated in every county in the state where there was a considerable negro population. So in time the law was passed. It may have worked injustice to some of the race. It would have been more in keeping with the spirit of decency if it had also visited some kind of a penalty upon those whites who under the old order of things made the negro a political instrumentality for the accomplishment of unworthy ends. It is not amiss to say that the negro under designing, scheming, venal leadership brought the penalty upon himself. The cold facts are that he is a burden and a problem to the republican party with which is fixed his political allegiance in almost all cases where he has any, or seeks any—and honorable and high-minded republicans have told us repeatedly that but for the attachment of the negro to their party here in Texas they might hope in time to have a party of real power and constructive influence in the state. These observations on some of our local political history are not meant as an indictment against the negro. He has perhaps not sinned as much as he has been sinned against in the matter. Nobody ever taught him the sacredness of the ballot. Advantage was taken of his ignorance to make him a tool for the promotion and service of the selfish ends of unscrupulous white men. The reaction came to the negro—the white man who used him and consorted with him in the perpetration of the rankest political rottenness has gone unscathed. There may be some one to call in question the statements of this review—but those who know even nearly all the facts will recognize the naked unvarnished truth of it.

COURIER

Connecticut Ls

MAR 6 1927

RIGHTS OF NEGROES.

The confirmation of the legal rights of the Negro by the court of last resort in the United States has progressed rather slowly but the import of all decisions on such questions coming before the Supreme Court has been to more explicitly define the status of the members of the race.

A few weeks ago the so-called "white primary" statute of Texas, under which the Negroes of that state could be barred from participation in Democratic primary elections, was declared null and void under Amendments to the Federal Constitution. The Supreme Court held that rights conferred upon Negroes can not be annulled by a state although the latter may prescribe certain qualifications for voters.

On Monday of this week another decision was handed down by the Supreme Court which reiterates the position of this judicial body on another phase of the constitutional rights of the people whose former status was that of slaves. The question at issue in this case was that involved in an attempt by the state of Louisiana and the city of New Orleans to prescribe conditions under which property may be acquired and occupied by the different races.

The points raised were precisely the same as those in a prior case in which the city of Louisville, Ky., had attempted to enforce an ordinance which prohibited Negroes from occupying houses in sections where white residents were in the majority. The court held this ordinance invalid and the New Orleans case was disposed of by announcing a decision applying the principles enunciated in the Louisville case.

The same discrimination against Negroes as members of a race existed in the Texas primary law as in the Kentucky and Louisiana residence restriction law, hence each was in violation of the Constitution, which forbids states from making or enforcing "any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens," or denying or abridging the right of citizens to vote "on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude."

In view of these very plain and explicit provisions of the Constitution any other decision by the Supreme Court could not have been given. It is not probable, however, that the southern states will cease their efforts to affect a segregation of the races, but the resourcefulness of their law makers will be taxed to devise measures that will stand the tests of constitutionality.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.

MAR 9 1927

The Outlawing of Racial Primaries

The first thing to be noted in regard to the Supreme Court's unanimous decision invalidating the Texas law which declares Negroes ineligible to take part in the primaries of that State, is that its bearing is on principle rather than practice. The principle set up is that the primary is an integral part of the electoral process and that color can not be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right of the individual to participate in the primary any more than it can be made the test of eligibility to participate in general elections. That sounds like a sweeping away of the interpretative barriers that the Southern States have erected to insure Caucasian dominance of public affairs, but the bark is worse than the bite. The Negro under this decision has the right, for voting purposes only, to attach himself to any political party and to vote in that party's primaries, but the general restrictions that operate to limit his mass participation in general elections will continue to operate to prevent his mass participation in party primaries. He must still qualify for the vote by meeting the educational tests and the general requirements as to capitation taxes and advance registration. That these tests and requirements, now effective in holding the Negro vote in the South to "safe" proportions, are destined to become less and less effective with the passing of time seems inevitable. But that is a problem apart and the present Supreme Court decision does not make it more immediate.

The problem of the status of the Negro race and its voters in the South of many years from now when the minority race will possess all the educational requirements for voting and will in addition be armed with greater economic independence and a livelier self-consciousness, is a speculation that leads to our greatest social and political dilemma, and the *Virginian-Pilot* ventures no guess as to its solution. At present both races must cling to the hope that when the problem becomes acute the day will have a leadership and statesmanship and social insight equal to its solution.

For the present, conditions being what they are, it is enough to examine the Supreme Court's decision in relation to immediate reality. The immediate reality is that Southern election laws discourage Negro participation in elections. The same election laws, the Supreme Court's new decision notwithstanding, will discourage Negro participation in party primaires. From this generalization it is necessary to except only those comparatively few Southern communities where the Negro population is larger than the white. It is conceivable that in a few such communities, the outlawing of the right to hold purely white primaries, may embarrass the minority's control of public affairs. It is conceivable, but altogether unlikely. In its practical bearing on the present political status of the two races the Supreme Court's new decision is negligible.

The larger significance of the new ruling lies in the realm of the undetermined future. Viewed in this perspective, it is unquestionably an important contribution to the definition of political justice. In strict law and logic, the court's decision is, we believe, flawless. The primary election is the avenue through which a political party makes its nominations, but it is also the avenue through which the citizen registers his nominational preference. To bar any voter by law from participating in the election that nominates is, in one-party States like Texas, tantamount to barring him by law from participating in the only election in which effective discrimination between rival candidates is possible. If that exclusion is based on color, it is in plain violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

It follows from the foregoing view of the implications of the Supreme Court's decision that party rules excluding Negroes from party primaries will have to go by the board. These rules, as is the case in Virginia, are promulgated in virtue of powers vested in the party organizations by legislative acts. It is axiomatic that if the Legislature is itself without power to make color the basis of eligibility to participate in a primary, it can not delegate the right to set up such a discrimination to anybody else. Under the rule adopted by the 1924 Norfolk convention, the right to vote in a Democratic primary in Virginia is limited to white Democrats. That rule will no longer stand. The party authorities may still draw the color line or any other line in organization, committees, conventions, conferences and other strictly party enterprises, but their power to apply the racial test will stop at the polling booth.

HERALD
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

MAR 9 1927

THAT TEXAS DECISION

On Monday the United States Supreme Court unanimously upheld an opinion pronouncing unconstitutional a law of the State of Texas which bars negroes from voting in Democratic primary elections.

The original suit leading to this decision was brought by one Dr. Nixon of El Paso against two election inspectors who had denied him the right to vote in the State-wide primary of July, 1924. Dr Nixon was barred on this occasion by a Texas statute of which one clause reads:

> In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void, and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same.

The Supreme Court, in an opinion written by the venerable Justice Holmes declares this statutory mandate unconstitutional. The judgment is based, not on the Fifteenth Amendment, but on that section of the Fourteenth which provides that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In this case the Texas defendants and courts took the ground that the issue was distinctly political and in a way domestic This reasoning was plausible enough in the sense that the Democratic party of Texas was simply prescribing, with the authority of law, conditions for membership based on color. In this view, the primary would be simply a party formality, and the exclusion of negroes from participation therein would be tantamount, let us say, to their exclusion from a social club. It must be admitted that this Texas postulate was strengthened by the Supreme Court's decision in the Newberry case, by which it was ruled in essence that the primary is not a vital part of the electoral process within the constitutional purview.

All of this ingenious reasoning is swept away by the Holmes decision. Concerning the Texas law the Supreme Court contends that it would be hard "to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth Amendment." That Amendment, the public is reminded, affirms that "the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white"; and "in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the Amendment was primary designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color."

We consider this by far the most sweeping pronouncement yet issued by the Supreme Court in the matter of the civil rights of negroes as they are established by the Fourteenth Amendment. Having denied any political bearing in the case, the court affirms that the Texas offense lay in denying to negroes the "equal protection of the laws" by what may be called the corporate by-laws of a political party. In the light of this decision, it is difficult to think any limitation of the social or civil rights of negroes in any of the States so far as they are affected by the rules or regulations of associations incorporated under State laws.

In that respect, and by virtue of the implications that go with it, the decision is one of far-reaching importance. So far as Texas politics is concerned, the effect is negligible, because the negro influence in Democratic primaries in the Lone Star State will doubtless continue to be nil.

In view of the Supreme Court's assurance that this is not a political case, the decision cannot be regarded as a reversal of the Newberry judgment. Yet the inference is unavoidable that it leans decidedly that way. For example, Justice Holmes observes:

> If the defendants' conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff, the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result.

Here is a flat admission that a Texas primary may determine the final result. This is a simple truism in many States. By acknowledging it the Supreme Court seemingly negatives its Newberry ruling to the effect that Congress lacked the constitutional right to regulate primary elections through a Corrupt Practices act. But that is another story, and calls for a separate discussion.

GAZETTE-TIMES
PITTSBURG, PA.

MAR 8 1927

Decision Against Distranchisement

SENATOR JAMES A. REED of Missouri and some others who have feigned to be scandalized by alleged election practices in certain states may reflect profitably upon a United States Supreme Court decision announced yesterday. The great tribunal declared unconstitutional a Texas statute which prohibits voting by Negroes in Democratic primary elections.

The disfranchisement of Negroes in the South is notorious. This disfranchisement makes elections in those states far more crooked than ever has been alleged against elections in any Northern states. Yet Senator "Jim" Reed and his kind will not permit, if they can prevent it, action with design to remedy the evil conditions prevailing south of the Mason and Dixon line.

The minister that stopped the transgeged illegal election practices. Senator or constitutional mandates—unless it action of business by the Senate in the David A. Reed of Pittsburgh proposuits his political purposes to care.

closing days of the session ended lasthe extension resolution. Senator "Jim" Friday was justified in many minds byReed opposed it because he is interest the fact that it grew out of an attempt only in embarrassing Republican to extend to the Southern states these cares nothing for justice or respe Reed committee's investigation of al- presses that if the question can be got Republicans before the high tribunal the law will be respect construed to apply equally throughout the land. Which would be excellent

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.

MAR 9 1927

The Outlawing of Racial Primaries

The first thing to be noted in regard to the Supreme Court's unanimous decision invalidating the Texas law which declares Negroes ineligible to take part in the primaries of that State, is that its bearing is on principle rather than practice. The principle set up is that the primary is an integral part of the electoral process and that color can not be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right of the individual to participate in the primary any more than it can be made the test of eligibility to participate in general elections. That sounds like a sweeping away of the interpretative barriers that the Southern States have erected to insure Caucasian dominance of public affairs, but the bark is worse than the bite. The Negro under this decision has the right, for voting purposes only, to attach himself to any political party and to vote in that party's primaries, but the general restrictions that operate to limit his mass participation in general elections will continue to operate to prevent his mass participation in party primaries. He must still qualify for the vote by meeting the educational tests and the general requirements as to capitation taxes and advance registration. That these tests and requirements, now effective in holding the Negro vote in the South to "safe" proportions, are destined to become less and less effective with the passing of time seems inevitable. But that is a problem apart and the present Supreme Court decision does not make it more immediate.

The problem of the status of the Negro race and its voters in the South of many years from now when the minority race will possess all the educational requirements for voting and will in addition be armed with greater economic independence and a livelier self-consciousness, is a speculation that leads to our greatest social and political dilemma, and the *Virginian-Pilot* ventures no guess as to its solution. At present both races must cling to the hope that when the problem becomes acute the day will have a leadership and statesmanship and social insight equal to its solution.

For the present, conditions being what they are, it is enough to examine the Supreme Court's decision in relation to immediate reality. The immediate reality is that Southern election laws discourage Negro participation in elections. The same election laws, the Supreme Court's new decision notwithstanding, will discourage Negro participation in party primaires. From this generalization it is necessary to except only those comparatively few Southern communities where the Negro population is larger than the white. It is conceivable that in a few such communities, the outlawing of the right to hold purely white primaries, may embarrass the minority's control of public affairs. It is conceivable, but altogether unlikely. In its practical bearing on the present political status of the two races the Supreme Court's new decision is negligible.

The larger significance of the new ruling lies in the realm of the undetermined future. Viewed in this perspective, it is unquestionably an important contribution to the definition of political justice. In strict law and logic, the court's decision is, we believe, flawless. The primary election is the avenue through which a political party makes its nominations, but it is also the avenue through which the citizen registers his nominational preference. To bar any voter by law from participating in the election that nominates is, in one-party States like Texas, tantamount to barring him by law from participating in the only election in which effective discrimination between rival candidates is possible. If that exclusion is based on color, it is in plain violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

It follows from the foregoing view of the implications of the Supreme Court's decision that party rules excluding Negroes from party primaries will have to go by the board. These rules, as is the case in Virginia, are promulgated in virtue of powers vested in the party organizations by legislative acts. It is axiomatic that if the Legislature is itself without power to make color the basis of eligibility to participate in a primary, it can not delegate the right to set up such a discrimination to anybody else. Under the rule adopted by the 1924 Norfolk convention, the right to vote in a Democratic primary in Virginia is limited to white Democrats. That rule will no longer stand. The party authorities may still draw the color line or any other line in organization, committees, conventions, conferences and other strictly party enterprises, but their power to apply the racial test will stop at the polling booth.

HERALD
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

MAR 9 1927

THAT TEXAS DECISION

On Monday the United States Supreme Court unanimously upheld an opinion pronouncing unconstitutional a law of the State of Texas which bars negroes from voting in Democratic primary elections.

The original suit leading to this decision was brought by one Dr. Nixon of El Paso against two election inspectors who had denied him the right to vote in the State-wide primary of July, 1924. Dr Nixon was barred on this occasion by a Texas statute of which one clause reads:

> In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void, and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same.

The Supreme Court, in an opinion written by the venerable Justice Holmes declares this statutory mandate unconstitutional. The judgment is based, not on the Fifteenth Amendment, but on that section of the Fourteenth which provides that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In this case the Texas defendants and courts took the ground that the issue was distinctly political and in a way domestic This reasoning was plausible enough in the sense that the Democratic party of Texas was simply prescribing, with the authority of law, conditions for membership based on color. In this view, the primary would be simply a party formality, and the exclusion of negroes from participation therein would be tantamount, let us say, to their exclusion from a social club. It must be admitted that this Texas postulate was strengthened by the Supreme Court's decision in the Newberry case, by which it was ruled in essence that the primary is not a vital part of the electoral process within the constitutional purview.

All of this ingenious reasoning is swept away by the Holmes decision. Concerning the Texas law the Supreme Court contends that it would be hard "to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth Amendment." That Amendment, the public is reminded, affirms that "the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white"; and "in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the Amendment was primary designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color."

We consider this by far the most sweeping pronouncement yet issued by the Supreme Court in the matter of the civil rights of negroes as they are established by the Fourteenth Amendment. Having denied any political bearing in the case, the court affirms that the Texas offense lay in denying to negroes the "equal protection of the laws" by what may be called the corporate by-laws of a political party. In the light of this decision, it is difficult to think any limitation of the social or civil rights of negroes in any of the States so far as they are affected by the rules or regulations of associations incorporated under State laws.

In that respect, and by virtue of the implications that go with it, the decision is one of far-reaching importance. So far as Texas politics is concerned, the effect is negligible, because the negro influence in Democratic primaries in the Lone Star State will doubtless continue to be nil.

In view of the Supreme Court's assurance that this is not a political case, the decision cannot be regarded as a reversal of the Newberry judgment. Yet the inference is unavoidable that it leans decidedly that way. For example, Justice Holmes observes:

> If the defendants' conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff, the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote ta a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result.

Here is a flat admission that a Texas primary may determine the final result. This is a simple truism in many States. By acknowledging it the Supreme Court seemingly negatives its Newberry ruling to the effect that Congress lacked the constitutional right to regulate primary elections through a Corrupt Practices act. But that is another story, and calls for a separate discussion.

GAZETTE-TIMES
PITTSBURG, PA.

MAR 8 1927

Decision Against Disfranchisement

SENATOR JAMES A. REED of Missouri and some others who have feigned to be scandalized by alleged election practices in certain states may reflect profitably upon a United States Supreme Court decision announced yesterday. The great tribunal declared unconstitutional a Texas statute which prohibits voting by Negroes in Democratic primary elections.

The disfranchisement of Negroes in the South is notorious. This disfranchisement makes elections in those states far more crooked than ever has been alleged against elections in any Northern states. Yet Senator "Jim" Reed and his kind will not permit, if they can prevent it, action with design to remedy the evil conditions prevailing south of the Mason and Dixon line.

The filibuster that stopped the transaction of business by the Senate in the closing days of the session ended last Friday was justified in many minds by the fact that if the question can be got before the high tribunal the law will be construed to apply equally throughout the land. Which would be excellent

Senator Reed proposed illegal election practices. Senator "Jim" This Supreme Court decision presses that if the question can be got to extend to the Southern states there cares nothing for justice or respect Reed committee's investigation of al-

Political — 1927

Texas. (White Press.)

Suffrage.

SUPREME COURT VOIDS TEXAS LAW.

BY RAYMOND CLAPPER.

Washington, March 7.—(United News.)—The United States supreme court has thrown out the Texas primary laws which specifically excluded negroes but southern states are left free to continue white control by indirect means now widely employed. Many of these indirect laws have been upheld in previous decisions of the court.

This decision is also important because in it the court tends to regard a primary as of the same importance as an election. Senator Borah, Idaho, republican, said the supreme court indicated support of his contention that congress has power over primaries as well as regular elections.

This point is highly important now because the senate's right to investigate the Vare and Smith primary election contributions hangs on the senate's authority to go into primaries. Its right has been challenged by those opposing the investigation but it went ahead nevertheless. A specific test of the point in the courts may result.

3-8-27

The Texas law, passed in 1923, expressly prohibited negroes from voting in the democratic primary which is the real election in most southern states where the republican party scarcely exists. The supreme court held that this restriction was a violation of the 15th amendment, which forbids states from passing any law abridging the rights of citizens on account of race or color and that this was sufficient to invalidate it regardless of other points raised.

Exclusion of negroes from the polls has been regarded by the south ever since reconstruction days as necessary since negroes outnumber whites in many of those states. This has been accomplished by indirect means which do not theoretically discriminate against negroes but do practically.

Educational tests, ability to explain state constitutions, intricate registration requirements, property qualifications, poll taxes, inconvenient voting hours, and sub rosa surveillance are the most effective devices used. There is nothing in the Texas decision to prevent their continued use. When advised of this decision, Governor Moody, of Texas, indicated that the end sought would now be attempted by such indirect means.

This problem of preventing negro political domination in the south figured conspicuously in the senate debate last week when the Reed resolution to investigate senatorial primaries was up. Opposing further interference by the senate in the Pennsylvania republican primaries, Senator Reed, Pennsylvania republican, did not also investigate disfranchisement of negroes in the south.

Reed said that last fall there were no elections held in 14 Texas counties with 100,000 population. He said Montgomery, Ala., with a population of 43,000, almost half negroes, cast 14 republican votes in the last senatorial election. South Carolina elected a senator last fall with less than one per cent of the state's population, Reed said. He recited similar results in other southern states.

Senator Heflin, Alabama, explained that his state had an educational qualification and a poll tax. Negroes refused to pay the poll tax in order to vote. In some southern states this tax must be paid long in advance of registration and negroes are all the more indifferent to the franchise under such circumstances.

Mississippi's position was explained by one of her senators, Stephens: "In Mississippi we democrats say that we do not want anybody to belong to the democratic party down there unless they are white men. And I say we have the right, no matter how you may view it, whether from a moral or a legal standpoint, or otherwise, to select our own companions, our own associates, our own party mates, and we do it. We say to the negroes if you want to hold a primary and nominate your candidates, you can have the same machinery that the white people have.'

Senator Blease, South Carolina, was equally emphatic: "We have plenty of ballot boxes in South Carolina in our primary election where nobody is permitted to vote but white people, where one candidate receives every vote. We keep the colored man in South Carolina from voting by our constitution. We do not allow him to vote in the democratic white primaries, and we never expect to let him vote in them, no matter what may be done here."

Republicans have repeatedly threatened to investigate the whole question of southern negro voting but each time the subject is brought up democrats retort with a demand that republican politics in those states be investigated at the same time, and the matter is always dropped by mutal consent. Democrats always charge that the republican party in the south is composed chiefly of negroes holding federal jobs and that their chief political activity is attending national conventions to vote for presidential candidates.

SUPREME COURT RULES ON VOTE.

Washington, March 7.—(AP)—The constitutional guarantee giving negroes the right to vote applies to primaries as well as general elections, in the opinion of the supreme court.

Overthrowing a Texas statute under which negroes are prohibited from voting in democratic primaries, the court found today that even though the primary is not mentioned in the federal constitution, federal jurisdiction is sufficient to bar the states from making primary laws out of harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal rights for the races.

"States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational," said the court in a unanimous opinion, "but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case."

Deciding a case from Texas, the court held that the states are restricted in their jurisdiction over the primary, and cannot bar voters from the polls on account of color or race.

Justice Holmes delivered the opinion, and no dissent was announced.

Negroes denied the right to vote in a primary on account of color, he said, had ground for damages, since the constitution guarantees the negro equal rights.

The Texas law prohibiting negroes from voting in the democratic primaries was therefore declared void and unconstitutional.

The court said it was not even necessary to take into account the 15th amendment, which gives negroes the right to vote, because the injustice of the Texas statute was sufficiently apparent when considered merely in the light of the 14th amendment, which prohibited the states from making any law to abridge the rights of citizens on account of race or color.

"The statute of Texas assumes to forbid negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone," said the opinion.

"The objection that the subject matter of the suit is political is little more than a play upon words."

ALABAMA PRIMARY NOT AFFECTED.

Montgomery, Ala., March 7.—(AP)—Alabama primaries will not be affected by the United States supreme court decision in the Texas case, according to Edmund W. Pettus, of Selma, Ala., chairman of the Alabama democratic executive committee. The Alabama election laws only fix qualifications governing general elections and provides that the governing authority of each political party may fix qualifications governing its membership.

Democratic and republican primaries are held in Alabama under rules and regulations laid down by the governing authorities of each organization, limited by certain statutes as are deemed necessary to prevent fraud and corruption, Mr. Pettus said.

FLORENCE, S. C.

New

JAN 7 1927

TEXAS PRIMARY CASE COMES INTO COURT

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—(AP)— The question of the jurisdiction of the federal government over state primary elections was precipiated in the Supreme Court today in a case from Texas.

The appeal which was prosecuted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was regarded of vital importance in determing not only the franchise rights of negroes in Texas, but generally throughout the South. It was asserted by association counsel that should the Texas law be sustained the negroes in the South would be effectively disfranchised by state legislation restricting their rights in primaries. The association declared that in the South the real contest over candidates occurred in the primaries and that the general elections are merely perfunctory.

TEXAS SEES DANGERS.

Possibility of Solid Negro Vote Carrying Primary Issue In Sections.

AUSTIN, Texas, March 7.—(AP)—Possibility that a solid negro vote could carry primary issues in some sections of Texas was seen here today by Democratic leaders as a result of the supreme court's decision holding unconstitutional a Texas statute barring negroes from Democratic primaries. At the same time they thought the practical effect of the law's displacement would be almost neglible, since few negroes now qualify to vote even in the general election, although some counties have a preponderance of negroes.

Governor Dan Moody was of the opinion that some legislation should be enacted authorizing Democratic party committeemen to formulate rules to supplant the Texas statute prohibiting negroes voting in Democratic primaries. D. Wilcox of Georgetown, Texas, chairman of the Democratic state executive committe, strongly endorsed this view, but said he thought it impractical to attempt a meeting of the committee at present.

Governor Moody, then attorney general, when in Washington about Jan. 1, obtained leave from the supreme court to file a brief in the Nixon case, in which today's decision was given. The brief was filed by the attorney general's department after Moody was inaugurated governor, Jan. 18. The state has had no other official part in the case.

TEXAS STATUTE BARRING NEGRO VOTE IS ATTACKED

Washington, February 19.—(AP)—The right of negroes to vote in the democratic primaries in Texas was asserted in a brief filed in the supreme court today by counsel for L. A. Nixon, a negro who was excluded from voting in the democratic primaries at El Paso.

2-20-27

The brief insisted that the protective provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution gave negroes the right to vote at primary elections, and that the Texas statute is an invalid restriction of this right.

A declaration advanced in support of the law during the argument of the case that the democratic party in Texas is a white man's party, was assailed in the brief as a "contemptible platitude," and "an insult to the constitution.

The suggestion that the Texas legislature has not yet prohibited negroes from voting in the republican primaries does not aid those negro members of the democratic party, it was declared.

The case was recently argued and is now awaiting decision.

Rolling Fork Miss. Pilot

JAN 7 1927

TEXAS NEGRO WANTS TO KNOW 'HOW COME'

VOTE IS BARRED IN PRIMARIES

Case Is Taken To the Federal Court To Determine What Is An Election

Washington, Jan. 4.—The question of the jurisdiction of the federal government over state primary elections was precipitated in the supreme court today in a case from Texas.

The appeal, which was prosecuted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was regarded as of vital importance in determining not only the franchise rights of negroes in Texas, but generally throughout the south.

It was asserted by association counsel that should the Texas law be sustained, the negroes in the south would be effectively disfranchised by the state legislation restraining their rights in primaries.

The association declar[illegible] the south the real contest [illegible]andidates occurs in the primaries and that the general elections are merely perfunctory.

Leaders in congress looked to the case as promising to bring a decision which would be helpful in deciding to what extent federal law-relating to primary expenditures could be made effective and also which might aid in the solution of some of the problems which are expected to arise in considering the credentials of Senators Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois.

L. A. Nixon of El Paso, a negro who had for years voted the democratic ticket, was refused premission to vote in the democratic primaries under the law of 1923, which prohibited negroes from voting in democratic primaries. He brought suit against the election officials which the trial court dismissed on the ground that the state law relating to primaries did not presest a federal question.

The election officials did not present any defense on the appeal and were not represented in the court to-

day by counsel. Attorney General Moody, who is soon to become governor of the state, obtained permission from the court to file a brief on behalf of the state defending the validity of the law and questioning federal jurisdiction.

In the argument of the case Nixon's counsel stressed that the right to vote as defised in the fifteenth amendment, contending that the right to vote there conferred extended to all question upon which the fanchised citizen may cast his ballot and was not confined to the right to vote in the general elections.

Questions put by Justice Butler seemed to reflect the view that the primaries were not only for the purpose of selecting party candidates and did not deprive a vote of the ballot right of the general elections.

Elberton, Ga., Star

JAN 11 1927

Rights of Negroes Aired in High Court

If Negro Can't Vote as Democrat, Can Whites Vote as Republicans, Ask Chief Justice Taft

Washington, Jan. 5.—The question of the juridiction of the federal government over state primary election was precipitated in the supreme court Tuesday in a case from Texas.

The appeal which was prosecuted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was regarded as of vital importance in determining not only the franchise rights of negroes in Texas, but generaly throughout the south. It was asserted by association counsel that should the Texas law be sustained, the negroes in the south would be effectively disfranchised by the state legislation restricting their rights in primaries. The association declared that in the south the real contest over candidates occurs in the primaries and that the general elections are merely perfunctory.

Leaders in congress looked to the case as promising to bring a decision which would be helpful in deciding to what extent federal laws relating to primary expenditures could be made effective and also which might aid in the solution of some of the problems which are expected to arise in considering the credentials of Senators Vare, of Pennsylvania, and Smith, of Illinois.

L. A. Nixon, of El Paso, a negro who says he had for years voted the Democratic ticket, was refused permission to vote in the Democratic primaries under the law of 1923, which prohibited negroes from voting in Democratic primares. He brought suit against the election officials which the trial court dismissed on the ground that the state's law relating to primaries did not present a federal question.

The election officials did not present any defense on the appeal and were not represented in the court Tuesday by counsel. Attorney General Moody, who is soon to become governor of the state, obtained permission from the court to file a brief on behalf of the state, defending the validity of the law, and questioning federal juridiction.

In the argument of the case as peresented by Nixon's counsel, there seemed to be much confusion in the mind of the court as to the exact question presented. Counsel stressed that the main question at issue was the right to "vote" as defined in the fifteenth amendment, contending that the right to vote there conferred, extended to all questions upon which the franchised citizen cast his ballot, and was not confined to the right to vote in the general elections. It included, counsel argued, the right to vote in primaries and in the issue of bonds and in all matters upon which the views of the electorate was to be obtained. The provisions of the fourteenth amendment which prohibits the abridgement of any privileges or immunities of citizens as well as the provisions of the constitution of Texas were also relied upon by the appellant to sustain the contention that the Texas law was invalid.

Members of the court showed a deep interest in the issues presented and asked numerous questions. Those put by Justice Butler seemed to reflect the view that the primaries were only for the purpose of selecting party candidates and did not deprive a voter of the ballot right at the general elections and that the case seemed to present only the question of the right of a negro to participate in the selections of party candidates.

Chief Justice Taft seemed to attach more importance to the case stating that if negroes could be excluded from voting in Democrati primaries in Texas the state woul be at liberty to provide by law ths no one except negroes should vot at a Republican primary. Justic Sutherland referred to decisions c the court which had interpreted th right to vote as stated in the const tution, confining the meaning of th term to the right to exercise th elective franchise.

PUBLIC LEDGER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

JAN 6 1927

ASKS POWER OF U. S. IN STATE PRIMARY

Negro, Excluded From Voting by Texas Law, Calls on Supreme Court for Ruling

15TH AMENDMENT IS CITED

Washington, Jan. 5. — (AP)—The Supreme Court was asked yesterday to decide the jurisdiction of the Federal government over State primaries.

L. A. Nixon, a Negro of El Paso, who said he was excluded under the State law from voting in a Democratic primary, brought the case which is expected to throw some light on the jurisdiction of Congress in primaries and bring a ruling which may bear on questions now perplexing the Senate.

Counsel for Nixon explained that the election judges at El Paso had refused to permit him to participate in the primaries there after the enactment in 1923 of a law which provided that no Negroes should be permitted to vote in primaries. Texas won in the lower Federal courts which held that State primaries were exempt from Federal jurisdiction.

Nixon's attorney stressed the point that the Fifteenth Amendment conferred the right to vote and insisted that this voting was not restricted to the general elections, but meant all kinds of voting.

Justice Butler several times asked whether the Democratic primaries were not strictly for the purpose of selecting candidates, and whether the voter had not the right to exercise his franchise at the general elections.

Counsel admitted this was true, but insisted that in Texas the Democratic primary was in reality the election. He asserted that unless the restriction were set aside, other States, particularly in the South, would adopt such laws and in effect disfranchise the Negroes.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is behind the test.

RIGHTS OF NEGRO IN PRIMARY ARE UPHELD

Supreme Court Says They Cannot Be Refused Vote.

OPINION IS UNANIMOUS

Decision Given in Case From Texas, Where Negro Sought Damages for Refusal of Judges to Let Him Vote.

WASHINGTON, March 7.—(AP) Negroes under the federal constitution have the right to participate in state primaries and cannot be deprived of that privilege by state laws, the supreme court, in a unanimous opinion, decided today in a case from Texas. It was brought by L. A. Nixon, who under a state statute was prevented from voting in a Democratic primary at El Paso at which both federal and state candidates were selected.

The decision, delivered by Justice Holmes, is being closely studied by congressional leaders for its effect upon the much-discussed question of federal jurisdiction over primaries, raised in the Smith and Vare cases from Illinois and Pennsylvania.

Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, construed it as meaning, when carried to its logical conclusion, that Congress had control over primaries.

Calls It Infringement.

It has been well established, the court's opinion declared, that private damages could be caused by deprivation of political rights. The Texas law was described as a direct and obvious infringement of the fourteenth amendment, which, it was declared, had been adopted "with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

That amendment, it was added, "not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any state the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws."

This meant, the court stated, "that the law of the states shall be the same for the black as for the white"; that all persons, regardless of color, stand equal before the laws of the states, and that no discrimination shall be made against negroes because of their color.

The Texas law was declared an invalid discrimination against the negro because of color alone, the court holding that color cannot be made the basis for a statute effecting the right to vote.

"States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational," said the court. "But there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case."

Only One Necessary.

The court said it was not even necessary to take into account the fifteenth amendment, which gives negroes the right to vote, because the injustice of the Texas statute was sufficiently apparent when considered merely in the light of the fourteenth amendment, which prohibited the states from making any law to abridge the rights of citizens on account of race or color.

"The statute of Texas assumes to forbid negroes to take part in a primary election the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction or color along," said the opinion.

"The objection that the subject matter of the suit is political is little more than a play upon words."

Nixon, an El Paso negro, sought unsuccessfully in the lower courts to recover damages against election judges who refused to permit him to vote at a Democratic primary election, Moorfield Storey of Boston, his counsel, told the supreme court that 370,000 negro voters in Texas had been excluded as ineligible to participate in Democratic primaries.

Nixon himself represented that he had voted the Democratic ticket for years prior to passage of the law.

"That private damage may be caused by such political action and may be recovered for in a suit at law hardly has been doubted for over 200 years and has been recognized by this court," said the opinion. "If the defendant's conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result. The important question is whether the statute can be sustained.

"But although we state it as a question the answer does not seem to us open to a doubt."

Political - 1927

Texas, (White Press)

Suffrage

Neill And Hammond Differ As To Effect Of Primary Decision

Columbus, Ga. Enquirer-Sun
MAR 9 - 1927

In the judgment of Speaker W. Cecil Neill, of the Georgia house of representatives, the decision regarding the Texas primary law has no effect whatever on the Neill primary law in Georgia.

"The law that was passed in 1917" said Mr. Neill, "does not mention races. It was drawn with the idea of not conflicting with the fourteenth amendment. Neither whites nor blacks are mentioned and from the newspaper accounts I have seen of the Texas decision I am confident that it has no effect on our primary law."

BY JOHN W. HAMMOND

ATLANTA, Mar. 8.—While Democratic party leaders here profess no especially deep concern over the effect in this state of the decision of the United States Supreme Court holding the Texas primary law invalid and void because of its exclusion of the negro, there is an admission that the Georgia primary regulations may be subject to the same attack, although Speaker W. C. Neill or Muscogee, author of what is commonly called the "Neill primary laws" holds there is nothing in the Georgia law in conflict with the decision just handed down by the Supreme Court.

In point of plain fact, there is.

The contention in the Texas case, in which the judgment of the Supreme Court sustains the point raised by the negro, is whether or not a state may enact laws or regulations which exclude the negro from participation in a primary. The court holds that "the laws of the state shall be the same for the black as for the white" and in Georgia under the Neill primary laws and the regulations of the party holding the only primary held in Georgia the negro is specifically excluded from participation. The Supreme Court holds, in the Texas case, that all persons "regardless of color, stand equal before the laws of the state, and that no discrimination shall be made against negroes because of their color."

Mr. Neill explains, as did the Georgia senators in Washington, that the negroes in Georgia are excluded by failure to pay the requisite poll tax. As a matter of fact, the records of the various counties, as especially so in Fulton county, show that there are always many more negroes qualified to vote than who actually vote, and that negroes who are qualified by payment of their poll and other taxes do not participate in the primaries because of the regulations excluding them.

Primary Rule Quoted.

Rule 2 of the Democratic Executive Committee of Georgia, which is publicly promulgated and available at any time to anyone who might desire to raise the point, makes the following regulatory provision for the control of the primary held in this state:

"The primary election shall be conducted in accordance with the laws of this state and the customs of the party, insofar as those customs do not conflict with existing laws. All white electors who are Democrats and qualified to vote in the general elections, who in good faith will pledge themselves to support the Democratic candidates for all offices to be voted on this year, are hereby declared to be qualified to vote in the said primary, (and the act of voting in the said primary shall constitute the aforesaid pledge)".

The regulations of the Democratic Executive Committee of Georgia are made up to conform to the Neill primary laws, and those laws provide that the regulations provided by the party authority, consistent with the provisions of the statute, shall be laws of the state governing primaries.

Georgia does not have, in its election laws, the "grandfather clause", such as was enacted and attacked in South Carolina, or other features of primary laws of other states, such as some of those included in the Texas statutes, but it is, nevertheless, a fact that the Georgia laws and party regulations, under which primaries are held, do provide and exercise the very exclusion which the United States Supreme Court has ruled against—the exclusion of the negro vote, since one of the prime qualifications is that the participants shall be "all white electors who are Democrats."

Several Primaries Possible.

It is true, however, that out of the extensive debate recalled in numerous sessions of the legislature when election and primary laws were under discussion, it was sought to provide against attack on this plan, by making provision that any party may hold a primary in the state by conforming to the provisions of the statute. That is, under the Neill primary laws there may be a "White Democratic" primary, a "Negro Democratic" primary, a "White Republican" primary and a "Negro Republican" primary held in the state, and they may, under that law, all be held on the same date is the various parties saw fit to have them so held but, the regulations of the party, when consistent with the statutes of the state, being made laws themselves, under the regulations controlling the present primary system in Georgia, only "all White electors who are Democrats" could participate in the Democratic white primary, in strict compliance with the law.

It is an openly known fact, however, testified to before legislative committees, particularly in some of the recent contests in the Georgia House of Representatives, that the regulations are not strictly enforced, or even respected. For instance, rule 5 of the party, made up in conformity with the primary laws, provides that "no person shall be deemed a candidate in said primary unless he is legally qualified to hold the office for which he announces, is a valid member and adherent of the Democratic party in both state and national politics," etc., and that all electors who vote in the primary shall be electors "who are Democrats." It is well recalled that in parts of the upper section of the state there is a considerable division of party; that in comparatively recent legislative contests the question has been raised, and it was openly admitted in hearing before the privileges and elections committee that locally there were always men who are "Republicans in national politics" and who are Democrats in state politics" and who "always participate in the primary" for the selection of local and state officers. But these voters, it was testified, are always white voters.

Defects in Laws Alleged

Following the last general primary election in the state, there were numerous defects in the Georgia primary laws pointed out, and some of them forcefully commented upon by Chairman G. E. Maddox, who expressed the opinion that there should be corrections and safeguarding betterments made at the coming session of the legislature. While it is true that the negro question was not one of them, at the same time the opinion was ventured at that time that somebody might, sooner or later, raise that question, under the present laws, and do violence to the result of some primary election. The Texas case has come on and been decided since that discussion and, regardless or whether it is pleasing to contemplate it in that light or not, does aim directly at provisions for the control of primaries under the present system in Georgia.

ARGUS
Montpelier, Vt.
MAR 8 1927

The constitutional guarantee giving negroes the right to vote applies to primaries as well as general elections in the opinion of the supreme court. Overthrowing a Texas statute under which negroes are prohibited from voting in Democratic primaries, the court found Monday that even though the primary is not mentioned in the federal constitution, federal jurisdiction is sufficient to bar the states from making primary laws out of harmony with the constitution guarantee of equal rights for the races.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. Ex
MAR 26 1927
News

Blow To State Rights Recognized In Supreme Court's Primary Ruling

The opinion of Judge Holmes in the United States Supreme Court that the Texas law forbidding Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries is unconstitutional, has been followed by nation-wide discussion of several issues which are involved. It is contended by some reviewers that federal action on the Texas control of primaries is a blow to state rights. Many Southern comments indicate a tendency to return to the convention system as a means of accomplishing the exclusion that was attempted by the Texas law. The establishment of the primary as an essential part of the process of election is accepted as strengthening the Senate's rights in the Vare and Smith cases.

Referring to the fact that "Texas enacted into law what has been standard custom in the Southern states for a long time," The Sioux City Tribune (Ind.) says: "This decision is important to every Southern state, in that it opens the way to contest attempts to prohibit colored voters from voting as they please in primaries. It is doubtful if any determined attack on the standard custom will be launched, so long as no law is enacted to enforce the restriction. Texas Democrats are quoted as making plans to accomplish the same result in some other way. The way is likely to be found." The Tribune adds that "more important, however, is the implication in this decision that the Supreme Court will uphold attempts by the government to extend the corrupt practices act to cover the conduct of state primaries in which aspirants for national offices are selected. . . . In view of this Texas case decision, senators and representatives at Washington are going to insist that their right to inquire into primary practices be recognized."

"The state of Texas certainly does not have the right," agrees The Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Ind. Dem.) "to formulate membership qualifications for a political party. Such a right would give the state power to declare that there should be but one political party or none at all. The state was exceeding its authority in more ways than the Supreme Court pointed out when it formulated the statute complained of." That paper, however, feels that "unless some way is found to keep the Democratic primaries free of Negro votes, the Democratic Party in Texas will likely be disposed to do away with the primary law and return to the convention system, under which exclusion of Negroes was legal."

"The decision may demand," according to The Raleigh News and Observer (Dem.), "that primaries be conducted by party associations outside the law or by conventions or other methods in which no governmental power is invoked. If so, the legalized primary might have to be abandoned. Certainly the South will make a way or find one, within the law, by which nominations in Democratic primaries will be controlled by white voters." The Indianapolis News (Ind.) also believes that "in view of conditions in Texas, much was to be said for the law as a way to keep the naming of party candidates within party ranks. The Supreme Court held in the matter that the constitution protects citizens from discrimination in voting laws on account of color. It is within the rights of the state to lay down qualifications of their voters, but color has nothing to do with them. This is obvious as a principal of government."

OGDEN CITY
UTAH,
ISSUE OF
MAR 15 1927

COURT DECIDES FOR NEGROES

The United States supreme court is upholding the constitutional rights of the negroes. A week ago the court decided that Texas could not exclude the colored men from the primary elections in that state, holding that there could be no discrimination in the rights of citizenship. Monday the court held as invalid laws aiming to exclude negroes from white residential districts. Decisions of this kind are to be expected. The constitution provides for equality of rights of citizens without regard to color and while that fundamental law exists the supreme court is in duty bound to uphold it.

The negro problem never will be solved by laws discriminating against the colored man. Better than law is the work of making the negro more acceptably a part of this country. He is here and must be dealt with. The higher the principles swaying those in the majority the more nearly will there be an approach to a satisfactory understanding.

EXPRESS
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

MAR 18 1927

The Fourteenth Amendment

YOUTHFUL Governor Dan Moody of Texas affects an attitude of unconcern over the recent decision by the United States supreme court in the Texas primary law case, which it is difficult to believe is shared throughout the South. All over the country there is speculation on what far-reaching political effect the decision may have, if it is not a recognition of federal authority in primary elections and may touch the Pennsylvania and Illinois senatorial scandals, and if the ruling that Negroes, because of the fourteenth amendment guarantees, may not be forbidden to vote in Texas primary elections is not likely to prove the beginning of the end of Democratic party domination in the South, through changing its status from a "white man's party" to a mixed party. But Governor Moody remains unmoved, apparently sharing no expectations or apprehensions of others, but with nonchalance asserting that since the existing law has been held to be unconstitutional the thing to do and all that needs to be done is to enact a new law which will stand the test.

But that may prove less easy to do than to say. The South has lived in a state of blissful ignorance of the fourteenth amendment, ever since the earlier period of reconstruction times, and seems to have no idea of its force. The amendment does not treat only of the political rights of Negroes, but their social rights as well. The purpose was to protect them against discrimination because of color, whether in voting or the enjoyment of any public service or entertainment. Until now the South has ignored the amendment, assuming as if it did not exist.

After the recent decision, however, obviously any law which Texas or any state may enact, which forbids a Negro only because he is a Negro the enjoyment of equal rights with whites in every particular will be held to come within the decision, and the whites of the South, therefore, are due to a sudden and serious awakening to the fact that the fourteenth like all other articles of the Constitution means just what it says, and applies alike in all the states of the Union. And that is a condition which not even "Fighting Dan" Moody will be able to get around.

NORTH SIDE NEWS
BRONX, N. Y.

MAR 22 1927

TEXAS LAW AIDS REPUBLICANS

Probably the most pronounced reaction to the Supreme Court's decision against the Texas primary law, in the South as well as in the North, has taken the form of surprise that there is a Texas law forbidding negroes to participate in Democratic primaries. From time out of mind Southern candidates in close local elections have solicited the votes of the blacks, and why should not the few negroes who vote the Democratic ticket take part in the primary balloting, which, as a rule is the real election? Why should they not even be encouraged to do so, both with a view to increase the number of black Democratic voters and as a legitimate and profitable part of the Democratic campaign against the Republican party in the South?

The Texas law must inevitably have strengthened the Republican party in that State, although this was of course far from any conscious part of its aim. For the rest, the reasoning of the Supreme Court that the law is technically unconstitutional would seem to admit of no debate anywhere, and the objection to it would have force even if the average Southern Democratic primary did not decide and serve as the actual election. The most remarkkable feature of the matter is that, even from the point of view of Southern Democratic politicians, the Texas law, in effect, serves the interests of the Republican party.

[illegible] Courier-Herald

MAR 11 1927

GEORGIA PRIMARY LAW NOT AFFECTED

The recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States directed at the constitutionality of the Texas primary law enacted in 1923 does not appear to affect the primary laws in this state at all. We agree with the editor of The Macon Telegraph who contends, however, that the fear of ignorance and illiteracy should be greater than the fear of losing white supremacy in out state, analyzing the matter as follows:

The Texas law provided, in so many words, that Negroes might not partcipate in the Democratic primaries of Texas. It was not only a blunt law, but a badly worded law. The white men of other Southern states had long ago found a way of getting around the question that Texas faced directly. Other Southern statutes are so adroitly worded that the Supreme Court has already upheld their constitutionality and so able a constitutional lawyer as Senator Borah declared last year that they were airtight.

The Georgia law differs from the Texas law in that the Texas legislature sought to make specific exceptions for the Democratic primary, while the Georgia law leaves that explicitly to the executive committee and the convention of the party, in that the Georgia statue dealing with primaries provides that they shall be held under the rules of the parties. The Georgia law dealing with general elections contains, however, the famous or infamous grandfather clause which guarantees white supremacy by allowing every illiterate who is descended from any veteran of the Revolutionary, Mexican, Indian, Civil or Spanish American Wars to vote, provided he fulfills the requirement of being 21 years of age and has registered and paid his taxes. Two or three provisions of the Georgia law are directed specifically toward the guarantee of white supremacy. Besides the customary provisions of age and payment of taxes, the law provides that the voter must be of good character (that is, not a felon); that he must be able to read and write and interpret a paragraph of the constitution; or that he must own 4 acres of land, or other property equivalent to the value of $500. The effect of that law is to bar the Negro illiterate. The law provides that the prospective voter must comply with at least the general provisions and one of the specific provisions before he is eligible. It does not bar all Negroes from elections, however, and in that respect it is airtight. It is a vicious measure in that it sets up a literacy requirement and then destroys it so far as a great body of people are concerned. The grandfather clause control. It is still a bugaboo to many, however, and would is perhaps one reason why the privileges of citizenship are be a powerful factor in any agitation for a liberalization that held so cheaply. There is no stimulus, because of that clause, is not based in the literacy requirement. Citizenship should to any advancement of education or to any accumulation of be something property and the sense of responsibility that goes with it requisite intelligence. Negroes and whites alike who do not The requirement that all taxes that might have been due since understand the purposes of the possibilities and the intelli- the adoption of the Constitution in 1877 is another guarantee gent application of the ballot, arrived at from minds that are of white supremacy and a legitimate guarantee, since it ex- rived at from minds that are capable at least of making their cludes potentially not only a large body of Negroes, but also own analysis, should not be given the ballot. The fear of illiteracy and its ignorance and gullibility should be greater potentially a large body of white persons.

The fear for white supremacy arose at a time when supremacy did not rest with the electorate, but with a military-imposed and supported force that created the machinery of

EXPRESS
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

MAR 18 1927

The Fourteenth Amendment

YOUTHFUL Governor Dan Moody of Texas affects an attitude of unconcern over the recent decision by the United States supreme court in the Texas primary law case, which it is difficult to believe is shared throughout the South. All over the country there is speculation on what far-reaching political effect the decision may have, if it is not a recognition of federal authority in primary elections and may touch the Pennsylvania and Illinois senatorial scandals, and if the ruling that Negroes, because of the fourteenth amendment guarantees, may not be forbidden to vote in Texas primary elections is not likely to prove the beginning of the end of Democratic party domination in the South, through changing its status from a "white man's party" to a mixed party. But Governor Moody remains unmoved, apparently sharing no expectations or apprehensions of others, but with nonchalance asserting that since the existing law has been held to be unconstitutional the thing to do and all that needs to be done is to enact a new law which will stand the test.

But that may prove less easy to do than to say. The South has lived in a state of blissful ignorance of the fourteenth amendment, ever since the earlier period of reconstruction times, and seems to have no idea of its force. The amendment does not treat only of the political rights of Negroes, but their social rights as well. The purpose was to protect them against discrimination because of color, whether in voting or the enjoyment of any public service or entertainment. Until now the South has ignored the amendment, assuming as if it did not exist.

After the recent decision, however, obviously any law which Texas or any state may enact, which forbids a Negro only because he is a Negro the enjoyment of equal rights with whites in every particular will be held to come within the decision, and the whites of the South, therefore, are due to a sudden and serious awakening to the fact that the fourteenth like all other articles of the Constitution means just what it says, and applies alike in all the states of the Union. And that is a condition which not even "Fighting Dan" Moody will be able to get around.

NORTH SIDE NEWS
BRONX, N. Y.

MAR 22 1927

TEXAS LAW AIDS REPUBLICANS

Probably the most pronounced reaction to the Supreme Court's decision against the Texas primary law, in the South as well as in the North, has taken the form of surprise that there is a Texas law forbidding negroes to participate in Democratic primaries. From time out of mind Southern candidates in close local elections have solicited the votes of the blacks, and why should not the few negroes who vote the Democratic ticket take part in the primary balloting, which, as a rule is the real election? Why should they not even be encouraged to do so, both with a view to increase the number of black Democratic voters and as a legitimate and profitable part of the Democratic campaign against the Republican party in the South?

The Texas law must inevitably have strengthened the Republican party in that State, although this was of course far from [illegible] conscious part of its aim. For the rest, the reasoning of the Supreme Court that the law is technically unconstitutional would seem to admit of no debate anywhere, and the objection to it would have force even if the average Southern Democratic primary did not decide and serve as the actual election. The most remarkkable feature of the matter is that, even from the point of view of Southern Democratic politicians, the Texas law, in effect, serves the interests of the Republican party.

[illegible] Courier-Herald

MAR 1 1 1927

GEORGIA PRIMARY LAW NOT AFFECTED

The recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States directed at the constitutionality of the Texas primary law enacted in 1923 does not appear to affect the primary laws in this state at all. We agree with the editor of The Macon Telegraph who contends, however, that the fear of ignorance and illiteracy should be greater than the fear of losing white supremacy in out state, analyzing the matter as follows:

The Texas law provided, in so many words, that Negroes might not participate in the Democratic primaries of Texas. It was not only a blunt law, but a badly worded law. The white men of other Southern states had long ago found a way of getting around the question that Texas faced directly. Other Southern statutes are so adroitly worded that the Supreme Court has already upheld their constitutionality and so able a constitutional lawyer as Senator Borah declared last year that they were airtight.

The Georgia law differs from the Texas law in that the Texas legislature sought to make specific exceptions for the Democratic primary, while the Georgia law leaves that explicitly to the executive committee and the convention of the party, in that the Georgia statue dealing with primaries provides that they shall be held under the rules of the parties. The Georgia law dealing with general elections contains, however, the famous or infamous grandfather clause which guarantees white supremacy by allowing every illiterate who is descended from any veteran of the Revolutionary, Mexican, Indian, Civil or Spanish American Wars to vote, provided he fulfills the requirement of being 21 years of age and has registered and paid his taxes. Two or three provisions of the Georgia law are directed specifically toward the guarantee of white supremacy. Besides the customary provisions of age and payment of taxes, the law provides that the voter must be of good character (that is, not a felon); that he must be able to read and write and interpret a paragraph of the constitution; or that he must own 4 acres of land, or other property equivalent to the value of $500. The effect of that law is to bar the Negro illiterate. The law provides that the prospective voter must comply with at least the general provisions and one of the specific provisions before he is eligible. It does not bar all Negroes from elections, however, and in that respect it is airtight. It is a vicious measure in that it sets up a literacy requirement and then destroys it so far as a great body of people are concerned. The grandfather clause control. It is still a bugaboo to many, however, and would is perhaps one reason why the privileges of citizenship are be a powerful factor in any agitation for a liberalization that held so cheaply. There is no stimulus, because of that clause, is not based in the literacy requirement. Citizenship should to any advancement of education or to any accumulation of be something property and the sense of responsibility that goes with it requisite in The requirement that all taxes that might have been due since intelligence. Negroes and whites alike who do not the adoption of the Constitution in 1877 is another guarantee understand the of white supremacy and a legitimate guarantee, since it excludes potentially not only a large body of Negroes, but also a large body of white persons. own analysis, should not be given the ballot. The fear of illiteracy and its ignorance and gullibility should be greater than the fear for white supremacy.

The fear for white supremacy arose at a time when supremacy did not rest with the electorate, but with a military-imposed and supported force that created the machinery of

Political—1927

Texas, (White Press.)

Suffrage

NEW YORK
TELEGRAPH

MAR 9 1927

Negro Vote in the South

IN shattering the Texas statute depriving negroes of the right t vote in Democratic primaries, the Supreme Court of the Unite States opened the way for political disorders in the Southland—bu at the same time reminded the advocates of the old Australian ballo system that they have no legal right to bar American voters becaus of their color.

In many States south of the Mason and Dixon line there ar thousands of negroes who would rather have voted the Democrati ticket than the Republican ticket, but because of the discriminatio of election officials and State Legislatures they have for years cham pioned the principles of Republicans. In some parts of the Soutl the barring of negro voters from the polling places when Democrati primaries were being held was not practiced, but in Texas, fron which State the appeal went to Washington, it is estimated tha 370,000 colored voters were affected.

The result appears to be that the Democratic party will becom even stronger in the South as the direct cause of the recent ruling of the higher court. It will, too, have a tendency to make the Re publicans more active among them to retain what little inside in fluence the party has in some of the Southern commonwealths

COLUMBIA, S. C.

State

MAR 12 1927

The Negro and the Primaries.

"It is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case," said Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the United States supreme court in a decision declaring unconstitutional the Texas law excluding Negroes from Democratic primaries and all the justices of the court concurred.

The decision does not immediately affect the political situation in South Carolina and other states without statutes excluding Negroes from Democratic primaries. In this state, Democratic clubs are voluntary associations. They are not chartered by law. They send delegates to county conventions which, in turn, send other delegates to state conventions, and the state convention is merely a state club representative of the precinct clubs. Apparently, a white Democratic club has no less right to exclude a Negro from membership than a white golf or tennis club would have. Presumably, Irishmen or Frenchmen Protestants, Jews or Roman Catholics, or any other sect or race may form voluntary associations, choose candidates for office in their own way, and vote for them in a body in the general elections. That, certainly, would be the position to be taken by South Carolina Democrats were their primary system to be assailed in the courts. The likelihood is remote that the courts would refuse to sustain it.

Yet it is not improbable that the South Carolina plan will be assailed.

The Texas case is one step and the first in a campaign instigated and supported by an association of Negroes in the North and assisted financially by a few Northern white men. This association will make attacks, from time to time, upon the whole line of defenses set up by white men in the Southern states. Some of the Northern Negroes have become politically and socially aggressive, and they and their white allies are encroaching wherever they see or think they see a possible opening.

The victory that the Negroes have won in Texas is no cause for alarm. Not in Texas or in any Southern state will the Negroes become an important political factor without white men's consent. The effort to coerce the white South was made when it was bound hand and foot, and finally it failed. When the South was occupied by military forces the North refused to use them, when to do so would have been to renew a bloody war, and the North is infinitely further from that desperate recourse now than it was 50 years ago. The white South has proved itself sufficiently resourceful to meet successfully every assault that has been made upon it. Not even constitutional amendments unlawfully adopted and unlawfully retained have served the nefarious purpose of delivering the South to Negro governments.

The day may come when Negroes, or some Negroes, will be admitted into the Democratic party in the South or that some white men will go into another party with Negroes, distant though it may appear at this time, but its coming will not be hastened by outside stratagems and pressure. Rather will they delay it. The South's victory over coercion in 1876 was decisive, complete.

The unlawful and fraudulent amendments to the constitution have been circumvented, and their outrageous design is today nullified without infraction of law. The time for alarms long ago passed. Not merely with equanimity but with confidence the South now goes forward. It can afford to be indifferent to present or approaching attempts to interfere with its manner of dealing with political questions that chiefly concern itself.

It cannot afford to deal unjustly with the Negro people however it shall deal with them in its own way.

COURANT
HARTFORD, CONN.

MAR 17 1927

Nullification in South Frowned On.

The Southern States are beginning to hea hat there is something to the Constitution be sides the Eighteenth Amendment. The Uni ted States Supreme Court recently declared in valid the Texas law shutting the Negro vote out of Democratic primaries and now the cour invalidates another race segregation law o the same general ground, that of nullificatio of the constitutional guarantee of equal rights The later decision affects Louisiana, where the Legislature authorized communities to pass ordinances forbidding a white man establishing a residence in any district having a majority of Negro residents, without the written consent of a majority of such residents and making the same restriction as to a Negro establishing a residence in a white district.

There will always be more or less race segregation and there are times and places where it works to the advantages of both the white and the black and is satisfactory to both, but it cannot be brought about by legislatio denying the equal rights granted by the Con stitution. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments are still a part of that document

ITEM

Lynn Mass

MAR 16

LEGS AND BULLETS.

amazing thing about the Su- e court decision sustaining the Negro's right in Texas to participate in the Democratic primaries is not the decision itself, but the fact that the courts were called upon to decide such a question. In most states it always has been taken for granted that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen of legal age the right to vote if he pays his taxes, and that the guarantee is not made conditional on any qualifications as to race, religion or color.

Northerners, knowing of the laws and other more direct methods by which the Negro is illegally disfranchised in certain Southern states, smile at the virtuous declamations of Southern congressmen against the "corrupt political practices" which "make a mockery of the ballot" in such gang-ridden Northern states as Pennsylvania and Illinois. They cannot conceive of a greater crime than one by which an American citizen is deprived of his "inalienable" right to vote.

Outlawing of the Texas primary law does not mean, one fears, the lowering of the last barrier against participation by members of the Negro race in the Democratic primary in that state. All such barriers, theoretically, were torn down by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. If they have failed in their purpose, will a court decision do more?

Senator Blease, of South Carolina, endangered himself to expulsion from the Democratic Senate caucus by giving expression to the thought that keeping voters away from the polls with shotguns hardly is less corrupt than buying votes and fraudulently counting the ballots once they are cast

Chapel Hill N. Recor.

MAR 10 1927

Negroes Have Right To Vote In Primaries

Washington, March 7.—Negroes under the federal constitution have the right to participate in state primaries and cannot be deprived of that privilege by state laws, the supreme court in a unanimous opinion decided today in a case from Texas. It was brought by L. A. Nixon, who under a state statute was prevented from voting in a Democratic primary at El Paso at which both federal and state candidates were selected.

The decision, believed by justice Holmes, is being closely studied by congressional leaders for its effect upon the much discussed question of federal jurisdiction over primaries, raised in the Smith and Vare cases from Illinois and Pennsylvania. Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, construed it as meaning, when carried to its logical conclusion, that congress had control over primaries.

It has been well established, the court's opinion declared, that private damages could be caused by deprivation of political rights. The Texas law was described as a direct and obvious infringement of the 14th amendment, which, it was declared, had been adopted "with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them." That amendment, it was added, "not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any state the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws.

This meant, the court stated "that the law of the states shall be the same for the black as for the white;" that all persons, regardless of color, stand equal before the laws of the states, and that no discrimination shall be made against negroes because of their color.

The Texas law was declared an invalid discrimination against the negro because of color alone, the court holding that color catnot be made the basis for a statute effecting the right to vote.

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IN TEXAS.

The United States Supreme court, Justice Holmes writing the opinion, has decided that if a Texas Negro wants to be a Democrat he has that right and in exercising it he may vote in the Democratic primaries. Justice Holmes notes it to be true that the fourteenth amendment to the constitution had a peculiar applicability. It was intended to protect the newly freed black men in their electoral rights as citizens. It was to protect them from statutory disabilities not only in political action but in the possession of property and to give them equality with whites before the law.

A Texas statute prevented Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. The theory of that law was that a party is the judge of the qualifications of its members and could lay eligibility rules. Its primaries were available to its members and Negroes could not be members. Senator Heflin of Alabama in a senate discussion of Negro disfranchisement had said that it was the inalienable right of the Democratic party to bar Negroes out. The Supreme court says that the Negroes cannot be kept by law from voting in primaries. The primaries are a part of the election scheme and franchise rights entitle a citizen to vote to nominate as well as to vote to elect. This, in another direction, is observed in Washington as important in the Smith and Vare cases, they being involved in primary elections.

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are regarded as fair shooting in certain dry states and other parts of the country do not make much trouble about it. When a state passes a law making the nullification statutory and that law gets into the Supreme court something is done about it. Even the grandfather clause which kept Negroes from voting without depriving illiterate whites of the privilege was declared unconstitutional in 1914, but if the states do not virtually declare themselves out from under the constitution they do about as they please.

They are permitted to shape their political institutions, to conduct their government affairs and order their social lives with such restrictions as may seem best to the people who decide what is best. The Supreme court maintains the theories. The states control the practices. The Supreme court says that a Texas Negro may be a Democrat. Senator Heflin very dry, says he can't.

POST
MORGANTOWN, W. VA

MAR 8 1927

NEGRO VOTES

THERE is room for reflection in the decision of the United States supreme court yesterday upholding the rights or negroes to vote in the primary elections as well as in general elections. While our newspapers have been filled with news concerning the elections of Senator Vare, Senator Smith and Senator Gould and allegations that all was not honesty in their campaigns we have heard little over alleged improper election practices in southern states where it was charged negroes were deprived of their votes and the elections scandalized. Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri, will probably read the supreme court decision with interest. He has been one of the leaders against fraud and dishonesty in elections. He was chairman of the committee that probed several election funds, was one of the leaders in an effort to have his probe committee continued and he was the one who announced, even though his resolution was defeated, that he would continue the investigation.

The decision of the high court yesterday should arm Senator Reed, of Missouri, with additional ammunition for the fight for clean elections. However the Missourian will have to extend his warfare into southern states where Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, charged there was much corruption in elections, especially in sections where negroes were denied the right of franchise at the primaries. The supreme court yesterday decided a definite southern case. The great tribunal declared unconstitutional a Texas statute which prohibits negroes from voting in Democratic primaries.

The disfranchisement of the negroes in the south has been notorious. Senator Reed, of Missouri, knows this. Now that the supreme court has given its decision there will be no objection to the chairman of the elections committee doing a little probing in his own beloved south.

NEW YORK EVE. POST

MAR 8 1927

TEXAS TO MODIFY BAN ON NEGRO VOTE

New Law in Prospect to Supplant One Declared Void by U. S. Supreme Court

FEW QUALIFY AS VOTERS

Austin, Tex., March 8 (AP).—Texas Democrats plan a modified law to supplant the statute denying negroes the right to vote in primary elections, which has been held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

Failure of many negroes to qualify properly as voters, including the payment of poll taxes, would prove a factor in preventing them from obtaining control of any election district, political leaders said today.

The law prohibiting negroes from voting in the primaries was passed in 1923. The measure specified that, should any negro vote in such an election, his ballot would be thrown out.

Party leaders throughout the Southwest also were studying the question of Federal control over primaries, brought out by the decision.

Judge Franklin E. Kennamer of the Eastern Oklahoma Federal Court District declared he believed the Supreme Court had no alternative in its ruling on the eligibility of negroes to vote. Judge Kennamer, who twice intervened when questions of negro registration were raised, said the right of the Federal Government to supervise public balloting apparently was well established in cases where State statutes supersede Federal laws.

Estimates show there are approximately 740,000 negroes in Texas. Few of them ever have qualified to vote. Although more than a million persons pay poll tax in Texas, the total vote cast seldom equals 800,000. More than 80 per cent of the voters are registered as Democrats.

LAWYERS DISAGREE ON PRIMARY RULING

Some at Washington See Way Opened for Congress to Run Party Elections.

OTHERS DENY THAT POWER

These Hold Supreme Court Merely Guarded Rights of Texas Negroes and See No Political Significance.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 8.—Opinion among leaders in Washington appears divided on whether the decision of the Supreme Court setting aside as invalid the Texas law which barred negroes from voting in Democratic primaries opens the door for Federal regulation of such primaries, especially in the matter of expenditures by candidates.

Even among Southern members opinion appears practically unanimous that the Court could have reached no other conclusion in view of the obvious intent and language of the Texas statute, which prohibited negroes from voting in a Democratic primary, holding void a ballot cast by a negro and directing election officers not to count a ballot offered or deposited by a negro.

It was indicated by Texas members that a way might be found to attain the same objective by other methods. Texas members, in discussing the situation confronting their party in that State, expressed the belief that the matter might be quickly remedied by leaving the conduct of the party primaries to the party managers, such as the State and County Committee, which are selected by party convention and not at the polls.

Other Southern States have experienced no difficulty in reaching the desired end by establishing who may and who may not participate in the councils of the party, one occasion being the selection of candidates to represent the party in the general election.

In the Newberry case the Supreme Court divided four and four on the question whether Congress could limit expenditures of a Senatorial candidate in the primary eleection, as Congress had attempted to do. The ninth member of the Court sustained the four who held that Congress did not have the power, without, however, passing on the issue itself.

Lawyers here today thought the decision in the Nixon case had "repeated" the Newberry decision, and said that if Congress were of the mind it might branch out into primary election regulation, particularly as applied to the Federal end of such election. Whether Congress would undertake to do so, they admitted, constituted another question. If anything were attempted, the prevailing opinion was that it would deal with primary expenditures of Senatorial candidates.

In other quarters, however, the view was expressed that Congress would be slow to tread on new ground, assuming that the Texas decision gave it the power, for the reason that it could be extended to phases of primary elections that deal with other than Federal offices. As one Southern member described it, the States and those constituting the political parties in them control the election of members of Congress and would not sanction the selection of candidates who would transfer the power of regulation from the States to Congress.

That the court's decision in the Nixon case gives no such warrant of authority to Congress was the belief of a large number of members who are lawyers and who contend that the Texas case had its origin only in an act of the Texas Legislature, as measured by the Fourteenth Amendment, and did not otherwise go into the conduct of primary elections. They pointed out that doubtless the decision would have been the same had it been a restaurant or a railroad in place of the Democratic primary election, in that the State as a State undertook to do a thing forbidden by the Federal Constitution.

AUGUSTA, ME.

Journal

MAR 9 1927

LAW—AND WHAT OF IT?

Consider the mental attitude of the great State of Texas when it passed Article 3093—A which provides that: "In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void, and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same." One colored man, Dr. L. A. Nixon, a resident and qualified voter of El Paso, sought to vote in the primary election of 1924. He was not permitted to vote for the Democratic party. He instituted legal proceedings and the Supreme Court of the United States declares that the law of Texas is not valid. Any notion that it could be valid seems absurd.

And yet we doubtless will find Texan Senators voting to exclude Smith of Illinois, about whose election there does not appear to be any doubt, although the methods by which he secured the nomination may be open to criticism on moral ground. Consistency is not a jewel in the politician's crown. Senator Borah sees in this decision a conclusion on the part of the Court that it has some authority over State primaries. But whatever of authority Uncle Sam may possess does he expect to exercise it? Will he fix it so the negro will dare to vote in the Democratic primaries in Texas?

Political - 1927

Texas, (White Press.)

Suffrage

Possible Effect of Supreme Court Decision on Primary Law Discussed

The decision by the supreme court of the United States at Washington on Monday, striking down as unconstitutional the so-called Texas "White Primary Law" has aroused intense interest in all the southern states, and has been the subject of much discussion by lawyers and politicians in Montgomery.

The possible effect of the supreme court's decision on the Alabama primary laws has been widely discussed, and some differences of opinion found to exist.

The Texas statute providing for primaries in Texas differs from the Alabama statute on the subject, in that the law regulating primaries in Alabama does not mention the negro, either directly or indirectly. The law simply says that "all persons who are qualified electors under the general election laws of this state shall have the right to participate in primary elections, subject to such political or other qualifications as may be prescribed by the state executive committee of the political party holding the election."

The Texas law on the other hand, declares explicitly that "In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party election held in the State of Texas." And it is this law which the supreme court of the United States declares is a "direct and obvious infringement of the fourteenth" amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the amendment which declares that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.

Alabama Laws Probably Constitutional

While the democratic primaries in Alabama since the Constitution of 1901 have always been white primaries, in that only white democrats were eligible to vote in the primary, this is not because of any law of the state of Alabama, but because of the action of the governing authority of the democratic political party.

A prominent judge yesterday, speaking of the matter, said: "A political party certainly has the right to say what voters shall take part in its primaries. It has the same right that a social club has to say who shall be its members. And if that political party excludes certain classes of voters, such as negroes, from the party primaries, the action of that political party is not the action of the state of Alabama. The state executive committee of a political party is not in any sense an agency of the state, and the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution simply mean that 'no state' shall deny to any citizen, white or black, the right to vote.

"The amendment to the United States Constitution, under which the supreme court knocked out the Texas law, does not give a person, for instance a negro voter, any protection against the wrongful acts of individuals unsupported by state authority in the shape of laws. Such acts are simply a private wrong done by the individual, and as they are not done under state authority, the federal courts are powerless to act. The negro voter who thought he was wronged in his civil right would have to seek redress in the state courts.

"The state executive committee of the democratic party in Alabama, while recognized by the state laws as the governing body of the party, is not an agency of the state of Alabama. It does not act for the state, but acts for the political party to which it belongs. And if the state executive committee of a party allows only white voters to take part in its primary, such act is not the act of the state, and as the fourteenth amendment only applies to state action, the amendment could not be relied on to force the state executive committee to allow negroes to take part in a democratic primary."

Another Point Raised

While most of the lawyers who discussed the matter were of the opinion that the supreme court's opinion would have no possible bearing on the Alabama election laws, one attorney suggested that if the state could not directly deny a negro voter the right to participate in a democratic primary, it could not do so indirectly by giving the authority to an agency of a political party and thus permit the political party to deny a right which the state itself, because of the provisions of the fourteenth amendment, could not deny.

Other attorneys thought this point unsound because of the fact that there were no state action, either direct or indirect, involved in the Alabama laws regulating primaries.

Giles Case Recalled

The decision of the supreme court in the Texas case recalls the fact that in 1902 and 1903 a negro named Giles brought suit against Charles B. Teasley, W. A. Gunter, Jr., and E. Jeff Harris, who were then the board of registrars of Montgomery county, claiming that they had refused to allow him to register because he was a negro.

Giles asked a mandamus from the city court of Montgomery, over which Judge A. D. Sayre was then presiding, to make the board register him. Judge Sayre refused to make an order requiring Giles to be registered. The case was then taken to the supreme court of Alabama and Judge Sayre's ruling sustained.

Goes To U. S. Supreme Court

Giles was represented by a negro lawyer from New York, Wilford H. Smith, afterwards an assistant attorney general of the United States, and he took the case to the United States Supreme Court which dismissed Giles's appeal on the ground that he had not presented any federal question of which the court could take notice.

It is interesting in this connection to recall that the validity of the Alabama laws was upheld by the late Col. William A. Gunter, in the supreme court at Washington, and his able briefs had much to do with the laws being upheld

Alabama Laws Not Endangered

While the supreme court's decision in the Texas case has aroused much interest, the general opinion among lawyers was that the Alabama laws are not endangered by the decision, as they are entirely different from the Texas laws.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

Sensational Supreme Court Decrees and the Serious Reform They Forecast.

One fairly general result of the decision by the supreme court of the United States that magistrates of any jurisdiction are not competent to function in cases wherein they have a pecuniary interest will be, as The Constitution has editorially suggested, to compel a revision and abolition of compensatory fee systems.



That has been for many years a desirable reform, but it was impossible to hope for it until this decision by the supreme court makes fee wages of magistrates wholly illegal.

There are citizens of Atlanta still living who can remember Justice of the Peace Timothy Lynes who, before deciding a case, would inquirk sub rosa of his court bailiff, "Which one of these spalpeens can pay the costs?"

Certainly it is a travesty of a just judicial system to require a magistrate to depend for his pay upon the collection he can make in his court.

That system has been a curse in Georgia, as in many other states from a time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Now legislative [illegible] devise a better and more reputable system. What the plan should be no one can forecast but all good citizens must be glad of the fact that to stand supreme court scrutiny successfully it must be a system that will not allow any more judicial hi-jacking!

* * * *

Rights of Negro Voters.

Another decision of the supreme court that could have been reasonably expected is going to cause a revision of such state laws as regulate "white primaries." A very respectable, intelligent and property-owning negro, Dr. L. T. Nixon, of El Paso, Texas, has been known for years as a democrat in his political faith and voting. But when he wished to vote in a "white primary" he was refused the right under a statute of the state that restricted such primaries to white voters only. Dr. Nixon brought action to test the right of the state, in view of the fourteenth amendment, to enact any such restriction. Now the supreme court, with three democrats among the nine members, and a democratic justice delivering the unanimous opinion, declares that a state has no right to enact such a discrimination.

Consequently a negro voter who claims the political status of a democrat, being otherwise legally qualified, must be permitted to vote in primaries as well as in general elections.

The funny thing in the situation is that for nearly fifty-nine years past we southern people have been telling the negroes that one big reason for making it hard for them to qualify as voters was that they adhered so solidly to the republican party! We have known the days in Georgia, even in Atlanta, when democratic negroes were mobbed, and even murdered, by men of their own color for voting with the democrats. Now, when there is scant danger of such persecutions by either whites or blacks, nevertheless practically every negro in the south is a republican, and less than one in a thousand is a "white blackbird."

* * * *

Reforming the Primaries.

All over the country thinking people are growing in the belief that the primary plan of making party candidates is a mistaken one. It has failed to produce those utopian political benefits that were initially proclaimed for it. Instead of being "popular," it has become in many instances, as in Pennsylvania and Illinois, notoriously and infamously "plutocratic." It has so disappointed and disgusted intelligent common citizens that they have lost patriotic interest in nominating primaries and are prone to keep shy of the polls on election days.

Gradually the system threatens to become so offensive that it will have to fight for its life in nearly every state in the union. Already in some large states the movement to abolish primaries is under headway.

Some of the former ardent advocates of primary nominations are suggesting a compromise. They would retain the primary plan of making local choice of delegates to party conventions and then devolve upon the convention the duty of nominating the candidates of the party to be voted for in the actual election.

But the more general consensus is that each state should be free to choose for itself and have its own sort of primary, or no primary, by its own will. In fact, that is the status now and it will continue, except as a state may eventually reform its primary system, or substitute another plan in its stead.

So far as national offices are concerned the supreme court holds that congress can regulate primaries and that may yet lead to a general abandonment of them to keep federal hands off our state elections.

* * * *

Why Half of Us Don't Vote.

A great wonder is expressed by many persons and presses why only about half the people qualified to vote usually go to the polls and cast their ballots?

The chief reason is that so few of the voters understand what the voting is about, or know whom the men are that they are asked to vote for.

We boast of our newspaper reading population and have kidded ourselves into believing that voters now depend more upon reading than upon listening to rag-chewing candidates. But we are mistaken. Newspapers, campaign pamphlets and radio all combined cannot charm and inform the popular mind like the human voice. It has been preaching and not literature that has spread religion through the nations that have any.

In other days, when candidates traveled in company and battled each other upon the hustings in sight and hearing of great crowds of electors, we heard few complaints of the "stay-at-home voters."

Looking on the candidates in the flesh and listening to them as they expounded political issues, the voters got their information, formed their convictions and spread political interest through the towns and over the countrysides. Every voter then much resembled the prospective juror who had passed his voir dire and was told:

"Juror, look upon the prisoner; prisoner, look upon the juror!"

The venireman took a square look at the prisoner and then, turning to the bench, said:

"Judge, I believe he's guilty!"

* * * *

More Light and Fewer Elections.

The opinion is ventured that if the people could be kept more generally informed of the conduct of public affairs by personal contacts and appeals they would show livelier interest in issues and candidates; would vote in larger percentages and insist upon better government in every relation of it to their personal interests.

Mere news accounts of what their officials are doing for them and to them are evidently not enough. They are prone to think either that "what is is right" or is remediless, and let it go at that. But if they were more intimately informed and oftener they would understand what is going on more clearly and hold their administrators to closer account. It is often complained that there is too much secrecy in government conduct.

There are scarcely a dozen men in the country today who can forecast with any surety what special and urgent issues either of the major parties will present to the voters of the nation next year!

The writer has asked recently some of the outstanding leaders of both parties to define the issues of 1928 and not one of them would do more than say he thought the party "ought to do."

The bald-headed fact appears to be that there is no strong consensus in either party as to national policies. The coming campaign seems to be foreordained as one of opportunist guesses. The chief concern in the conventions will be "what will win?" And as to that your guess is as good as that of any other man

NEW YORK
EVE. WORLD

9 1927

A DECISION FOR THE SOUTH TO PONDER

The Supreme Court decision in the Texas Primary Law case cannot but have far-reaching effect, whatever interpretation may be placed upon it.

Since it deals with a law relating to the conduct of primaries, Senator Borah is of the opinion that the decision is a recognition of the right of the Nation to take cognizance of crookedness and corruption in such cases as that in Pennsylvania. This, however, is disputed by others, also learned in the law, and this would be a declaration from the Court which was not made in the case of Newberry.

The Texas law prohibits Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. Since the Negroes of the South vote as Republicans in elections, the probable purpose of the law was to prevent members of an opposition party from entering the Democratic primaries to affect the result. The fact that this prohibition is based on color, however, brings it into conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment. And the Supreme Court has held the law unconstitutional on that ground.

Assuming that the decision does not recognize the jurisdiction of the Nation over primaries, it still remains one of the most far-reaching that has been handed down in years. The Fourteenth Amendment does not relate wholly to the political rights of the colored people. It goes to the protection of their social rights as well. It implies that they shall not be deprived of their equal rights and immunities because of their color; and it means that when they are deprived of such rights and immunities they have claims for damages.

This means that an exceedingly wide field is opened, and one that is bitterly controversial. It means that hotels refusing to accept Negro guests because of color may be sued; that the so-called "Jim Crow" cars of the South are lawless, and that a colored man refused admission to the car reserved for the whites has cause for legal action. This applies as well to hotels and restaurants in the City of New York or any other place in the North.

The decision could result in bitter controversy in the South should it lead to a determined effort to enforce all the Amendments, passed in Reconstruction days, that have been reduced to dead letters in enforcement. Radical as these measures and Amendments were, passed in a day of passion, they are no more oppressive to the South than the Eighteenth Amendment, blindly insisted upon in the South, is to the liberals of the North. It is the South that demands the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment by all the forces available to the National Government, and here comes a Supreme Court decision indicating that the South is not out of the woods on the Reconstruction Amendments, such as the Fourteenth.

A few decisions like that of this week may convince the South that it cannot blow both hot and cold on the sanctity of Constitutional Amendments; and may remind it that the man who lives in a glass house should not throw stones.

Knickerbocker Press
ALBANY, N. Y.

MAR 10 1927

THE TEXAS PRIMARY DECISION.

From the New York Sun.

The Texas primary law of 1923 was bolder than most southern statutes in its exclusion of negroes. "In no event," it declared, "shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election." When Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, a negro, was refused permission to vote at a primary election he brought the suit which has just resulted in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the Texas statute is unconstitutional.

Justice Holmes, writing the unanimous opinion of the court, declared that it would be "hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement" of the Fourteenth Amendment. He swept aside the contention of the defense that this was a political matter—something in which the federal courts generally refused to interfere—by reminding Texas that while the plaintiff's petition concerned political action, it alleged and sought to recover for private damage, and that private damage may be caused by political action and recovered for in a suit at law.

Never has the Supreme Court said more emphatically that the constitutional sections relating to the privileges of citizens mean just what they say. And the decision goes even further than determining the inability of a state to bar from the polls a negro because he is a negro. It links, in a way that must interest every politician, the legal relationship of the primary and the election. For Justice Holmes says flatly that "the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result." The primary, then, is no longer a "family affair."

On the eve of his eighty-sixth birthday the distinguished jurist from Massachusetts "started something" of the greatest interest in the south, and, indeed, in politics throughout the country.

NEWPORT NEWS
VIRGINIA

MAR 12 1927

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION PLAN.

The Portsmouth Star says that the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case "means that negroes cannot be barred from party primaries, recognized by statutory law." The Star quotes J. Murray Hooker, chairman of the Virginia Democratic State Committee as saying:

"The attitude of the Democratic party of Virginia towards the participation of colored voters in Democratic primaries is clearly indicated by the Democratic primary plan, adopted at Norfolk at the convention in 1924, whereby the right to vote in a Democratic primary is limited to white Democrats."

The section of the Virginia Democratic primary plan adopted in June, 1924, under the caption of "Who May Vote" is as follows:

"All white persons qualified to vote at the election for which the primary is held may vote at the primary; provided, however, that no person shall be permitted to vote unless such person is a member of the Democratic party and at the last preceding general election in which such person participated voted for the nominees of the Democratic party; provided, further, that if he did not vote at such general election, then upon his declaration that he will support at the ensuing election the nominees of the party, he shall be allowed to vote. When challenged, he shall make his declaration on oath."

The use of the term "all white persons," says the Star, serves to invalidate this particular section of the Democratic primary scheme, since it bars all voters other than those of the white race.

The Daily Press may be in error, but we do not agree with that interpretation of the Supreme Court's decision. The court in the Texas case was dealing with a law of the State which reads:

"Any qualified voter under the laws and Constitution of the State of Texas who is a bona-fide member of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic primary election provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party elections; however, in no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in a primary election such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein direted to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

That statute, obviously, is contrary to the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, because it deprives all colored citizens of Texas of the right to vote in a Democratic primary election, even although the party organization might be willing for negroes to vote in such primaries. It would be unconstitutional if the law provided that no white person should vote in a Republican primary election, or that no negro should be permitted to attend a Democratic convention as a delegate, for in every such case the law would be depriving a citizen of the United States of the rights of citizenship.

But the Virginia law contains no such provision. It does not discriminate against the negro or the white man. It is the primary election plan of the Democratic Party which provides that only white persons may vote in a Democratic primary. That is a party regulation and not the law of the State. The only possible ground upon which that plan could be attacked would be that Democratic primaries are held [illegible]

[illegible] revise?

The editor of The Daily Press is no lawye
put in the general opinion expressed in this arti
ple, he is upheld by one of the best lawyers in
Newport News, although that attorney admits
that he has not given the subject careful investi
ration and study

tates or by any State on
r previous condition of
ies to the right to vote
e United States or that
s not apply to primar
ary election plan be a
eat, that as the Virginia
parties to exclude ne
elections, the statute is
pose the law should be
would that prevent the
olding primary elections
party authorities might

NEW YORK
EVE. WORLD

9 1927

A DECISION FOR THE SOUTH TO PONDER

The Supreme Court decision in the Texas Primary Law case cannot but have far-reaching effect, whatever interpretation may be placed upon it.

Since it deals with a law relating to the conduct of primaries, Senator Borah is of the opinion that the decision is a recognition of the right of the Nation to take cognizance of crookedness and corruption in such cases as that in Pennsylvania. This, however, is disputed by others, also learned in the law, and this would be a declaration from the Court which was not made in the case of Newberry.

The Texas law prohibits Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. Since the Negroes of the South vote as Republicans in elections, the probable purpose of the law was to prevent members of an opposition party from entering the Democratic primaries to affect the result. The fact that this prohibition is based on color, however, brings it into conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment. And the Supreme Court has held the law unconstitutional on that ground.

Assuming that the decision does not recognize the jurisdiction of the Nation over primaries, it still remains one of the most far-reaching that has been handed down in years. The Fourteenth Amendment does not relate wholly to the political rights of the colored people. It goes to the protection of their social rights as well. It implies that they shall not be deprived of their equal rights and immunities because of their color; and it means that when they are deprived of such rights and immunities they have claims for damages.

This means that an exceedingly wide field is opened, and one that is bitterly controversial. It means that hotels refusing to accept Negro guests because of color may be sued; that the so-called "Jim Crow" cars of the South are lawless, and that a colored man refused admission to the car reserved for the whites has cause for legal action. This applies as well to hotels and restaurants in the City of New York or any other place in the North.

The decision could result in bitter controversy in the South should it lead to a determined effort to enforce all the Amendments, passed in Reconstruction days, that have been reduced to dead letters in enforcement. Radical as these measures and Amendments were, passed in a day of passion, they are no more oppressive to the South than the Eighteenth Amendment, blindly insisted upon in the South, is to the liberals of the North. It is the South that demands the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment by all the forces available to the National Government, and here comes a Supreme Court decision indicating that the South is not out of the woods on the Reconstruction Amendments, such as the Fourteenth.

A few decisions like that of this week may convince the South that it cannot blow both hot and cold on the sanctity of Constitutional Amendments; and may remind it that the man who lives in a glass house should not throw stones.

Knickerbocker Press
ALBANY, N. Y.

MAR 10 1927

THE TEXAS PRIMARY DECISION.

From the New York Sun.

The Texas primary law of 1923 was bolder than most southern statutes in its exclusion of negroes. "In no event," it declared, "shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election." When Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, a negro, was refused permission to vote at a primary election he brought the suit which has just resulted in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the Texas statute is unconstitutional.

Justice Holmes, writing the unanimous opinion of the court, declared that it would be "hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement" of the Fourteenth Amendment. He swept aside the contention of the defense that this was a political matter—something in which the federal courts generally refused to interfere—by reminding Texas that while the plaintiff's petition concerned political action, it alleged and sought to recover for private damage, and that private damage may be caused by political action and recovered for in a suit at law.

Never has the Supreme Court said more emphatically that the constitutional sections relating to the privileges of citizens mean just what they say. And the decision goes even further than determining the inability of a state to bar from the polls a negro because he is a negro. It links, in a way that must interest every politician, the legal relationship of the primary and the election. For Justice Holmes says flatly that "the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result." The primary, then, is no longer a "family affair."

On the eve of his eighty-sixth birthday the distinguished jurist from Massachusetts "started something" of the greatest interest in the south, and, indeed, in politics throughout the country.

NEWPORT NEWS
VIRGINIA

MAR 1 8 1927

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION PLAN.

The Portsmouth Star says that the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case "means that negroes cannot be barred from party primaries, recognized by statutory law." The Star quotes J. Murray Hooker, chairman of the Virginia Democratic State Committee as saying:

"The attitude of the Democratic party of Virginia towards the participation of colored voters in Democratic primaries is clearly indicated by the Democratic primary plan, adopted at Norfolk at the convention in 1924, whereby the right to vote in a Democratic primary is limited to white Democrats."

The section of the Virginia Democratic primary plan adopted in June, 1924, under the caption of "Who May Vote" is as follows:

"All white persons qualified to vote at the election for which the primary is held may vote at the primary; provided, however, that no person shall be permitted to vote unless such person is a member of the Democratic party and at the last preceding general election in which such person participated voted for the nominees of the Democratic party; provided, further, that if he did not vote at such general election, then upon his declaration that he will support at the ensuing election the nominees of the party, he shall be allowed to vote. When challenged, he shall make his declaration on oath."

The use of the term "all white persons," says the Star, serves to invalidate this particular section of the Democratic primary scheme, since it bars all voters other than those of the white race.

The Daily Press may be in error, but we do not agree with that interpretation of the Supreme

DAILY PRE

Court's decision. The court in the Texas case was dealing with a law of the State which reads

"Any qualified voter under the laws and Constitution of the State of Texas who is a bona-fide member of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic primary election provided such voter complies with all laws and rules governing party elections; however, in no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in a primary election such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein direted to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

That statute, obviously, is contrary to the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, because it deprives all colored citizens of Texas of the right to vote in a Democratic primary election, even although the party organization might be willing for negroes to vote in such primaries. It would be unconstitutional if the law provided that no white person should vote in a Republican primary election, or that no negro should be permitted to attend a Democratic convention as a delegate, for in every such case the law would be depriving a citizen of the United States of the rights of citizenship.

But the Virginia law contains no such provision. It does not discriminate against the negro or the white man. It is the primary election plan of the Democratic Party which provides that only white persons may vote in a Democratic primary. That is a party regulation and not the law of the State. The only possible ground upon which that plan could be attacked would be that

Democratic primaries are held [illegible]

law of Virginia designed to prevent fraud and abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," but that applies to corruption in primary elections. But should the Supreme Court hold it to be unconstitutional, would that affect in general elections of the United States. It does not apply to primary election plan be a law of the State.

It may be held, we repeat, that as the Virginia statute permits political parties to exclude negroes from its primary elections, the statute is the rules for party nominating conventions, unconstitutional. But suppose the law should be declared null and void, would that prevent the Democratic Party from holding primary elections in their primaries and who might not.

If the Supreme Court has power to make and unmake the rules of party primary elections in the States, it has power to make and unmake party nominating conventions, mass meetings. This newspaper does not believe that the court has any such power. Under the Fifteenth Amendment, "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or under such a plan as the party

The editor of The Daily Press is no lawyer, but in the general opinion expressed in this article, he is upheld by one of the best lawyers in Newport News, although that attorney admits he has not given the subject careful investi

Political - 1927

Suffrage

Texas, (White Press.)

STAR

Lincoln Ill

MAR 8 1927

SUPREME COURT PASSES ON PRIMARY LAW

Bloomington Pantagraph: The supreme court of the United States yesterday gave an opinion affecting control of primary elections in Texas, which, however, will cause considerable discussion in Illinois and other states.

The decision was to the effect that states cannot make laws governing primary elections which in any way conflict with the federal laws governing elections.

The particular issue in the Texas case affected the right of negroes to vote at primary elections. The state of Texas had passed a law barring negroes from participation in the Democratic primaries. A certain negro had been barred under this statute, and he brought suit for damages for this action. The case was carried to the supreme court, with the result that the highest court upheld the negro's contentions, and ruled that he was entitled to damages as claimed. The attorney for the man who brought the suit stated that there were some 400,000 negroes in Texas who were barred under the prohibitory state law.

The supreme court stated in its decision that states might classify voters in many ways in their control of primary elections but no classification should be made which would forbid any class from enjoying the franchise as guaranteed to them under the federal constitution.

The wide effect of this decision, as pointed out by Senator Borah, is that it gives the federal government control of primary elections in all of the states. Up to this time, such federal control had not been exercised, and in fact it had ben disputed. It became an issue of vital consequence in the investigations of the primary elections in which Frank L. Smith in Illinois and William Vare in Pensylvania were elected as senators. Some of those defending Smith and Vare at the time of the senatorial committee investigations, claimed that the senate was exceeding its authority in carrying on such investigation, since the federal government could have nothing to do with primary elections carried on under state enactments. The supreme court now sets its stamp of approval on such federal control. The decision may make those conducting primaries in many states more careful of what is done at such primaries. Actions which might be attempted under state laws, and safely perpetrated, would be more dangerous if brought under federal government scrutiny. We shall hear much of this court decision in regard to future primary elections not alone in Illinois and Pennsylvania, but in other states.

HERALD
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAR 8 1927

NEGRO UPHELD IN BATTLE FOR PRIMARY VOTE

Supreme Court's Decision in Texas Case Stirs Senators to Ponder Fraud Problem

By ARTHUR HACHTEN
Universal Service

The right to vote guaranteed to negroes under the Constitution applies to primaries as well as to general elections, the United States Supreme Court ruled in a far-reaching opinion given yesterday.

Associate Justice Holmes, a civil war veteran, who celebrated his eighty-sixth birthday yesterday, read the opinion, which was unanimous.

ENDS TEXAS FIGHT

Jurisdiction of the Federal Government barring States from making laws abridging equal rights to negroes in elections extends to the primaries, since the ultimate elections may be influenced by action taken at the primaries, declared the high court.

In the case at issue a Texas statute preventing negroes from voting at Democratic primaries, was found unconstitutional. A decision of the Federal Court for the Western district of Texas was reversed.

In view of the fight in the Senate for laws against fraud in primaries, there was eagerness among Senators to learn whether the Supreme Court opinion has a bearing upon that situation. Senators were divided in their opinions after reading the decision.

ASKED FOR $5,000

The high court decision was given in a case brought by Dr. L. R. Nixon, of El Paso, Tex., who sued C. C. Herndon and Charley Porras, election officials, for $5,000 damages after being refused the right to vote.

Nixon was barred from voting in a primary election at El Paso on July 26, 1924, for the nomination of candidates for a Senator and Representatives in Congress and State and other offices.

The Texas statute invoked by the election officials stipulates that 'in no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas."

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution were thus violated, Nixon claimed.

The Supreme Court said that it was not necessary to take into account the Fifteenth Amendment, which gives negroes the right to vote, because the Texas statute was obviously unjust when measured by the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits States from making laws discriminatory on account of race of color.

"The objection that the subject matter of the suit is political is little more than a play upon words. Of course, the petition concerns political action, but it alleges and seeks to recover for private damages," said the Supreme Court, continuing:

"That private damage may be caused by such political action and may be recovered for in a suit at law hardly has been doubted.

PROTECTION TO BLACKS

"The important question is whether the statute can be sustained. But although we state it as a question the answer does not seem to us open to a doubt. We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment, because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth.

"That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with

(Continued From Page 1)

a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them.

"That statute of Texas in the teeth of the prohibitions referred to assumes to forbid negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone.

370,000 AFFECTED

"States may do a good deal of classifying that is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case."

Moorefield Storey, of Boston, of counsel for Nixon, said that the Texas statute had deprived 370,000 negroes there of their right to participate in Democratic primaries.

In defending the suit before the Supreme Court, the State argued that the Democratic party in Texas is a private organization which finances itself, and has the right to fix classifications for membership in it.

They said it was generally understood as a "white man's party." White men have a right to band together in political organization, they contended.

DEMOCRAT-CHRONICLE
ROCHESTER, N. Y.

MAR 10 1927

State Primary Laws

A Supreme Court decision just given overrules a Texas statute under which Negro citizens were denied the right to vote at Democratic primaries. The Constitutional guarantee of equal rights for races makes no mention of primaries, but was held sufficient to prevent a state from passing any law abridging the rights of citizens on account of race or color.

This decision rests on the Fourteenth amendment; the Fifteenth, giving Negroes voting rights, was not taken into account. The Cotton states have very generally nullified that by statutes which have never been carried to our highest court. These are of various sorts, but are effective to the end in view; as, for example, where voting rights are conditioned on payment of a poll tax which the mass of Negro citizens are unable or unwilling to pay. It is claimed in the South that statutes of that sort are constitutional, and perhaps they would be so considered by the Supreme Court. But the purpose of all the statutes restricting the suffrage in the South was candidly admitted by Senator Blease of South Carolina in Senate debate not long ago: "They were put into the law," he said, "to keep Negroes from voting. We don't let them vote and don't intend to. We have zero districts in the South where only white people vote and there are no Republicans. Coolidge got 1,100 votes in my state. I was astonished that they were cast and shocked that they were counted."

This is no diatribe against the South. If Congress does not consider it expedient to take up the matter of enforcing the Fifteenth amendment, press discussion of the question is fruitless. All that concerns us to point out is the unanimity of Southern senators in denouncing Republican senators-elect from Northern states and endeavoring to unseat them because of money spent in carrying primary elections. They fulminate against that as a heinous crime, but justify their own more effective methods of keeping elections under control of a Democratic ruling group. It seems due to Senator Blease to add that he is the lone Southern senator to admit the inconsistency of his Southland colleagues. He may not be an entirely admirable public figure, but he is no hypocrite. He stands for the right of states to choose their senators in accordance with their state laws governing primaries, and if Smith and Vare are good enough for their states they are good enough for him.

BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION

MAR 10 1927

What the Fourteenth Amendment Lacks Is a Volstead Law.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes throwing out the Texas white primary statute with an abrupt "too clear for extended argument," naturally invites comparisons of the status of the Fourteenth and Eighteenth amendments.

The parallel is plain for a brief compass of speculation, and then it is rudely halted.

The Eighteenth Amendment owes its theoretical strength as well as its actual weakness to the Volstead law, which has been often sustained in the Supreme Court.

The Volsteads of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments have long ago lost their case. Says the Fourteenth itself:

"Congress shall have the power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

Congress has not done so.

Therefore, any individual may violate the rights of negroes in the South. As long as the State does not make the attempt, as Texas did, in the case so emphatically handled by the eloquent Holmes, there is no relief.

In the reconstruction days a civil rights act was passed by Congress and repassed over President Andrew Johnson's veto. It was given a further lease of life under Grant. It laid the hands of the Federal law on any person who dared to infringe on the rights of any citizen of color. This was thrown out by the Supreme Court in 1883, with this simple and ever since binding statement:

"It is State action of a particular character that is prohibited. Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject of the amendment."

In 1875 the same thing had been said in the same court of the Fifteenth Amendment, with this further explanation:

"Congressional legislation which makes it a crime for a State officer to refuse to allow persons to vote without clearly restricting the application of the statute to cases where the refusal is on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, is unconstitutional."

Nothing could be clearer than that. It is a state of affairs not usually appreciated in the North. The Southerners to-day are denying the colored brethren the right to vote, all along the line. They are doing it by subterfuge, with the express sanction of the highest court in the land. What Mr. Justice Holmes maintains is that there are limits to the method of their oppression. Texas, actually and defiantly legislating against the participation of black men in the primary, has been rebuked. The rest of the prohibitory programme will continue to prevail in all the other States.

Southern Democrats took the occasion, just a week ago, to admit this situation.

Senator Mayfield of Texas, in the filibuster debate, egged on by Reed of Pennsylvania, conceded that there were no general elections in twelve counties of his State. That means, with the negro barred at the Democratic primary and with no Republican primary held, the absolute disfranchisement of the colored men and women.

Does this bother the Southern patriots?

Not a bit of it! They are proud of it. Northerners will do well to appreciate that fact. They will arrive nowhere in any discussion of the amendment situation without a full knowledge of the ruling attitude of the Democratic leaders from below the Mason and Dixon line.

Listen, for instance, to the ineffable Heflin of Alabama, coming to the Klansman Mayfield's rescue in this same debate, and thus interrogating the Pennsylvanian:

"Does the Senator mean to take the position that a group of white people in any county in America whether Democrats or Republicans if they want to have a white primary, are not at liberty to do so for party counsel and for party purposes purely?"

Senator Stephens of Mississipp' added his testimony that no negroes have voted in Democratic primaries in his State since 1899, although no State law prohibits them. George of Georgia submitted that his State has many Republican votes and even some Republican districts, but "the primary is a white primary."

Then the climax was capped. Thus spoke Cole Blease, South Carolina, impatient at the moderation of his Dixie colleagues:

"I do not see any use in Southern Senators getting up here and apologizing for our position. I, as one representative of the South, do not expect to make any apology. We keep the colored man from voting in South Carolina by that Constitution. We do not allow him to vote in the Democratic white primaries and we never expect to let him vote in them, no matter what is done here."

And, he might have added, no matter what is said by the Supreme Court. This Holmes decision puts Texas to the trouble of rewriting its law. That is all.

And the seat of this defiant and unanimous flouting of the spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments is also the source of the intolerant insistence upon the letter of the Eighteenth Amendment and of the Volstead law. The utter lack of just such an enabling act to protect the Southern negroes permits the continued and undisguised nullification of the Constitution's black citizenship provisions.

TIMES
TRENTON, N. J

MAR 10 1927

COLOR NOT A VALID TEST

While the United States Supreme Court recently decided in favor of the Pullman Car Company in a suit involving the right of the company to discriminate against Negroes in the sale of seats and sleeping berths in its cars, it is not able to go so far as to uphold the State of Texas in withholding from Negroes their right to vote in the Democratic primaries.

"Color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case," Justice Holmes held in his decision, which declared that Negroes who had been denied the right to vote in a primary on account of color had ground for damages. It is a matter of common knowledge that in Texas and other Southern States Negroes have been denied the right to vote.

The fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has declared the Texas statute to be unconstitutional does not necessarily mean that the Southern Negroes are to obtain their voting right. They will be counted as the basis for representation in national conventions and for reapportionment of members of Congress, but they must not vote—unless they vote "right."

NEWS
INDIANAPOLIS, IND

MAR 8 1927

NEGRO VOTING RIGHTS

The United States supreme court has decided that the state of Texas can not deprive a citizen of his right to vote in a primary on account of his color. The effect of the Texas law was to bar Negroes from Democratic primaries. The reason for the law was the Texas belief that since nearly all Negroes are Republicans, their only purpose in voting in a Democratic primary was to help choose candidates acceptable to the Republicans. In view of conditions in Texas, much was to be said for the law as a way to keep the naming of party candidates within party ranks. The supreme court held in the matter that the Constitution protects citizens from discrimination in voting laws on account of color. It is within the rights of the state to lay down qualifications for voters along lines intended to promote wise selections at the polls as according to the federal Constitution the states may fix the qualifications of their voters, but color has nothing to do with them. This is obvious as a principle of government.

REGISTER
NEW HAVEN, CONN

MAR 9 1927

THE NEGRO'S VOTE.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional a Texas statute denying the negro the right to vote at primary elections will be hailed generally as a step toward the ultimate solution of the problem that has torn the South since the Civil War. Whether it will prove to be as valuable as is hoped, depends, it seems, upon the versatility of Southern lawyers and politicians in conjuring up other means to keep the black man from the polls.

The primary election itself is a Southern invention. It apparently was conceived in the first instance for the very purpose of doing what the highest court in the land now says cannot legally be done. Through the introduction of the primary, run upon rules and regulations formulated by white Democrats, the battle for State control was diverted from election day to primary day, and there was no difficulty with the "negro vote".

Until now this subterfuge has been supposed to be above the law; that is, it was fondly regarded as above the Constitutional inhibition against depriving the negro of the right to participate therein.

In the Newberry case, a few years ago, the Supreme Court's majority opinion seemed to lean in this direction. Only the dissenting opinion of Chief Justice White stood out as a beacon of hope for the colored voter. Now the court seems to have adopted the reasoning of Chief Justice White and to have taken so broad a stand and that unanimously, that the whole present primary fabric totters in the Southern States.

Already, according to dispatches from various Southern State capitals, Democratic leaders are busily trying to find other means to avoid the menace they see in the negro vote at the primaries. In Texas Dan Moody, the youthful Governor, is reported as saying that inasmuch as the Democratic party is a purely voluntary association, very like a club or secret society, it has the unquestioned right to adopt rules that will permit it to select its membership from whatever class or race it may choose. In this direction, he says, he will move, as soon as he can call a gathering of his party leaders, to help prepare "rules" that will accomplish what laws cannot.

Apparently the temporary victory of the negro in the great State of Texas is to be again thwarted by the concerted political action of his white opponents. Whether this move will prove successful or not, is a matter that only years of legal action again tortuously carried through the various courts at great expense can determine.

In the meantime, the decision may be of help in solving some of the difficulties that the United States Senate has encountered in the matter of regulating primary elections of Senators, and thereby make it possible to prevent in the future the disgraceful expenditure of money that characterized the primaries in Pennsylvania, Illinois and other States during the year just closed. The extent to which the decision in this case may help has not yet been determined. The only thing that is certain is that the hard and fast rule adopted in the Newberry case has been shattered and the way left open for action that may prove efficacious.

Political — 1927

Texas, (White Press.)

Suffrage

PIONEER-PRESS
ST. PAUL, MINN.

MAR 20 1927

Control of Primaries.

THERE seems little to justify the view that the attitude the Supreme court has taken in the Texas primary law case opens the door to Federal control of primary elections. In that decision the court ruled that a law which excludes Negroes from participating in primary elections is a discrimination which violates the guaranty of equal protection in the Fourteenth amendment. It would seem far-fetched to conclude that this amounts to saying, if pushed to the logical conclusion, that the primary is an integral part of the electing process and therefore a fit subject for congressional legislation.

In the Newberry case the court said that a law for the Federal control of state primaries, adopted before the ratification of the Seventeenth amendment for the direct election of senators, is unconstitutional. The case was decided by a 5 to 4 decision. One member of the court, who concurred with the majority, refused to pass on the question whether the adoption of the Seventeenth amendment had altered the situation so that the primary had become a part of the electing system and so that a law passed since that time would be constitutional. The Newberry decision is thus by no means necessarily an obstacle in the way of further legislation bringing primaries within the Federal corrupt practices act.

The present decision, swinging as it does on the express guaranty of the Fourteenth amendment, does not appear to have any direct bearing, however, on that question. The Senate of course is judge of its own membership and now, as always, can take cognizance of primary frauds if it wishes.

Lafay, La
Chronicle

MAR 11 1927

NEGROES CAN VOTE IN TEXAS PRIMARIES, SAYS U. S. SUPREME COURT.

Washington, March 7.—The constitutional guarantee giving negroes the right to vote applies to primaries as well as general elections, is the opininon of the supreme court.

Overthrowing a Texas statute under which negroes are prohibited from voting in Democratic primaries the court found today that even though the primary is not mentioned in the Federal constitution, Federal jurisdiction is sufficient to bar the States from making primary laws out of harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal rights for the races.

"States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational," said the court in an unanimous opinion, "but there are limits, and it is too clear for the extended arguments that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case.'

The court said it was not even necessary to take into account the fifteenth amendment, which gives the negroes the right to vote, because the injustice of the Texas statute was sufficiently apparent when considered merely in the light of the fourteenth amendment which prohibits the States from making any law to abridge the rights of citizens on account of race or color.

"The statutes of Texas * * * assumes to forbid negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone," said the opinion.

"The objection that the subject matter of the suit is political is little more than a play upon words."

The decision was handed down in the case of L. A. Nixon, an El Paso negro, who sought unsuccessfully in the lower courts to recover damages against election judges who refused to permit him to vote at a Democratic primary election. Moorfield Storey, of Boston, his counsel, told the supreme court that 370,000 negro voters in Texas had been excluded as ineligible to participate in Democratic primaries.

That private damage may be caused by such political action and may be recovered for in a suit at law hardly has been doubted and has been recognized by this court," said the opinion. "If the defendant's conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result. The important question is whether the statute can be sustained.

"But although we state it as a question the answer does not seem to us open to a doubt."

The Texas law prohibiting negroes from voting in Democratic primary elections was passed in 1923 and says that "in no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in a Democratic primary election such ballots shall be void and election officials shall not count the same."

DALLAS, TEX.

News

MAR 9 1927

NEGROES MAY VOTE IN A DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY.

The Democratic party is face to face with a situation of some novelty and interest in consequence of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that negroes may vote in the party primaries in Texas notwithstanding the attempted prohibition of State statute. The court holds that there is a clear violation by the State of the Fourteenth Amendment. That amendment declares that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

It would appear that voting in primary is a privilege and that negroes formerly enjoyed it, so far as Democratic primaries in this State are concerned, and that the State of Texas has by statute deprived them of it. The decision of the court, therefore, was almost a foregone conclusion. The party has not officially denied to negroes the right to participate in primaries. Indeed, the obstacle in the way of its doing so is that the State has made control of the primary a State function, rather than a party function. If the State had never assumed to forbid and to admit persons to participation in the primary there would probably be little or no predicate for an appeal to the Supreme Court by negroes.

The party's right to dictate its own standards of membership is good as against any prohibitions contained in the Fourteenth Amendment, apparently, but not as against the State's assertion of authority over party affairs. In sound governmental theory the interest of the State in a party primary or convention ceases when it is made reasonably safe against corruption, violence or fraud.

The party ought to have the right to refuse participation to persons not agreeing with its creed. A party advocating the disfranchisement of negroes ought to have the right to exclude negroes from its councils, and doubtless would have that right under the full text of the Supreme Court's opinion. But Texas has no right in ethics or ideal governmental principle to dictate either the policies of parties or the membership requirements thereof. In addition, under the Federal Constitution it has no right to exclude persons from the party or from exercising privileges of a party member.

If the convention system were in use in Texas, very likely negro delegates would be thrown out by credential committees in some cases. And probably many of these exclusions would be solely on grounds amounting to racial discrimination. But the remedy of negroes would be to form their own party under their own management or join some party more favorable to their interests. It is by no means clear that they would be denied any constitutional right in such a case.

As a matter of fact, however, the specter of negro domination in Texas is utter foolishness. It is likely to become more and more foolish as the proportion of white population continues to rise. Such negroes as choose to vote the Democratic ticket are in no sense a menace to white supremacy or to good government, and their participation prior to the enactment of the statute declared unconstitutional never amounted to either menace or emergency. In spite of the truth of this, it is not unlikely that the advocacy of the convention method will have gained ground by reason of the reaction to the Supreme Court's ruling.

NEW YORK
SUN and GLOBE

MAR 8 1927

The Texas Primary Decision

The Texas primary law of 1923 was bolder than most Southern statutes in its exclusion of negroes. "In no event," it declared, "shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party election." When Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, a negro, was refused permission to vote at a primary election he brought the suit which has just resulted in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the Texas statute is unconstitutional.

Justice Holmes, writing the unanimous opinion of the court, declared that it would be "hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement" of the Fourteenth Amendment. He swept aside the contention of the defense that this was a political matter—something in which the Federal courts generally refuse to interfere—by reminding Texas that while the plaintiff's petition concerned political action it alleged and sought to recover for private damage and that private damage may be caused by political action and recovered for in a suit at law.

Never has the Supreme Court said more emphatically that the constitutional sections relating to the privileges of citizens mean just what they say. And the decision goes even further than determining the inability of a State to bar from the polls a negro because he is a negro. It links, in a way that must interest every politician, the legal relationship of the primary and the election. For Justice Holmes says flatly that "the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result." The primary, then, is no longer a "family affair."

On the eve of his eighty-sixth birthday the distinguished jurist from Massachusetts "started something" of the greatest interest in the South, and, indeed, in politics throughout the country.

NEWS

Chicago - Ill

MAR 27 1927

CENTRAL TEXAS PRESS

By N. P. Houx

TEXAS AND THE NEGROES

Texas has for many years been notorious for its hostility to negroes. In some of its towns negro porters on passenger trains fear to step out of the Pullmans. Such signs abound as "Nigger, don't let the sun set on you," and the colored man loses some of his pigmentation as his eye rests upon them. Until the United States Supreme Court handed down a unanimous decision the other day Texas had a law which deprived negroes of the right to vote at Democratic primaries. As a matter of fact negro Democrats are rare, and nowhere are they likely to be scarcer than in Texas. Presumably, therefore, not many were affected by the offensive law, and we may doubt whether the decision that it is unconstitutional will have any practical effect. The negro is virtually disfranchised throughout the Southern States. He has the constitutional right to vote, but regard for his own constitution causes him not to exercise this right. He knows that his attempt to vote would probably be met with violence on the spot, or at least with some sort of punishment later on. That is the main reason why the South is Democratic, despite the fact that nine negroes out of ten are Republicans from motives of gratitude to the party that gave them their freedom. The voting is left to the whites, and in the South they are mainly Democrats. If the negroes were actually free to vote the "solid South" would disappear.

Strange as it may seem, this is the first time the United States Supreme Court has had to pronounce on the single issue of the rights of the black man as compared with those of the white, though the question has been involved in other decisions. The Constitution is very clear on this point, holding that "race, religion or previous condition of servitude" shall in no wise affect the rights of any citizen of the United States. In writing the decision which was made public on the eve of his eighty-sixth birthday, Mr. Justice Holmes observed that "the law of all "States must stand for the black as well as the "white," and he dismissed as little more than a play on words the argument that the question was really a political one. It has become traditional with the Supreme Court to interfere as little as possible with legislation properly described as political. But of course the discrimination against the Texas negroes was an attack upon one of their fundamental rights. There remains embodied in the Constitution of the State of Ohio a provision that no colored man can hold office, but this Constitution was devised long before the Civil War wrote the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments into the Constitution of the United States, and thereby became a dead letter. Negroes have held many offices in Ohio, and it is possible that some now living will see the day when they may hold public office in Texas.—The Mail and Empire (Toronto Canada.)

What our esteemed brother editor of the far away north does not know about Texas politics and Texas negroes, would more than fill up his paper, and his paper is a great big affair—like our big Texas dailies.

Negroes are not barred from voting in Texas—or the south. They always vote in presidential year, solid for the republican ticket, and they have never yet carried a southern State.

As for them holding office in Texas, they have done so in the past at least. This writer can remember seeing six of them in one session of the Texas legislature, five in the house and one in the Senate. He also lived in a Texas county for several years that was frequently represented by a negro in the legislature, and for several years had a negro district clerk, and he served as alderman of his town along with a negro member of the council.

Negroes are not barred from voting or holding office in Texas, brother, but we Democrats just want them to participate in their own party and not try to pack our conventions and participate in the nomination of the Democratic ticket and then go to polls in the general election and vote the republican ticket.

And I doubt if my brother of Toronto knows much about negroes anyway. I spent a week in Toronto a few years ago and did not see a dozen negroes, except porters in the hotels, and they behaved themselves, just like they do in the South, and as long as they do that they will be respected and protected by the white man, but when he goes in with the mule breed of negroes who want to turn society over, he will run up against a snag every time. The full blooded negro generally keeps his place, while it is usually the half-breed (mule) that gives trouble.

Come to Texas.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

MAR 8 1927

A MOMENTOUS DECISION

The Negro problem, which Theodore Roosevelt in one of his books said was the greatest problem confronting the American people, is accentuated by the unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring the Texas State law barring Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries, as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and therefore un-Constitutional.

The Fourteenth Amendment was enacted at the demand of extreme Republican radicals, like Thad Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and was their reaction to the rebellion of the Southern States. It ushered in the Reconstruction period with its carpet-bag Government and its Negroid Legislatures in many of the Southern States.

When the South had recovered from the devastating effects of the Civil War, the white people of the South revenged themselves upon the Northern radicals by depriving the Negroes of the civil rights guaranteed to them by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

It has long been known, "under the rose," that Negroes were not permitted to vote in many of the Southern States and because of intimidation, few Negroes cared to qualify. This went along until recently when a Negro presented himself for the purpose of voting in the Democratic primaries in Texas. He was told that the Texas State law barred him from voting. The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race took up his cause and prosecuted it in every court in Texas. It is superfluous to say that every court in Texas, from the lowest to the highest, decided against the Negro. It was then appealed to the United States Supreme Court and the unanimous decision of that court, declaring the Texas State law un-Constitutional, has been the result.

This is the most momentous decision the colored race has achieved in its fight for equal rights since the Civil War. A parallel to this was the famous decision of the court in the Dred-Scott case which historians claim precipitated the Civil War. That decision aroused the whole North. The decision in the Texas case, in all likelihood, will arouse the whole South.

One of the reasons why the South is solidly Democratic is fear of Negro ascendency. Many attempts have been made by the Republican party to compel the South to permit Negroes to vote but always without success. The attitude of the South, in its determination to uphold white ascendency, has many sympathizers in the North. Undoubtedly, measures will be taken in Texas and other Southern States where the Negroes are numerous, to circumvent the decision.

GREENSBORO

N. C.

Nov

ISSUE OF

TEXAS MIGHT LEARN FROM VIRGINIA.

When the Supreme court of the United States declared unconstitutional the Texas statute forbidding negroes to participate in Democratic primaries, every Democratic statesman knew that no great harm had been done to the party. The old methods are entirely sufficient to handle the situation without recourse to such rough stuff as Texas instituted. Rough stuff is not rough stuff if it is called by another name.

Yesterday came news that the recommendation of the Prentis committee on revision of the Virginia constitution to lighten the restrictions on voting in Virginia by reducing the period of prepayment of poll taxes, as a prerequisite to voting, from three years to two years was killed in a house committee of the legislature. As to why it was killed the Hon. Albert Sidney Johnson, a statesman of the commonwealth, is cited for his urgent plea:

"It is for the future I fear," said Mr. Johnson. "Negro children in many counties where the negroes outnumber the whites are now flocking to schools in greater numbers than the whites, with the definite purpose of preparing themselves for citizenship. In 15 years we are likely to have a condition in those counties where the negroes will again outvote the whites. This reduction of two years for paying poll taxes as a qualification of voting will not encourage white people to vote, but it will encourage the negroes. As a southerner, living in a county where the negroes outnumber the whites, I do not wish to see a return of the days when my county government will be dominated by the negroes. If we are to change the constitutional provisions around qualification of voters we should strengthen them, not lower them."

This business of negroes going to school is, as every statesman has long recognized, a dangerous practice which ought to be discouraged, particularly when the Supreme court is apt to declare handy laws unconstitutional. The plea for retention of the three-year provision on payment of poll taxes and particularly the argument of Mr. Johnson have at least the merit of frankness. If Texans become discouraged at the rebuff to their law, they might learn a lesson from Virginia.

Political - 1927

Texas. (White Press.)

Suffrage

TIMES

Wichita Falls Tex

JAN 6 1927

THE NEGRO AND THE PRIMARY

The right of the negro to participate in Democratic primaries in Texas is now before the supreme court of the United States. An El Paso negro, backed by some negro organizations, is contending that the federal guaranties to the negro as a voter entitles him to vote in a primary as well as in a general election. Texas is contending that the primary is a state affair, and that the state has a right to place such restrictions as it desires upon voting in primaries.

A decision in favor of the negro would affect laws now in force in nearly every Southern state, and would doubtless have interesting consequences in its effect on the negro vote. It would also establish the right of the federal government to regulate primaries everywhere, and that would mean that such campaigns as those of Mr. Vare in Pennsylvania and Mr. Smith in Illinois would become matters for Washington to look into.

A Texas primary has some federal significance, for the reason that United States senators and congressmen are nominated in such primaries. If a separate primary were held for those offices, and only state officers nominated at the other, would the federal government have any control? That's just one of a number of possibilities of the litigation.

Texas Governor in Move to Prohibit Voting of Negroes

AUSTIN, June 3.—One of the main points of Governor Moody's message to the Texas legislature dealt with the suggested revision of the primary election law of the state.

Texas, in common with the majority of the southern states, has kept up a pretense of allowing Negro citizens to vote in the primary elections, at the same time depriving them, by some political hocus-pocus, of any actual voice in the elections.

The United States Supreme Court has held that under the present law Negroes cannot be barred from voting in Democratic primaries. The upholders of "law and order" in Texas, therefore, must devise some means to circumvent the ruling of the Supreme Court and, with the help of Moody, will endeavor to have a measure passed through the legislature giving the democratic party which is practically the only political party which is permitted to function unhampered in the South the right to exclude Negroes from the primaries.

Political - 1927

Texas, (White Press)

Suffrage.

The Supreme Court

Five and a half years after Secretary Fall emptied the "eloquent cargo of $100,000 in currency" from the famous black satchel, the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced null and void the Doheny oil leases. By a unanimous vote the Court declared that the deal between Fall and Doheny had been "consummated by conspiracy, corruption, and fraud. The whole transaction was tainted with corruption."

On March 7, the Court held unconstitutional the Texas law barring Negroes from voting in a Democratic primary election. This decision was unanimous also. By another of the much discussed five to four decisions, the Court recently held unconstitutional the New York State law restricting the price at which theatre tickets may be sold by ticket agencies.

These three decisions invite attention. Throughout its history the Court in many cases has earned a reputation for integrity and devotion to the public good. The Doheny decision is one more illustration of the vigor with which the Court denounces dishonesty and fraud. The Court may be depended upon to uphold the Constitution when its violation is as obvious as in the Texas primary law.

The recent decision concerning the theatre law reveals the more vulnerable side of the Court. In cases of this kind the decision of the Court is determined not by common honesty or by the letter of the Constitution, which is necessarily vague and indefinite, but by the attitudes of the respective justices toward private property and price fixing. Men equally honest and equally devoted to the public good frequently differ in their opinions. A change in the vote of one justice would have upheld the constitutionality of the law. It is an error, therefore, to say that our Constitution is a rigid, unchanging document. Its meaning is constantly changing. Frequently, the Court reverses its former opinions. The person who appoints the justices of the Court really determines the nature of many of its decisions.

JOURNAL

Akron, O

MAR 6 1927

VITAL COURT DECISIONS

These are days when the decisions of the United States supreme court are interesting events. No one seems to know what will happen next. Last week the court handed down a decision forbidding any police court magistrate to share in the fines imposed by his own court. Another supreme court ruling set aside a Texas law which barred negroes from voting in Texas primaries. A decision announced yesterday does away with the effects of "jim crow" legislation in the south. It sets aside the Louisiana segregation law under which negro and white communities were established, making it unlawful for white persons to establish a home residence on any property in a negro community, and denying to negroes the right of home residence in white communities.

These decisions, which take a rather tardy judicial account of the much neglected fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, are going to quicken popular interest in future decisions of the supreme court. It seems to have developed a disposition of late to remind the citizenship that there are still such wholesome things in this country as a constitution and bill of rights, and that these protections for the majority are not to be put aside whenever a tyrannical or prejudiced minority wants to have its way.

TIMES

Wheeling, W. Va.

MAR 9 1927

JIM-CROWING THE PRIMARY

The decision of the supreme court of the United States, that Texas laws which prevent negroes from voting in primaries, does not appear to leave Texas without adequate means for maintaining the primary as a white man's institution. The means to that end, however, must be found in the party machinery and not in the laws of the state. If the state enacts laws to govern the holding of party primaries, those laws must be agreeable to the federal constitution, which forbids any discrimination as to color. But a party, operating as an independent entity, has the same right to admit John Doe or to debar Richard Roe that a lodge or a luncheon club has.

Therein, as we see it, is the way out. It would appear to involve repeal of the election laws insofar as they attempt to regulate the holding of party primaries, and to leave such regulation entirely to the parties themselves. The parties can go to whatever lenghts they desire, in limiting participation in primaries; there is no restriction, so far as the law is concerned.

It is interesting to recall that when the Terrell election law was pending in the legislature, in 1904, there was considerable opposition to the idea of placing party machinery under state control. A number of legislators felt that the manner in which political nominations were made was not a proper subject for legislation, and that it should be left up to the party to determine the method of choosing its nominees. Twenty-three years later the supreme court of the United States gives belated but effective support to that view.

There is, of course, another possible remedy, one that will be found promptly enough to have its advocates; that is the abolition of the primary and a return to the convention system. There will be those who will point out that the supreme court decision defeats one principal purpose of the primary. We do not believe the voters of Texas would be willing to return to the convention system. In some form, the primary is with us to stay. It becomes now more than ever the duty of the thoughtful voter to see to it that the primary is made an accurate and feasible means of expressing the popular will.

WHEELING, W. VA.

Register

MAR 18 1927

The Primary Ruling

The Supreme Court ruling of last week wherein was held unconstitutional the Texas law preventing Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries, has caused more of a furore than was warranted. The law was a bad law and plainly in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment, and therefore, unconstitutional. It not only provided that Negroes should not participate in Democratic but that if they so did, officials were instructed by the law not to count their ballots. No such measure, of course, could stand.

But the ruling does not mean that Congress shall pass measures regulating primaries other than the limitations of expenses with severe punishment provided for offenders. States are entirely capable of passing upon the qualifications of voters.

Right here in West Virginia, Negroes are discriminated against in theaters, restaurants, hotels and schools, all of which probably would be held a violation of Amendments Fourteen and Fifteen of the American Constitution if carried to the Supreme Court. Furthermore, West Virginia election laws provide that each voter must not only be registered but declare his party allegiance before being qualified to vote. That prevents Democrats from participating in Republican primaries, and vice versa. Texas by a somewhat similar law could constitutionally compel Negroes entitled to the ballot to vote with the party of their allegiance.

But it is in the great and intellectual (?) state of Pennsylvania where voters are permitted to vote and then their ballots are not counted, resulting in "zero" precincts in machine-controlled Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

EXPRESS
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

MAR 10 1927

Vare and Smith Cases May Depend on Texas Decision

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, March 10.—The supreme court of the United States has handed down a decision which may give added strength to the idea that an "election" nowadays includes not only the final balloting but the preliminary steps such as primaries wherein nominees are chosen.

The Texas statute which has just been held unconstitutional by unanimous decision of the supreme court was passed with the idea that Negroes could be prohibited from voting in the Democratic primaries, and yet not disturb their privilege of voting in a Republican primary. It was assumed that the constitutional amendment which says no citizen shall be deprived of the right to vote because of race or color merely applied to the final election. The supreme court takes the view that any election in which the public participates must admit all who apply—at least, those who apply for the privilege cannot be turned down because of color.

+ + +

THE moot point involved in the question of prohibiting Negroes from voting was, however, not as much concern to politicians as the inclusion of the primary in the election process which is subject to federal supervision. There are many ways by which Negroes will be prevented from voting, so this phase of the matter will cause little trouble.

If, however, the federal government is to take unto itself to say whether the right of voting in primaries has been in accordance with the Constitution, then Northern as well as Southern political leaders are affected. The two pending cases of primary elections in Illinois and Pennsylvania are unquestionably going to be brought into the argument. For if a primary election in Texas among the Democrats, which is equivalent to an election, is subject to federal control, so also is a primary among Republicans in a state where the choice by the latter is equivalent to an election.

+ + +

THE question that has been left unsettled by the two decisions is whether the Senate can regard an election and primary as one thing, just as the supreme court did. The Senate will be asked to vote on this question when Messrs. Vare and Smith apply for admission, and many of those who hitherto have been doubtful about the right of the Senate to judge an election other than the final contest now will be influenced by the Newberry decision of the supreme court. Senator Borah and some of the others who hope to unseat both Mr. Vare and Mr. Smith point to the latest decision as having a decided bearing on the right of the Senate to inquire into primaries.

GAZETTE
SCHENECTADY, N. Y

MAR 11 1927

NORTH AND SOUTH ALIKE.

The Democratic organizations in various states deserve severe censure for their attitude toward the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upholding the right of negroes to participate in that party's primaries. Instead of accepting the decree of the tribunal, there seems to be an obvious intention to seek some other means of evading it.

The court's decision was based not merely upon law, but upon justice and sound common sense. It held negroes, as such, could not be barred from a party primary in Texas ,although the Democrats there had a law to that effect. Now, from other states, we hear that in one way or another negroes still are not to be allowed to take part in the selection of Democratic nominees.

Violation of the legal rights of voters in such places as Pennsylvania has caused a popular outburst. There has been condemnation of the fraud and corruption exposed when an investigation of the apparent Vare victory was instituted.

In a way deprivation of a voter of his rights in Texas cannot be compared in degree with the wholesale purchase of votes in Pennsylvania, the stuffing of ballot boxes and the counting out of a candidate. But in principle both are the same, and southern Democrats as well as northern Republicans are deserving of severe censure.

PRESS
BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

MAR 14 1927

THE NEGRO'S LEGAL RIGHT TO VOTE IN TEXAS

Negroes in Texas have the legal right to vote in the Democratic primary elections. The Supreme Court of the United States, passing upon the case of a negro citizen, L. A. Nixon of El Paso, has so ruled.

If the Supreme Court had passed upon a negro's right to a piece of real estate in Texas, the negro probably would secure the real estate. No one imagines that the negroes of Texas, as a result of this decision, are actually going to secure a vote in the Democratic primaries.

Most of the election laws in the Southern States have been found, by the Supreme Court, to be in technical compliance with the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution which declares that no American citizen shall be denied the right to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Yet the white men who control politics in the South have no intention of permitting the negroes, in any numbers, to take part in elections. In practice, the South makes no question of nullifying both the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Amendments.

And at the same time, with a fine inconsistency, the South insists that the Eighteenth Amendment must be enforced to the limit by the rest of the country.

Since we have several copies I am enclosing this to you for information

Monty

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER
MAR 29 1927

PRIMARY ELECTION LAW OF TEXAS HELD INVALID BY COURTS

Highest Federal Tribunal Decides Denial of Vote to Negroes in Democratic Councils, Unconstitutional

LEGAL SOLUTION SOUGHT BY PARTY COMMITTEEMEN

Governor Moody Offers Suggestions For Correcting Defects Revealed in Case

WASHINGTON, March 7.—(AP)—Negroes under the federal constitution have the right to participate in state primaries and cannot be deprived of that privilege by state laws, the supreme court in a unanimous opinion decided today in a case from Texas. It was brought by L. A. Nixon, who under a state statute was prevented from voting in a democratic primary at El Paso at which both federal and state candidates were selected.

The decision, delivered by Justice Holmes, is being closely studied by congressional leaders for its effect upon the much discussed question of federal jurisdiction over primaries, raised in the Smith and Vare cases from Illinois and Pennsylvania. Senator Borah, republican, Idaho, construed it as meaning, when carried to its logical conclusion, that congress had control over primaries.

It has been well established, the court's opinion declared, that private damages could be caused by deprivation of political rights. The Texas law was described as a direct and obvious infringement of the 14th amendment, which, it was declared, had been adopted "with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them." That amendment, it was added, "not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any state the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws.

This meant, the court stated, "that the law of the states shall be the same for the black as for the white;" that all persons, regardless of color, stand equal before the laws of the states, and that no discrimination shall be made against negroes because of their color.

The Texas law was declared an invalid discrimination against the negro because of color alone, the court holding that color cannot be made the basis for a statute effecting the right to vote.

Political- 1927
Suffrage

Texas. (White Press)

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES UPHELD.

The unanimous decision handed down recently by the Uni States supreme court, which declared unconstitutional the Tex primary statute that excluded Negroes from participation in t democratic primary elections in this state, reaffirmed the fa and strengthened the contention that certain constitutional righ and warranties are still to be exercised and enjoyed by all Amer can citizens without regard to creed, color or class; and this far reaching and epochal decision—an antithesis to the infamous Dred Scott decision of ante-bellum days—says (in so many words) that even the Negro still has some constitutional rights left which even the bourbon "democratic" South must respect.

While this latest ruling of the highest legal tribunal in America is regarded as a victory principally for colored Americans in Texas and other Southern states which practice this species of class distinction and discrimination, the decision is a greater triumph for the fundamental laws of the land, upholding and reaffirming certain constitutional guarantees assured every American citizen without taking into consideration his or her racial connections.

This celebrated case had its origin at El Paso, Texas, where Dr. A. L. Nixon, one of the leading colored physicians of that city and a democrat for several years (having voted prior to the enactment of the discriminatory section of the Texas civil statutes), sought damages from C. C. Herndon and Charles Porras, democratic primary election officials, because they denied and refused him his constitutional and inalienable right to cast a ballot at the democratic primary election on July 26, 1924.

The plaintiff-in-error (Dr. Nixon), having resorted to court action against the defendants-in-error (Messrs. Herndon and Porras) and lost in all the courts of Texas, finally carried his case to the supreme court of the country, alleging that he was denied the right to vote in said democratic primary election merely because he was a Negro, and the court of last resort has ruled that any such statute, which abridges the rights of any American citizen (because of color) to cast a ballot even in a democratic primary, is null and void and of no consequence.

Thus article number 3107, revised civil statutes of Texas, is not worth the paper it is written on, as The Informer has repeat edly contended since the passage of this absurd and silly piece o class legislation by the Texas legislature; for this paper has cor tended that no state legislature has the right or authority to pr scribe the qualifications of the electors of any partisan organiz tion, no more than the legislature has the right or power to outli the prerequisites for membership in either the Baptist or Meth odist church.

Here is the statute that the supreme court has legally outlaw **Article 3107.—In no event shall a Negro be eligible to particip in a democratic party primary election held in the state of Te and should a Negro vote in a democratic primary election, s ballot shall be void and election officials shall not count the sa**

Texas democratic leaders are literally "up in the air," and riots gruesome spectre of a dark cloud can now be discerned on ling political horizon, according to some of these modern-day patrican and partisan reformers, and alarmists, who are perfectly wi ame for black men to pull a trigger during war in defense of Amer s of ideals and institutions, but are wholly unwilling for these s black warriors to mark a ballot and cast a vote during time peace!

As a matter of fact, if the democratic party in Texas has reached the stage in its partisan career where its only hope for salvation and perpetutity lies in the exclusion and disfranchisement of citizens because of color, then may a merciful heavenly Father have both pity and mercy upon such a political organization!

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People played a very important part in this legal litigation of Dr. Nixon, retaining three of the most eminent constitutional lawyers in America to present the brief before the supreme court, viz: Hons. Louis Marshall, Moorfield Storey and Arthur B. Spingarn. Hons. Fred C. Knollenberg and Robert J. Channell, El Paso lawyers, were the other counsel in the case; and these able lawyers deserve much credit for the masterly manner in which they presented their cause before the court of last resort.

Paraphrasing the popular song, "Bye-Bye, Blackbird," the nine able jurists of the United States supreme court mixed, mingled and joined their voices last Monday in singing both the verses and refrain to the latest ditty, "Bye-Bye, Primary!"

MACON, GA. TELEGRAPH

JAN 6 1927

The Texas Test

The Texas primary case now pending in the United States Supreme Court is full of interesting potentialities for the South.

The test is being made by a Negro citizen of the Lone Star State who was forbidden to vote in a Democratic primary, in spite of the fact that he had voted the Democratic ticket regularly for years. His ballot was excluded under the provisions of the 1923 primary law of Texas, which prohibited negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. His original suit was brought against the election officials and the trial court dismissed it on the ground that the state law relating to primaries did not present a Federal question. In the appeal, the election officials did not present any defense and were not represented in the court by counsel. A brief filed by Attorney General Moody, of Texas, defended the validity of the law and challenged Federal jurisdiction.

The appellant's argument hinges, apparently, on the contention that in Texas the Democratic primary in effect is the decisive election, the general election itself being merely a perfunctory affair. His counsel stressed the claim that the "right to vote," as defined in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extends to all questions upon which the franchised citizen may cast a vote and is not confined to the right to vote in the general elections.

Especial importance is attached to the case, Chief Justice Taft commenting that if negroes could be excluded from voting in the Democratic primaries in Texas, the state would be at liberty to provide by law that no one except negroes should vote at a Republican primary.

It is expected that the decision of the court may have some bearing also on the question of what extent of Federal control may be exercised over expenditures of money in party primaries. The ruling may aid in the solution of some of the problems which are expected to arise in considering the credentials of Senator Vare, of Pennsylvania, and Senator Smith, of Illinois. The Democrats who are most vociferous in clamoring for the exclusion of the two Senators because of excessive spending in the party races, may thus be placed in a dilemma by insisting on Federal jurisdiction over Republican primaries in Pennsylvania and Illinois while demanding that the United States Government keep its hands off the Texas Democratic primaries.

That the decision in this case will have the effect, in event of a victory by the appellant, of nullifying the laws governing the white primaries of other states seems unlikely. The Texas law is one of a very few drafted so bluntly as to exclude, in so many words, negroes from voting. Most of the others were framed in the days of the Reconstruction, when adroitness of phraseology was one of the few weapons left to the Southern whites struggling to maintain white supremacy. Senator Borah, after his speech in Augusta, in which he condemned the faction attempting "to nullify" the Eighteenth Amendment and he was promptly asked: "What about the 'nullification' of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?" The Idaho Senator, after an

investigation, replied that the laws of the Southern States, which have the effect of excluding Negro votes, are apparently air-tight, many of them already having been tested before the Supreme Court. So, even if the Texas law is found unconstitutional, the others probably will not be directly affected.

The consequences in other Southern States will probably be psychological rather than legal. In other words, if the Supreme Court forces the Texas Democrats to permit Negroes to vote in their primaries, the effect of their participation will be felt in Georgia, whether or not Georgia's own rules governing the Negro vote are affected. It was never the plan of the Southern States to exclude Negroes forever from participation in the franchise. It was the intent of the primary clauses and similar obstructive regulations to delay such participation until the Negroes should become qualified by education and training in citizenship to make intelligent use of their ballot, and to make their votes an influence for good rather than for ill. Whether this point has been reached is questionable. If it has, then the South has nothing to fear from participation of Negroes in primaries and general elections, no matter which party they join.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Star

JAN 5 1927

PRIMARY RIGHTS TESTED IN CASE

Texas Negro Holds Law Infringed His Rights as Free Voter.

By the Associated Press.

The Supreme Court was asked yesterday to decide the jurisdiction of the Federal Government over State primaries.

L. A. Nixon, a negro, of El Paso, who said he was excluded under the State law from voting in a Democratic primary, brought the case, which is expected to throw some light on the jurisdiction of Congress in primaries and bring a ruling which may bear on questions now perplexing the Senate.

Counsel for Nixon explained that his client had for years regularly voted the Democratic ticket, but that the election judges at El Paso had refused to permit him to participate in the primaries there after the enactment in 1923 of a law which provided that no negroes should be permitted to vote in primaries.

Texas won in the lower Federal courts, which held that State primaries were exempt from Federal jurisdiction.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is behind the test.

The appeal is regarded of vital importance in determining not only the franchise rights of negroes in Texas but generally throughout the South. It was asserted by association counsel that should the Texas law be sustained the negroes in the South would be effectively disfranchised by State legislation restricting their rights in primaries. The association declared that in the South the real contest over candidates occurs in the primaries and that the general elections are merely perfunctory.

Leaders in Congress looked to the case as promising to bring a decision which would be helpful in deciding to what extent Federal laws relating to primary expenditures could be made effective and also which might aid in the solution of some of the problems which are expected to arise in considering the credentials of Senators Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois.

Jurisdiction Is Attacked.

The election officials did not present any defense on the appeal and were not represented in the court yesterday by counsel. Attorney General Moody, who is soon to become governor of the State, obtained permission from the court to file a brief on behalf of the State defending the validity of the law and questioning Federal jurisdiction.

In the argument of the case as presented by Nixon's counsel, there seemed to be much confusion in the mind of the court as to the exact question presented. Counsel stressed that the main question at issue was the right to "vote" as defined in the fifteenth amendment, contending that the right to vote there conferred extended to all questions upon which the franchised citizen may cast his ballot, and was not confined to the right to vote in the general elections. It included, counsel argued, the right to vote in primaries and in the issue of bonds, and in all matters upon which the views of the electorate was to be obtaned.

Members of the court asked numerous questons. Those put by Justice Butler seemed to reflect the view that th primaries were only for the purpose of selecting party candidates and did not deprive a voter of the ballot right at the general elections, and that the case seemed to present only the question of the right of a negro to participate in the selection of party candidates. Chief Justice Taft seemed to attach more importance to the case, stating that if negroes could be excluded from voting in Democratic primaries in Texas the State would be at liberty to provide by law that no one except negroes should vote at a Republican primary. Justice Sutherland referred to decisions of the court which had interpreted the right to vote as stated in the Constitution, confining the meaning of the term to the right to exercise the elective franchise.

Herald
Palestine - Tex
JAN 2 2 1927

BEWARE

The city primary was invoked some few years ago to cure an evil; an evil that came to be a curse on our fair city. It's adoption gave to the white voters of Palestine, and to the law-abiding, well-wishing, sincere, patriotic citizens, opportunity to choose those who govern us.

Up to the time of the adoption of the city primary plan there were staged here many disgraceful things, altogether unworthy of this people. The writer witnessed with his own eyes negroes herded like sheep all night, made drunken, and then marched to the polls and voted for the man or set of men who debased them to use them.

And he saw more than once—aye, many times—the votes of the negro and the vicious trafficked in in a manner that was a disgrace then, and would be a disgrace today.

And seeing those things, and knowing of their evil, he did all he could to help the city adopt the primary plan.

And to disregard it now—to go back to old methods—would be too disgraceful for words.

Some say that in this day and time the system is not needed. But it is. And it is going to remain the method by which we choose those who govern us.

TIMES
Wichita Falls, Tex.
JAN 13 1927

THE TEXAS NEGRO'S FRANCHISE.

Texas is in better case, as regards the negro vote, than some other southern states, the Houston Chronicle points out, in connection with the pending effort of an El Paso negro to establish the right of negroes to participate in the Democratic primary. The Chronicle says:

"The statement of Senator Mayfield to congress that negroes were not excluded from the polls in Texas in the general election last year, and the hearing of the case of an El Paso negro before the supreme court at Washington on a plea that he be allowed to vote in the Democratic primaries in Texas, should serve to enlighten some of our northern brethren on conditions in Texas.

"Some of them will doubtless be surprised to learn that there is no character of electoral legislation in this state that denies the negro any right or privilege granted a white man. Other southern states have resorted to educational and property qualifications in an admitted purpose to bar many negroes from the polls. But Texas has not done this and the developments at Washington may give the country some much needed information on that subject."

If we understand the legal status of the Democratic primary in Texas, the party can make its own restrictions on the franchise. It can prescribe any test it desires. If it wishes to bar red-headed men, or flat-footed men, from participation, it has that right, ridiculous as it would be to employ it.

Political-1927

Suffrage.

Texas. (White Press)

DALLAS, TEX.

JAN 7 1927

THE NEGRO AND THE VOTE IN TEXAS PRIMARIES.

The Supreme Court of the United States will shortly be called upon to decide whether a negro can vote in a Democratic primary if he wants to. More precisely, it will determine the constitutionality of Article 3107 of our Revised Civil Statutes (1925). This article reads:

In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic primary election held in the State of Texas, and, should a negro vote in a Democratic primary election, such a ballot shall be void and election officials shall not count the same.

The question is whether that disfranchises the negro in Texas. Technically it doesn't. Actually it does. That is to say, outside of Mr. Wurzbach's congressional district and a few other isolated areas in the Lone Star State, a man might as well cast his ballot in the wash can as to put it into other than Democratic channels. There is no fraud about it. The situation simply is that the State is brutally Democratic.

It is fairly clear, from the Newberry case, that the Federal Government does not undertake to regulate primaries. These are the affair of the parties. At least, so far as the Federal Government is concerned they are. But are they? For example, the prohibition against negro participation gets its force from a statute of the State and not from a fiat of the party. It is true that it probably meets with the approval of most party members. But the party could decide tomorrow unanimously to exclude naturalized citizens, women or any other class, and yet these could vote, if otherwise qualified, despite that decision. The qualifications of a primary voter are declared by the State and not by the party.

The Legislature could pass an act restricting the Republican primaries, when they hold a primary, to negroes or to postmasters or to persons over 80 years of age. It would be the law. Would it be constitutional? Of course, in that case, it would be an interference with the party will, whereas, in the article referred to, the party will is enacted. But does that make any difference in constitutional law?

It is clear that there must be some form of police control by the State over primary elections, else they become constant sources of scandal. Even as things are, we have scandals galore. It is equally clear that the guarantee of a republican form of government, which is basic in our American institutions involves the freedom of political parties to determine their own principles and their own conditions of membership. That would certainly imply that a party might exclude negroes. Indeed, a party would certainly have the right to exist for the purpose of amending the Constitution so as to take the ballot from negroes. No such party exists, but the possibility of its being formed and maintained is guaranteed as a part of the guarantee of republican form of government. Freedom of citizens to group themselves together for political purposes involves the freedom to exclude from such groups those not in sympathy with their group purposes. The party, then, has a clear and constitutional right to exclude negroes, if it chooses.

Should the Supreme Court decide that the State has not the right to dictate the color of party membership, it is reasonably certain that the convention system will replace the primary plan in Texas. It is interesting to consider the possibilities of that. It is almost as interesting to reflect that the exclusion of negroes from Democratic primaries in Texas was of no practical advantage, anyhow, as few negroes could be induced to vote the Democratic way if they had the privilege, and still fewer ever took the trouble to qualify when they might lawfully have done so. Texas is faced by no problem of negro domination. White supremacy is not threatened here, no matter what the Supreme Court decree.

TAMPA, FLA.

Tribune

JAN 5 1927

QUESTION OF FEDERAL JURISDICTION IN STATE PRIMARIES IS AIRED

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4.—(A.P.)—The question of the jurisdiction of the federal government over state primary elections as precipitated in the supreme court today in a case from Texas.

The appeal which was prosecuted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was regarded as vital importance in determining not only the franchise rights of negroes in Texas, but generally throughout the south. It was asserted by association counsel that should the Texas law be sustained, the negroes in the south would be effectively disfranchised by the state legislation restricting their rights in primaries. The association declared that in the south the real contest over candidates occurs in the primaries and that the general elections are merely perfunctory.

Leaders in congress looked to the case as promising to bring a decision which would be helpful in deciding to what extent federal laws relating to primary expenditures could be made effective and also which might aid in the solution of some of the problems which are expected to arise in considering the credentials of Senators Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois.

TEXAS PRIMARY LAW BARRING NEGRO VOID

Supreme Court Rules Statute Violates 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

RIGHT TO DAMAGES UPHELD

Unanimous Opinion Construed by Some as Asserting Federal Authority Over Primaries.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 7.—The Texas law barring negroes from voting in a Democratic primary election in that State was held unconstitutional today in a unanimous opinion by the United States Supreme Court.

The case in question was that of Dr. L. A. Nixon, a resident and qualified voter of El Paso, against G. C. Hernadon and Charles Porras, El Paso County election officials. Dr. Nixon, a negro, sought to vote in the State-wide primary election of July 26, 1924, at which both State and Federal candidates were selected, and the right was denied to him under Article 3903-A of the Texas statute of 1923, which provided that:

"In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void, and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

Construed as Authority Over Primary.

The opinion, delivered by Justice Holmes, setting aside the Texas "white primary" law, was construed in some quarters here as a vindication of the theory that the Federal Government has authority to regulate primary elections, despite the judgment to the contrary rendered by the high court in the Newberry case.

It was pointed out that the court appeared to have adopted the reasoning of Chief Justice white, who, in a dissent in the Newberry case, held in effect that a primary could not be disassociated from a general election and that Congress had power to pass legislation affecting both. It was suggested here that today's ruling might lead to the introduction of bills in the new Congress bearing on primary elections.

The outstanding commentator on the ruling was Senator Borah of Idaho, who said:

"Today's opinion indicates that the Federal Government has some authority over State primary elections."

This is a point that has been discussed in connection with the Reed investigation of conditions in Pennsylvania.

When barred from voting at the Texas primary, Dr. Nixon had the election officials issue to him a certificate stating that he had not been permitted to vote and upon this incident he filed suit for $5,000 damages in the Federal Court for the Western District of Texas.

This court dismissed the action, sustaining the motion of the defendants who contended that the subject matter of the suit was political and not within the court's jurisdicition and that no violations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was shown. The case was then taken to the Supreme Court on a writ o ferror.

14th Amendment Declared Violated.

In reversing the lower court, Justice Holmes held that the Texas law was clearly violative on the Fourteenth Amendment and said that he and his associates found it necessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment.

Declaring the Texas law to be unconstitutional, Judge Holmes said that the objection that the subject matter of the suit was political was "little more than a play upon words."

"Of course, the petition concerns political action," he continued, "but it alleges and seeks to recover for private damage.

"That private damage may be caused by such political action and may be recovered for in a suit at law hardly has been doubted for over 200 years.

* * *

"If the defendants' conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff, the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result.

"The important question is whether the statute can be sustained. But although we state it as a question, the answer does not seem to us open to doubt.

"We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

Equality Before the Law.

Then, quoting from the ruling of the Court in Buchanan versus Warley, 245 U. S. 67, 70, Justice Holmes declared that the Fourteenth Amendment not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any State the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws.

" 'What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the Amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color ' "

"The statute of Texas in the teeth of the prohibition referred to, assumes to forbid negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone," Justice Holmes continued. "States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case."

State Had Lost Sight of Case.

When the case was argued on Jan 4, no appearance was made in the Supreme Court in behalf of the defendant election officials, who had passed out of office.

Governor Dan Moody, then completing his term as Attorney General of Texas, was in the Supreme Court room during the argument, at the conclusion of which he informed the Court that the State had known nothing about existence of the suit until he found it on that day's assignment and obtained permission from the Court to file a brief. This was later done by Attorney General Claude Pollard and D. A. Simkeeping others out of primaries."

Governor Dan Moody was of the opinion that some legislation should be enacted authorizing Democratic Party committeemen to formulate rules to supplant the Texas statute prohibiting negro voting in Democratic primaries.

"Some legislation will be necessary to protect the ballot and give that guaranty of good government which the voided statute was designed to secure," said Governor Moody. "Certainly, although some time will be but a short time until other laws will be passed by the Legislature can give the practical effect of the last Democratic Party ment would be almost necessary in some sections few negroes now qualify to vote even where they though the law's displacement negligible, since in the general election, although some issues in some sections here today by Democrats as a result of Supreme Court's constitutional a Texas groes from Democratic primaries.

At the same time they carry primary elections.

Plan New Party Rules in Texas.

AUSTIN, Texas, March 7 (AP).—Possibility that a solid negro vote could counties have a preponderance of negroes in some sections

Political-1927

Suffrage.

Texas. (White Press)

DALLAS, TEX.

JAN 7 1927

THE NEGRO AND THE VOTE IN TEXAS PRIMARIES.

The Supreme Court of the United States will shortly be called upon to decide whether a negro can vote in a Democratic primary if he wants to. More precisely, it will determine the constitutionality of Article 3107 of our Revised Civil Statutes (1925). This article reads:

In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic primary election held in the State of Texas, and, should a negro vote in a Democratic primary election, such a ballot shall be void and election officials shall not count the same.

The question is whether that disfranchises the negro in Texas. Technically it doesn't. Actually it does. That is to say, outside of Mr. Wurzbach's congressional district and a few other isolated areas in the Lone Star State, a man might as well cast his ballot in the ash can as to put it into other than Democratic channels. There is no fraud about it. The situation simply is that the State is brutally Democratic.

It is fairly clear, from the Newberry case, that the Federal Government does not undertake to regulate primaries. These are the affair of the parties. At least, so far as the Federal Government is concerned they are. But are they? For example, the prohibition against negro participation gets its force from a statute of the State and not from a fiat of the party. It is true that it probably meets with the approval of most party members. But the party could decide tomorrow unanimously to exclude naturalized citizens, women or any other class, and yet these could vote, if otherwise qualified, despite that decision. The qualifications of a primary voter are declared by the State and not by the party.

The Legislature could pass an act restricting the Republican primaries, when they hold a primary, to negroes or to postmasters or to persons over 80 years of age. It would be the law. Would it be constitutional? Of course, in that case, it would be an interference with the party will, whereas, in the article referred to, the party will is enacted. But does that make any difference in constitutional law?

It is clear that there must be some form of police control by the State over primary elections, else they become constant sources of scandal. Even as things are, we have scandals galore. It is equally clear that the guarantee of a republican form of government, which is basic in our American institutions involves the freedom of political parties to determine their own principles and their own conditions of membership. That would certainly imply that a party might exclude negroes. Indeed, a party would certainly have the right to exist for the purpose of amending the Constitution so as to take the ballot from negroes. No such party exists, but the possibility of its being formed and maintained is guaranteed as a part of the guarantee of republican form of government. Freedom of citizens to group themselves together for political purposes involves the freedom to exclude from such groups those not in sympathy with their group purposes. The party, then, has a clear and constitutional right to exclude negroes, if it chooses.

Should the Supreme Court decide that the State has not the right to dictate the color of party membership, it is reasonably certain that the convention system will replace the primary plan in Texas. It is interesting to consider the possibilities of that. It is almost as interesting to reflect that the exclusion of negroes from Democratic primaries in Texas was of no practical advantage, anyhow, as few negroes could be induced to vote the Democratic way if they had the privilege, and still fewer ever took the trouble to qualify when they might lawfully have done so. Texas is faced by no problem of negro domination. White supremacy is not threatened here, no matter what the Supreme Court decree.

TAMPA, FLA.

Tribune

JAN 5 1927

QUESTION OF FEDERAL JURISDICTION IN STATE PRIMARIES IS AIRED

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4.—(A.P.)—The question of the jurisdiction of the federal government over state primary elections as precipitated in the supreme court today in a case from Texas.

The appeal which was prosecuted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was regarded as vital importance in determining not only the franchise rights of negroes in Texas, but generally throughout the south. It was asserted by association counsel that should the Texas law be sustained, the negroes in the south would be effectively disfranchised by the state legislation restricting their rights in primaries. The association declared that in the south the real contest over candidates occurs in the primaries and that the general elections are merely perfunctory.

Leaders in congress looked to the case as promising to bring a decision which would be helpful in deciding to what extent federal laws relating to primary expenditures could be made effective and also which might aid in the solution of some of the problems which are expected to arise in considering the credentials of Senators Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois.

TEXAS PRIMARY LAW BARRING NEGRO VOID

Supreme Court Rules Statute Violates 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

RIGHT TO DAMAGES UPHELD

Unanimous Opinion Construed by Some as Asserting Federal Authority Over Primaries.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 7.—The Texas law barring negroes from voting in a Democratic primary election in that State was held unconstitutional today in a unanimous opinion by the United States Supreme Court.

The case in question was that of Dr. L. A. Nixon, a resident and qualified voter of El Paso, against G. C. Hernadon and Charles Porras, El Paso County election officials. Dr. Nixon, a negro, sought to vote in the State-wide primary election of July 26, 1924, at which both State and Federal candidates were selected, and the right was denied to him under Article 3903-A of the Texas Statute of 1923, which provided that:

"In no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in the Democratic primary election such a ballot shall be void, and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

Construed as Authority Over Primary.

The opinion, delivered by Justice Holmes, setting aside the Texas "white primary" law, was construed in some quarters here as a vindication of the theory that the Federal Government has authority to regulate primary elections, despite the judgment to the contrary rendered by the high court in the Newberry case.

It was pointed out that the court appeared to have adopted the reasoning of Chief Justice white, who, in a dissent in the Newberry case, held in effect that a primary could not be disassociated from a general election and that Congress had power to pass legislation affecting both. It was suggested here that today's ruling might lead to the introduction of bills in the new Congress bearing on primary elections.

The outstanding commentator on the ruling was Senator Borah of Idaho, who said:

"Today's opinion indicates that the Federal Government has some authority over State primary elections."

This is a point that has been discussed in connection with the Reed investgation of conditions in Pennsylvania.

When barred from voting at the Texas primary, Dr. Nixon had the election officials issue to him a certificate stating that he had not been permitted to vote and upon this incident he filed suit for $5,000 damages in the Federal Court for the Western District of Texas.

This court dismissed the action, sustaining the motion of the defendants who contended that the subject matter of the suit was political and not within the court's jurisdicition and that no violations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was shown. The case was then taken to the Supreme Court on a writ o ferror.

14th Amendment Declared Violated.

In reversing the lower court, Justice Holmes held that the Texas law was clearly violative on the Fourteenth Amendment and said that he and his associates found it necessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment.

Declaring the Texas law to be unconstitutional, Judge Holmes said that the objection that the subject matter of the suit was political was "little more than a play upon words."

"Of course, the petition concerns political action," he continued, "but it alleges and seeks to recover for private damage.

"That private damage may be caused by such political action and may be recovered for in a suit at law hardly has been doubted for over 200 years.

* * *

"If the defendants' conduct was a wrong to the plaintiff, the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result.

"The important question is whether the statute can be sustained. But although we state it as a question, the answer does not seem to us open to doubt.

"We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

Equality Before the Law.

Then, quoting from the ruling of the Court in Buchanan versus Warley, 245 U. S. 67, 70, Justice Holmes declared that the Fourteenth Amendment not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any State the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws.

" 'What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the Amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color ' "

"The statute of Texas in the teeth of the prohibition referred to, assume to forbid negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone," Justice Holmes continued. "States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case."

State Had Lost Sight of Case.

When the case was argued on Jan 4, no appearance was made in the Supreme Court in behalf of the defendant election officials, who had passed out of office.

Governor Dan Moody, then completing his term as Attorney General of Texas, was in the Supreme Court room during the argument, at the conclusion of which he informed the Court that the State had known nothing about existence of the suit until he found it on that day's assignment and obtained permission from the Court to file a brief.

This was later done by Attorney General Claude Pollard and D. A. Simmons, his First Assistant.

Interest in the Nixon suit was manifested by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters in New York, which

Governor Dan Moody was of the opinion that some legislation should be enacted authorizing Democratic Party committeemen to formulate rules to supplant the Texas statute prohibiting negro voting in Democratic primaries.

"Some legislation will be necessary to protect the ballot and give that guaranty of good government which would be almost negligible, since the voided statute was designed to bar negroes from Democratic primary elections.

"The same time they though the to vote even general election, although some offer," said Governor Moody. "Certainly the Legislature can give the negroes now qualify to vote in the Democratic Party Executive Committee power to primary issues in some sections as was seen here today by Democratic Party leaders as a result of United States Supreme Court's holding unconstitutional a Texas statute barring negroes from Democratic primary elections.

Plan New Party Rules in Texas.

AUSTIN, Texas, March 7 (AP).—Possibility that a solid nerro vote could counties have a preponderance of ne- practical effect in the general election ment would be few negroes

fix qualifications of primary voters. I take it that such a statute would not contravene the Fourteenth Federal Amendment."

D. W. Wilcox of Georgetown, Texas Chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee, strongly endorsed this view, but said he thought it impractical to attempt a meeting of the committee at present to discuss the matter.

Ruling Gratifies Negroes Here.

James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, said yesterday that he was happy to see the United States Supreme Court had declared the so-called "White Primary law" of Texas unconstitutional.

"We began our efforts to rid Texas negroes o this law years ago in El Paso," he said, "and have fought it through court after court. This is the first time we have been able to get a definite decision, and it is from the highest court in the land."

Mr. Johnson said that most Southern States have white primary systems, which keep the negroes from voting in the really important elections, but added that none of them were so "bald" as the Texas law in barring the negro from the primaries.

"I regard this decision as one of the most far-reaching since the Civil War," he said.

The Besieged Two Million

Texas democratic party leaders are violently perturbed by the Federal supreme court decision invalidating the anti-negro ban in the primary election law. They have conjured up ghosts out of a dim past and worked themselves into a frame of mind where they vision a sort of Alamo, desperately held by 2,000,000 eligible white democrats against the assaults of a handful of negro voters, not a hundred of whom would approach a democratic primary under any conceivable circumstances.

The belief that democratic white supremacy in any Texas county is threatened by invalidation of the law enacted during the first Neff regime is ludicrous.

An overwhelming majority of Texas negroes are republican in sympathy. The republican party, however, polled only a little more than 20,000 votes in its first Statewide primary, held last summer. This included a white republican strength of considerable proportions.

If the democratic party in Texas should bid strenuously for the negro vote, as it does in many Eastern and Middle Western color strongholds, white supremacy would not be in the slightest danger. Aside from a few professional agitators, Texas negroes are anxious to avoid any appearance of political controversy, and they take little interest in politics. In any one of the half dozen major Northern cities, a heavier negro vote is cast than in the whole of Texas.

Texas negroes have been free to vote in general elections for decades past. If the "white supremacy" bugaboo had a real basis, the colored votes would triumph in every local election held in a number of South and East Texas localities. Yet the only Texas district sending a republican to congress—the Fourteenth—has an insignificant negro population. And in counties where negro population outnumbers white, no republican has been chosen to a local office in many years.

The anti-negro ban killed by the supreme court was merely one useless and senseless provision in a primary election law full of glaring faults. There is no public necessity for such a measure and it never should have been enacted in the first place, since the democratic party was in no possible danger of being even annoyed by the presence of negro voters at democratic primaries.

A negro voter at a democratic polling place would rank as a curiosity, rather than a menace.

Instead of wasting time and energy to guard against a wholly mythical danger, democratic party leaders in Texas well might use their talents to revise our faulty elective system in order that real and formidable perils to free government might be removed. They might, if they would scrap all that part of the direct primary that the supreme court decision did not affect, and restore party control to party organizations.

In so far as negro participation in democratic primaries is concerned, it is a trivial matter, not deserving one-tenth of the furore it has created. The Post-Dispatch sees no reason why further efforts should be made to circumvent the United States Constitution in this regard, or why the ruling of the Federal supreme court should be evaded through new and useless makeshifts.—Houston Post-Dispatch.

DISFRANCHISEMENT IN SENATE FILIBUSTER.

The subject of the disfranchisement of the Negro vote in the South, which of late years has been so sedulously avoided by Democrats and Republicans alike, was again brought to the front as a ready means of helping out the filibuster against the investigation of the Senate elections of last fall. This filibuster was designed to prevent the Senate coming to a vote on the resolution to authorize the special committee headed by Senator Reed of Missouri, from continuing its investigation into the methods used in the election of the Republican Senators in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

The Washington correspondent of the New York World, in a special despatch, told how the filibuster was worked by minutes and hours. On Wednesday at 6.36 P.M., Senator Reed of Pennsylvania who with Senators Moses of New Hampshire and Wadsworth of New York, led the filibuster to use up the time of the session without allowing a vote on the resolution, began another speech, reading 1926 election returns in Southern States, alleging disfranchisement of Negro vote and sought "to bait Southern Senators to reply and add to time wasted." At 7 A.M., the next morning, Senator Edge of New Jersey took up the disfranchisement question where the Pennsylvania Senator had left off. At 9 A. M., after a call for a quorum had been made and the absentees rounded up by the sergeant at arms, Senator Edge resumed his account of the Negro voting question in Texas.

This all goes to show that the members of the United States Senate are thoroughly conversant with the methods used to suppress the suffrage in the South, contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution and its amendments. But the only use they make of this knowledge is to proclaim these facts as a means of political controversy, so as to consume time in the carrying out of a filibuster. This has been the practice of the Senate since the time when James G. Blaine of Maine used his great influence to defeat the Force bill, which would have provided the means of enforcing the terms of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

Neither of the two Senators who spoke at such length to illustrate the manner in which the suffrage is suppressed in the Southern States, would father or support any practical measure to enforce the right of every citizen to cast a ballot and to have it honestly counted. All this talk about the suppression of the suffrage was merely to waste time and to prevent an investigation of the methods used to carry elections and primaries in such Northern States as Pennsylvania and Illinois. The whole point of the proceeding was that Republican Senators tamely acquiesce in the suppression of the suffrage in the South, because they mistakenly think that the votes of Negroes only are concerned. But Democrats are not so amenable, hence despite their own election practices in the South, they object to any manipulation of the vote against their interests in the States of the North. It is high time that Republican Senators and Representatives took a more serious view of this question of the suppression of the suffrage in the South. The use of money to influence elections in the North may constitute a grave evil and threaten the integrity of republican institutions, but it does not equal in its extent and gravity the menace to the nation involved in the permanent establishment of an oligarchy in the South. Through this means the whole government is placed in the power of a minority, whose rule is based on racial intolerance and domination by fraud and force at the polls. The subject is too serious to form the basis for farcical speeches in a Senatorial filibuster.

The denial of the vote to the Negro in the South reacted to the disadvantage of every member of the Senate, when it was made material for a filibuster, without any genuine intention to redress the wrong.

NEGRO IS SUING FOR PRIMARY VOTE

Washington, January 4.—(AP)—The question of the jurisdiction of the federal government over state primary elections was precipitated in the supreme court today in a case from Texas.

The appeal which was prosecuted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was regarded as vital importance in determining not only the franchise rights of negroes in Texas, but generally throughout the south. It was asserted by association counsel that should the Texas law be sustained, the negroes in the south would be effectively disfranchised by the state legislation restricting their rights in primaries. The association declared that in the south the real contest over candidates occurs in the primaries and that the general elections are merely perfuctory.

L. A. Nixon, of El Paso, a negro who had for years voted the democratic ticket, was refused permission to vote in the democratic primaries under the law of 1923, which prohibited negroes from voting in democratic primaries. He brought suit against the election officials which the trial court dismissed on the ground that the state law relating to primaries did not present a federal question.

The election officials did not present any defense on the appeal and were not represented in the court today by counsel. Attorney General Moody, who is soon to become governor of the state, obtained permission from the court to file a brief on behalf of the state, defending the validity of the law, and questioning federal jurisdiction.

Political - 1927

Suffrage.

Texas, (White Press.)

NEWS.

Champaign -

MAR 24 1927

TEXAS PRIMARY LAW DECISION DEBATED ON SEVERAL GROUNDS

Decision by the United States supreme court that the Texas law forbidding negroes to vote in Democratic primaries is unconstitutional has been followed by nationwide discussion of several issues which are involved. It is contended by some papers that federal action on the Texas control of primaries is a blow to state's rights. Many southern comments indicate a tendency to return to the convention system as a means of accomplishing the exclusion that was attempted by the Texas law. The establishment of the primary as an essential part of the process of election is accepted as strengthening the senate's rights in the Vare and Smith cases.

Referring to the fact that "Texas enacted into law what has been standard custom in the southern states for a long time," the Sioux City Tribune (Ind.) says: "This decision is important to every southern state, in that it opens the way to contest attempts to prohibit colored voters from voting as they please in primaries. It is doubtful if any determined attack on the standard custom will be launched, so long as no law is enacted to enforce the restriction. Texas Democrats are quoted as making plans to accomplish the same result in some other way. The way is likely to be found." The Tribune adds that "more important, however, is the implication in this decision that the supreme court will uphold attempts by the government to extend the corrupt practices act to cover the conduct of state primaries in which aspirants for national offices are selected. . . . In view of this Texas case decision, senators and representatives at Washington are going to insist that their right to inquire into primary practices be recognized."

"The state of Texas certainly does not have the right," agrees the Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Ind.-Dem.), "to formulate membership qualifications for a political party. Such a right would give the state power to declare that there should be but one political party or none at all. The state was exceeding its authority in more ways than the supreme court pointed out, when it formulated the statute complained of." That paper, however, feels that "unless some way is found to keep Democratic primaries free of negro votes, the Democratic party in Texas will likely be disposed to do away with the primary law and return to the convention system, under which exclusion of negroes was legal."

"The decision may demand," according to the Raleigh News and Observer (Dem.), "that primaries be conducted by party associations outside the law or by conventions or other methods in which no governmental power is invoked. If so, the legalized primary might have to be abandoned. Certainly the south will make a way or find one, within the law, by which nominations in Democratic primaries will be controlled by white voters." The Indianapolis News (Ind.) also believes that "in view of conditions in Texas, much was to be said for the law as a way to keep the naming of party candidates within party ranks. The supreme court held in the matter that the constitution protects citizens from discrimination in voting laws on account of color. It is within the rights of the state to lay down qualifications of their voters, but color has nothing to do with them. This is obvious as a principle of government," concludes the News.

"There are some who think that the need of a white primary has long since passed," remarks the Savannah Press (Dem.), "but the Press cannot take this view. For years yet the primary should be protected and maintained in Georgia. There have been instances where Democratic candidates have brought colored voters into the primary and tried to influence the election that way." The Atlanta Constitution (Dem.) adds that "whatever changes in state primary laws the decision may make necessary will be made with the view of preserving white supremacy. This will always continue, as now, but under laws that will be constitutional." As to the question of throwing open the white man's primary, the Abilene Reporter (Ind.-Dem.) avers that "the people of Texas and the south will not tolerate any such condition."

"The distinctions in the south which keep the negro from voting are in no sense legal, but sociological," declares the Danville Register (Ind.-Dem.), with the contention that "the negro has no place in southern politics, and never has had, and doubtless never will have. . . . Even in the north the negro takes no interest in politics, he does not think politically, and the force of precedent against him is an insuperable barrier." The Columbia Record (Dem.) adds: "Practically speaking, the negroes have not often entered the Democratic primary in this state for the obvious reason that they are not Democrats. Such being the case, they are automatically not qualified to vote there." The Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch remarks that "comparatively few colored persons have ever sought to vote in Democratic primaries in Virginia."

The New York Times (Ind.-Dem.) holds that the Texas law was "quite needless;" that "there cannot be enough Democratic negroes in Texas to trouble the party managers." With this statement the Houston Chronicle (Ind.) is in agreement "and most Texans," it remarks, "marvel that it was ever put on the statute books by a legislative body familiar with the constitution." The Dallas News (Ind.-Dem.) adds that "the specter of negro domination in Texas is utter foolishness. It is likely to become more and more foolish as the proportion of what population continues to rise." The News, however, feels that "it is not unlikely that the advocacy of the convention method will have gained ground by reason of the reaction to the supreme court's ruling." In this connection the Port Arthur News (Ind.-Dem.) points out that "three of the nine members of the supreme court are old-school Democrats. McReynolds was born in Tennessee; Butler in Minnesota; Brandeis in Kentucky. All nine of the justices, full membership voted to knock out the Texas statute."

The St. Joseph News-Press (Ind.) states that "in this decision is seen the possibility of further encroachment of federal authority upon the natural functions of the state." The Rock Island Argus (Ind.) asserts that "the extension of the powers of the federal government over the internal affairs of sovereign states is becoming a menace." On the other hand, the Duluth Herald (Ind.), taking into account both the Texas law and the cases "where spending in the primary contests exceeds the speed limit fixed by national laws," says that "no cry of 'state's rights' can be anything but humorous in this connection, for a state's right to keep people from the polls because of their color, or to let unprincipled politicians spend money like water to control elections corruptly, are not rights that anybody is bound to respect."

"At Washington they are piqued," remarks the Louisville Courier-Journal (Dem.) "by the court's dictum that inviolable civil rights go back of the general election to the business of choosing candidates. This is a theory they can't quite square with the 5-to-4 decision in the Newberry case. . . . Senators-elect Smith of Illinois and Vare of Pennsylvania are interested in that. The opposition to their taking their seats rests on the manner and methods of their nominations. They were depending on the Newberry opinion to support their contention. . . . Now the supreme court recognizes a primary just as if it were an election."

The Lexington Leader (Rep.), Winston-Salem Journal (Ind.-Dem.), Santa Barbara News (Ind.-Dem) Christian Science Monitor (Ind.), Chicago Tribune (Ind.-Rep.), New York Sun (Ind.), and Reno Gazette (Rep.), also find support in the decision for federal jurisdiction over primaries. In opposition to this view the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times (Rep.) argues: "The sense of the opinion is that while states may regulate primaries, their regulations may not be discriminatory on account of race." A similar stand is taken by the Fargo Forum (Rep.).

Negro Primary Vote Seen If New Charter Is Put on Ballots

Negroes would have been legally entitled to vote in the city democratic primary May 25, if city council had added the proposed city manager charter proposal to the primary ballot, Councilman Hall York, of the sixth, contended Tuesday. Mr. York was one of the opponents to setting a date without first having the request that the charter election be placed on the ballot considered by the charter revision committee of city council.

"Council could not take such a step," Mr. York said. "It would have meant the disruption of the primary. Every citizen under the law is entitled to vote on the kind of government he is to live under.

"There would be only two possible results if the primary ballots carried the charter election provision—negroes would vote or, denied the privilege, would go into court and prevent the election on the ground that they have a right to cast their ballots on the form of government they are to live under."

Constitution

INDEPENDENT

Shreveport Times

MAR 25

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE

Again the right of the state to deprive a person of political rights on account of color has come to the front. Texas passed a law in 1923 prohibiting negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. Negroes under the Federal Constitution have the right to participate in state primaries and cannot be deprived of that privilege by state laws, was the decision of the Supreme Court last week in the case of L. A. Nixon, who, under a state statute, was prevented from voting in a Democratic primary at El Pasco, Texas, at which both federal and state candidates were selected. It is thought that this decision will have some influence over the much mooted question of federal jurisdiction over primaries, raised in the Smith and Vare case from Illinois and Pennsylvania.

BLADE
TOLEDO, O.

MAR 14 1927

Viewed Satirically

THE DEMOCRATIC party in Texas is not in any danger of going on the rocks as result o the recent decision rendered by the United State supreme court. The law declared unconstitutiona was the one forbidding Negroes to vote at Demo cratic primaries. Referring to the decision, the Houston Post-Dispatch takes this satirical attitude:

> "The Democratic party must be sure to find a way to keep Negroes out of our Democratic primaries. Unless some strong method, consistent with the principles of free government, can be devised, there is grave danger that some day as many as seventeen Negroes might attempt to enter our primaries and swamp our 1,000,000 or so patriots."

There is nothing in the decision for either the North or the South to get excited about. Now that the decision is in his favor, the colored citizen who wanted to vote at a Democratic primary may make up his mind that he would rather not be a Democrat.

REPUBLICAN
SCRANTON, PA.

MAR 9 1927

An Important Decision

The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered an important election decision, and at the same time opened the doors to a flood of debate.

In Texas by law it seems that negroes were barred from the Democratic primaries. The ruling now rendered is that although the primary law is a state law, and not mentioned in the Constitution, it cannot contradict the Constitution of the United States in the election of Senators and Representatives in Congress, and since the Constitution explicitly protects the negroes in voting, the primary is to all intents a part of the election of Congressmen. We deem this sound logic and sound Constitutional law.

The debate is over this question: Does not this decision give the Senate the right to exercise the same control over the primary expenses in the cases of Mr. Vare and Colonel Smith that it could exercise over the general election had there been a scandalous expenditure at the election of either of these Senators-elect?

That is, does not the decision place all primary elections for Senators and Representatives a part of the general election as viewed by the Federal government, removing from State control such primary elections?

Those intent on rejecting Messrs. Vare and Smith say so.

But this is a point we do not see mentioned elsewhere, and we advance it without any desire to be a party to the controversy about to become heated.

Congress has passed laws covering general elections and limiting expenditure. It has not done so in respect to primaries. This decision, at most, gives Congress the inferred right to pass such laws. Would not use of this decision in the Vare-Smith cases be parallel to invoking an ex post facto law? Using a decision just now made to cover a case occurring last Summer, before Congress was aware that it could legislate for primaries?

STAR

Anniston, Ala

MAR 24 1927

Texas Primary Law Decision Debated On Several Grounds

Decision by the United States Supreme Court that the Texas law forbidding negroes to vote in Democratic primaries is unconstitutional has been followed by nationwide discussion of the several issues which are involved. It is contended by some papers that Federal action on the Texas control of primaries is a blow to states' rights. Some Southern comments indicate a tendency to return to the convention system as a means of accomplishing the exclusion that was attempted by the Texas law. The establishment of the primary as an essential part of the process of election is accepted as strengthening the Senate's rights in the Vare and Smith cases.

"The State of Texas certainly does not have the right," agrees the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, "to formulate membership qualifications for a political party. Such a right would give the state power to declare that there should be but one political party or none at all. The state was exceeding its authority in more ways than the Supreme Court pointed out, when it formulated the statute complained of." That paper, however, feels that "unless some way is found to keep Democratic primaries free of negro votes, the Democratic party in Texas will likely be disposed to do away with the primary law and return to the convention system, under which exclusion of negroes was legal."

"The decision may demand," according to the Raleigh News and Observer "that primaries be conducted by party associations outside the law or by conventions on other methods in which no governmental power is invoked. If so, the legalized primary might have to be abandoned. Certainly the South will make a way or find one, within the law, by which nominations in Democratic primaries will be controlled by white voters."

"There are some who think that the need of a white primary has long since passed," remarks the Savannah Press "but the Press cannot take this view. For years yet the primary should be protected and maintained in Georgia. There have been instances where Democratic candidates have brought colored voters into the primary and tried to influence the election in that way." The Atlanta Constitution adds that "whatever changes in state primary laws the decision may make necessary will be made with the view of preserving white supremacy. This will always continue, as now, but under laws that will be constitutional."

"The distinctions in the South which keep the negro from voting are in no sense legal, but sociological," declares the Danville Register, with the contention that "the negro has no place in Southern politics, and never has had, and doubtless never will have. * * * Even in the North the negro takes no interest in politics, he does not think politically, and the force of precedent against him is an insuperable barrier." The Columbia Record adds: "Practically speaking, the negroes have not often entered the Democratic primary in this state, for the obvious reason that they are not Democrats. Such being the case, they are automatically not qualified to vote there." The Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch remarks that 'comparatively few colored persons have ever sought to vote in Democratic primaries in Virginia."

The New York Times holds that the Texas law was "quite needless"; that "there cannot be enough Democratic negroes in Texas to trouble the party managers." With this statement the Houston Chronicle is in agreement "and most Texans," it remarks, "marvel that it was ever put on the statute books by a legislative body familiar with the Constitution." The Dallas News adds that "the specter of negro domination in Texas is utter foolishness. It is likely to become more and more foolish as the proportion of white population continues to rise." The News, however, feels that "it is not unlikely that the advocacy of the convention method will have gained ground by reason of the reaction to the Supreme Court's ruling."

"At Washington they are piqued," remarks the Louisville Courier-Journal "by the court's dictum that inviolable civil rights go back of the general election to the business of choosing candidates. This is a theory that can't quite square with the 5-to-4 devision in the Newberry case. * * * Senators-elect Smith of Illinois and Vare of Pennsylvania are interested in that. The opposition to their taking their seats rests on the manner and methods of their nominations. They were depending on the Newberry opinion to support their contention * * * Now the Supreme Court recognizes a primary just as if it were an election."

PUBLIC LEDGER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MAR 8 1927

TEXAS HAS SOME ODD LAWS, one of which, forbidding Negroes to vote at Democratic primaries, has just been overruled by the United States Supreme Court. This decision has a double interest. It definitely establishes the fact that a primary is an election and therefore is governed by the Fifteenth Amendment establishing the right of citizens to vote without abridgement by any State "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." But the ruling has an added interest because of its possible application to the question of the jurisdiction of the Congress over primary elections, in cases involving the qualifications of members of either House. Unless Federal laws concerning elections specifically exclude the primaries it would seem that this ruling confirms the right of the Senate or House to investigate the conduct of primary elections.

SCRANTON, OHIO REPOSITORY

MAR 14 1927

PRIMARY POWER

Washington, March 14.—(Cosmos to Rep.)—A judicial landmark with important political consequences was seen in the recent Supreme Court ruling by which the Texas law barring Negroes from voting in a Democratic primary election in that state was held to be a violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. This is believed to be the first time that this body has given a decision on a clear issue of the rights of Negroes, as set forth by amendments to the Constitution adopted after the Civil War. In the opinion read by Justice Holmes, it was said that the "law in the States shall be the same for the black and the white." The decision raised the interesting legal question as to whether the door was open for Federal regulation of primaries in national elections. But it will be remembered that the Supreme Court when it reversed the conviction of Senator Newberry, held by a bare majority that the word "elections" did not include primaries. That is, the court has declared that Congress has no power over primaries, and by the present decision it holds that preventing a citizen from voting in a primary is a violation of his rights.

Political - 1927

Texas, (White Press).

Suffrage

THE NEGRO'S RIGHT TO BE A DEMOCRAT

"DOES IT TAKE COLOR of the skin to make a Democrat? Isn't a man a Democrat who believes in the Jeffersonian principles of democracy?" The questions come from a newspaper in the capital of Texas, the Southern State whose law forbidding negroes to vote in a Democratic primary has just been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Such enthusiastic acceptance of the doctrine laid down by Mr. Justice Holmes is rare, but even in Texas we find no criticism of the Court's opinion, but rather suggestions that the Texas law was unwise, and that the matter of excluding undesirables from the party ranks might better be left to party officials whose decisions in a purely social matter can not be brought into conflict with the Constitution of the United States. From other Southern States come similar observations, coupled with hints that the Democratic party of the South knows how to keep its complexion pure white without benefit of unconstitutional legislation. In the North the judicial opinion that no State law may restrain a negro from being a Democrat if he so desires meets with considerable enthusiasm. *The Nation* finds here "a decision in the spirit of Massachusetts, in the abolitionist days of Justice Holmes's youth, when liberty was still a living part of the American tradition." The Brooklyn *Citizen* considers it "the most momentous decision the colored race has achieved in its fight for equal rights since the Civil War." For this, as the New York *Times* reflects, "is the first time that the Supreme Court has pronounced on a clear issue of the rights of black men, as compared with whites, under the constitutional amendments adopted after the Civil War." As *The Times* explains:

"A law barring the colored men from the Democratic primary was unnecessary and also offensive, and raised the constitutional issue in a way which, when fought through from the lower courts as it has been by the Association which has made a specialty of seeking to secure the rights of negroes through the courts, the Supreme Court could not avoid passing upon positively. This it has now done, and the result will be something like a judicial landmark, besides being big with political consequences."

Aside from the question of negro rights, the decision is of vast consequence, says the New York *Sun*, "because it links the legal relationship of the primary and the election." Senator Borah is quoted as saying: "The opinion indicates that the Federal Government has some authority over State primary elections." And political leaders in Washington, we read in the dispatches, are considering the case very carefully in connection with the Smith and Vare cases in Illinois and Pennsylvania.

It was on March 7, which happened to be the eve of his own eighty-sixth birthday, that Mr. Justice Holmes read his decision. He explained that the plaintiff, a negro citizen of El Paso, sued the election officials for $5,000 damages, because he was denied the right to vote in a 1924 Democratic primary, the denial being based on the State law providing that "in no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas." The justice cited precedents for the opinion that a suit for damage may be brought for denial of the right to vote and "the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result." That is the sentence which some press writers consider an assertion of Federal power over State primaries. Mr. Justice Holmes continued:

"We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment [involving the right to vote] because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth. That Amendment not only gave citizenship and the privileges of citizenship to persons of color, but it denied to any State the power to withhold from them the equal protection of the laws.

"The statute of Texas in the teeth of the prohibitions referred to assumes to forbid negroes to take part in a primary election, the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone. States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color can not be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set-up in this case."

What do they think about this extremely emphatic decision in the State of Texas? They are not altogether surprized, judging from the Texas newspaper comment that has reached us. The San Antonio *Express* gives this version of the origin of the law:

"Here in San Antonio, and elsewhere in Texas, not so many years ago, political bosses and their precinct workers herded negroes to the Democratic primary polls in July and voted them 'solid' in the familiar old way. Then in the following November the same negroes would vote the Republican ticket straight."

So the law quoted by Justice Holmes was enacted. But *The Express* "seriously questions whether the Democratic committees, State and county, let alone the commonwealth, may bar out negroes from their party primaries so long as the voting in such primaries actually is conducted under the regulation and protection of State laws, both civil and penal." For in this way the State does "take cognizance of party primaries, and thus do they become in effect a State concern." Similarly the Dallas *Times-Herald* finds in the decision an indication "that the primary is no longer regarded as an informal election held within a party for nominating candidates, but is looked upon by the courts as a full fledged election!"

"The fact that the State is being called upon to assist the party in nominating its candidates gives the courts the authority to say who shall vote for the nominees. Naturally, negroes are entitled to vote in an official election."

The same argument is made by the Dallas *News*, which thinks that the law in question is an infringement of the rights of political parties—and besides, "as a matter of fact, the specter of negro domination in Texas is utter foolishness." The Houston *Post-Dispatch* calls for the repeal of the whole law in question, as a "useless and senseless provision in a primary election law full of glaring faults." Of course, says the Houston *Chronicle*, "no legislative body in America has the right to classify men by color or race in the passage of laws." In the opinion of the Fort Worth *Telegram*, the primary idea presents a serious difficulty, and the only solution may be a return to the convention system. Finally, we have the statement from the Austin *American*, quoted at the opening of this article, which indicates whole-hearted agreement with Mr. Justice Holmes and his colleagues.

Other Southern States do not seem to be greatly perturbed. Attorney-General Knox of Mississippi says the election laws of his State have been upheld by the United States Supreme Court, and that "in order to qualify for suffrage, a person must be able to read and write, and understand the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Mississippi." The Georgia primary law does not stipulate any color qualification," says former Senator Hoke Smith, in the New York *World*. "There is nothing in the primary laws of South Carolina specifically barring any duly qualified citizen from participating in a primary," explains the Charleston *News and Courier*. The same condition obtains in North Carolina, we read in the Raleigh *News and Observer*:

"Democratic committees unofficially invite only white voters, and no colored voters have presented themselves in Democratic primaries. If they should try to take part in the Democratic primaries in Southern States, where there is a large negro population, the Democrats would undoubtedly abandon a legalized primary as the method for making nominations."

But whatever changes are made in the primary laws of Southern States, "will be with the view of preserving white supremacy"; this, declares the Atlanta *Constitution*, "will continue as now and under laws that are constitutional."

THE Supreme Court has handed down an important decision declaring unconstitutional the Texas law which forbids Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries. As everyone knows, the Democratic primary in Texas is more important than the final election itself, and refusal to permit Negroes to vote in the former amounted to disfranchisement. This is substantially the view of the Court, which, in a decision read by Mr. Justice Holmes, held the statute unconstitutional on the ground that it contravenes the Fourteenth Amendment, as well as the Fifteenth. Needless to say, the victory for the Negro is more apparent than real. Texas will undoubtedly find some other way to maintain this disfranchisement. Every other southern state continues to keep the polls for the white race, either by property and literacy qualifications or by intimidation. No other state, however, so brazenly admitted the existence of the humiliating condition as did Texas. Aside from its importance as setting a precedent of federal authority over state primaries, the Supreme Court decision will break down one more barrier to the growing racial self-respect of the Negro.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.
Tribune
MAR 9 1927

An Important Opinion

The Supreme Court's opinion in regard to Negroes participating in Democratic primaries in Texas is important not as it refers to the political status of the colored people below the Mason and Dixon line but in its possible bearing upon the Vare and Smith cases.

The Supreme Court unanimously declared that the Texas law which barred Negroes from voting in a Democratic primary was unconstitutional. This opinion is regarded by men like Borah as an indication of the decision the Supreme Court will render when and if the Smith and Vare cases come before it for action. Defenders of Smith and Vare say that Congress has no control over the primaries, that they are purely a State affair and that to interfere with them is a violent usurpation of State rights. They grant that Congress has control over elections. Senator Borah, however, holds that a primary is an integral part of an election, a step in the process of the electoral system, and that if Congress has power to supervise and regulate elections it also has the power over the primary. As the primary is a comparatively new feature, its relation to the electoral system is yet to be clarified, and it is expected that the Smith-Vare cases will be important for that reason.

The Supreme Court's interference in the State affairs of Texas is interpreted as a forerunner of a later declaration that Congress can interfere in other primaries.

Anybody who knows political conditions in the South appreciates that the whites will find other methods, within the law, to prevent the blacks from having the ballot. The blacks have won a moral victory, but they have not won the ballot. In theory the blacks are equal before the law with the whites, but in practice the theory falls to the ground. The various Attorneys General of the several Southern States, in response to inquiries as to what effect the Supreme Court's opinion would have upon the Negro votes, saw nothing in it to threaten white supremacy and absolute control of the ballot bax.

There are many ways in which the Negroes are shut off from the primary franchise. In Mississippi they are disqualified because they do not pay poll taxes and in case they do pay they must be able not only to read the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Mississippi but to interpret them as well. As the test is given by men who do not want the Negro to have the vote it is a simple matter to declare candidates ineligible. In Georgia a voter must have paid all taxes due since 1877 and also be able to read and interpret the Constitution. In South Carolina the voters, if old enough, must have voted for Wade Hampton in 1876.

The Texas law was more explicit than any of these circumventions. It plainly declared that Negroes could not vote. Texas now will merely enact some rigid test and the Negro's status will remain the same.

Supreme Court opinions will not give the Negro the vote in the South —not so long as the white men down here are willing to use, if necessary, the shot gun to keep him away from the polling booth.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

MAR 10 1927

AN INVITED SLAP.

It is difficult to see how Texas got away with its foolish, faulty, unconstitutional election law so long as it did. The statute specifically barring the negro from voting in a Democratic primary election because he was a negro could not be justified on any common sense grounds as complying with the American Constitution, and we are glad the court of last resort hit it with its legal maul with emphatic scorn.

The primary election is not mentioned, of course in the cardinal law of the land, but that charter never, until later police amendments were tacked on to it, presumed to do more than assure the same fundamental rights to citizens. The negro was made a citizen by the Fourteenth amendment and the Fifteenth amendment specifically gave him all the rights of citizenship enjoyed by any other citizen.

The individual States are not allowed to pass laws in gross conflict with the Constitution of all the States, and States are presumed to understand that principle when they undertake to legislate on matters purely of concern to the State. The Texas statute, it appears, kicked the negro voter out of the polling booth of the Democratic party, not because he was of opposite political faith, but because he was of a different color.

States, of course, have constitutional rights to enact election laws, but such laws must not eliminate the rights of one citizen taxpayer and grant that right to another. All must stand alike, and right and reason are on that side of the fence. It has been our belief that States have the inalienable right to make laws providing how all citizens may lawfully vote, and forbidding the right to those who do not comply with such reasonable regulations.

For example, there is nothing in the South Carolina primary law that prevents the negro from participation in elections, providing he qualifies for the ballot as any other citizen must qualify. There are certain rules provided for participation of Democrats and Republican voters to participate in primary elections for public officers. These have to do with certain taxes in some States, with certain educational qualifications in others.

Practically speaking, the negroes have not often entered the Democratic primary in this State, for the obvious reason that they are not Democrats. Such being the case they are automatically not qualified to vote there. As a rule Republicans have no candidates in this State in the primaries, and hence the rank and file of the black vote stays out of the primary. The politicians in Northern States, where the negro vote holds the balance of power, hold up South Carolina's one sided primary to scorn simply for home consumption.

We believe the law here is practically similar to the election law anywhere. If it had not been it would have been tested long ago. Texas is already taking steps to delete the manifestly biased features of its election laws and we congratulate it for it. It would have been much better for the country, however, if it had taken that step before it was driven to it by the Big Stick of the Federal Government.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD
MAR 9 1927

THE TEXAS DECISION.

The practical effect of the Supreme Court's decision in the Texas case on Negro voting in the South is likely to be nothing at all, in our time. Perhaps in future generations advances in education and improvements in economic status will increase the number of Southern Negroes who present and would overcome the barriers presented to political action on their part. But today the simple fact is that the vast majority of Southern Negroes believe that the white people are a dominant race which does not intend to allow them to exert any material influence in politics, and they have bowed to the inevitable.

The other Southern States have not depended in late years upon such legislation as that in Texas, which specifically debarred Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries. But only a handful of Negroes vote in any of those States, either in primary or general elections. Poll taxes have been set up as barriers in some States and intelligence tests in others. In the opinion of the most competent students of Southern politics, however, such barriers have become mere forms, and it is held that they all could be wiped away without serious possibility that Negroes would vote in appreciable numbers, for the reason that the great mass of Negroes have been put out of politics by the weight of white opinion and will, and they do not think politically.

But the decision may have practical, if indirect, bearing on the question whether the primary is part of the election. That question has become important because of the Smith and Vare cases. The Supreme Court could invalidate a primary election law, because of violation of the Constitution, without adjudging the primary to be an essential part of the election machinery. If a State undertakes to pass a primary law, the Supreme Court may require that it conform to the Constitution as it may require all other laws so to conform, and yet may not construe the primary to be a part of the election in the sense contemplated by the Constitution. But Senator Borah sees in the Texas decision a strong tendency in the other direction.

In view of the fact that in the proceedings in the Newberry case the contention was that a primary is an essential part of the process of election, it is altogether likely that Senator Borah and others of similar position will be strongly encouraged by the Texas decision. And while no serious attempt by Congress to regulate primary elections for members of that body may be attempted, the drive against Frank L. Smith and William S. Vare, whose nominations for Senator in Illinois and Pennsylvania are alleged to have been tainted with corruption, may be greatly stimulated, and efforts may be made to frame a corrupt practices act affecting Congressional primaries that will stand the Supreme Court's scrutiny.

COURIER
Portland Me
MAR 12 1927

Add to your list of men whom age cannot wither, that fine son of Massachusetts, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who with his 86 years of ripened judgment has this week (in which his birthday fell) written the Court's opinion declaring a Texas statute unconstitutional. The Lone Star legislature had enacted a law under which Negroes were prohibited from voting in Democratic primaries. The Supreme Court unanimously overthrows the statute as repugnant to the Fifteenth Amendment, giving Negroes the right to vote, and also to the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits the States making laws to abridge rights of citizens on account of race or color. "Though the primary is not mentioned in the Constitution, Federal jurisdiction is sufficient to bar the States from making primary laws out of harmony with the Constitution's guarantee of equal rights for the races." But what we started out to do was to direct attention to the fact that it is the oldest member of the Supreme Court who writes the opinion. Truly a G. O. M.

Political - 1927
Suffrage

MERIDEN, CONN.
Record
MAR 15 1927

Ballots And Bullets

The amazing thing about the supreme court decision sustaining the negro's right in Texas to participate in the Democratic primaries is not the decision itself but the fact that the courts were called upon to decide such a question. In most states it always has been taken for granted that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen of legal age the rights to vote if he pays his taxes, and that the guarantee is not made conditional on any qualifications as to race, religion or color.

Northerners, knowing of the laws and other more direct methods by which the negro is illegally disfranchised in certain Southern states, smile at the virtuous declamations of Southern congressmen against the "corrupt political practices" which "make a mockery of the ballot" in such gang-ridden Northern states as Pennsylvania and Illinois. They cannot conceive of a greater crime than one by which an American citizen is deprived of his "inalienable" right to vote.

Outlawing of the Texas primary law does not mean, one fears, the lowering of the last barrier against participation by members of the negro race in the Democratic primary in that state. All such barriers, theoretically, were torn down by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. If they have failed in their purpose, will a court decision do more?

Senator Blease, of South Carolina, endangered himself to expulsion from the Democratic senate caucus by giving expression to the thought that keeping voters away from the polls with shotguns hardly is less corrupt than buying votes and fraudently counting the ballots once they are cast.

WASHINGTON, D. C
Forum
MAR 19 1927

Maintain Supremacy of White Americans

UNDER a decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas primary law case, States may not by law forbid negroes from participating in primary elections held under the direction of the political parties Texas had enacted a law forbidding negroes from voting in Democratic primaries. The law is held unconstitutional. Under the Supreme Court's ruling, no primary restrictions may be made by the States which relate to race or color.

Of course, believing in constitutional law, all good Americans will accept the Supreme Court's decision, far-reaching and, in some respects, almost revolutionary though it may be. But we suggest that there is another method by which white supremacy may be continued in the South and by which, at the same time, Northern States may prevent an ever more dangerous element from voting in primaries and elections. We of course refer to aliens.

There are literacy or educational tests which can be applied, and which are being applied in many States at this time. They have met the test of the courts, and if the laws are carefully and properly written, they will not only prevent ignorant and superstitious negroes from holding the balance of power in the South, but they will prevent aliens in Northern and Eastern States from wielding the influence in primaries and elections they now exert in some places. While we will not go so far as to advocate an amendment to the Constitution restricting the right of suffrage to native-born Americans, we believe that, so far as the ordinary run of the "foreign bloc" vote is concerned, such a restriction might be a good thing and go a long way towards re-establishing an American atmosphere in our large cities.

There can be no doubt but that the South will find a way to maintain White Supremacy. If the North and East would find a way to maintain American supremacy, how much better off all of us would be.

Texas. (White Press)

NEWS
Huntington
Bulletin
MAR 25 1927 - Ed

The Texas Primary Law.

A RECENT decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declared the law preventing negroes from voting at Democratic primary elections in Texas unconstitutional. Consequently if there are any colored men who desire to vote the Democratic ticket in the Lone Star State they can do so, that is, figuratively speaking, anyway, whether they actually do so or not.

However, this decision of the highest tribunal in the land makes but little difference in the real political status of the colored voter in Texas, or other southern states largely populated by negroes, as they will probably not be permitted to vote in the future, just as this privilege has been denied them in the past.

Colored citizens have not voted in Dixie, as a rule since reconstruction days following the Civil war, and it will no doubt be some years yet before they will visit the polls on election day, as those of their race do in the northern and western states.

All negroes are supposed to be Republicans, and in the south, all whites are supposed to be Democrats. And the negro question accounts for the fact that the southern states have been Democratic since the rebellion. But most of them were Democrats before the Civil war, as the southern wing of that party was composed largely of slave holders, who dictated most of the presidential nominations, up to 1860 when Stephen A. Douglass of Illinois, was nominated over their protests. Then they held a convention themselves and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, and this split resulted in the election of Lincoln, the Republican candidate, one who had denounced slavery most of his life.

While the Constitution of the United States guarantees the political liberty of its citizens, it is only enforced relative to colored citizens, where a majority of the white population desire it. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted for the specific purpose of preventing the negro from being disfranchised, but it has failed to do so. The negroes of the south will vote when a majority of the white population say that they can do so and not before, no matter what legislation may be passed by congress. Most of the negroes in the south would say that they did not want to vote if asked why they do not vote, because they would be afraid to make any other statement.

NEWARK, N. J.
Star
MAR 9 1927

Negro Voting Rights

Southern States which have enacted legislation against the participation of Negro voters in elections may have some real thinking to do on the question following the decision of the United States Supreme Court, which nullifies a statute which prohibited colored voters from taking part in Democratic primaries. The decision, it is claimed by representative Negroes, affects about 370,000 persons of voting age. In the census of 1920, Texas had a Negro population of 741,694 among a total population of 4,663,228.

Exact pertinence of the decision is still to be reasoned out, but in any case the ruling may become ancillary, if not a basis for the test of statutes of a similar nature in other States which restrict the franchise on color lines. The decision is confined to the specific statute, which was so frankly and directly declaratory against the rights of Negroes that it was designated "bald." In other States the process of Negro debarment is more serpentinely shrewd.

Now that this law has been negatived, the Texas Legislature will devise some other scheme to curtail rights of Negroes. Sentiment in Texas and other Southern States is applied against Negroes as a race, not as members of a party. The complainant in the case which brought the decision was a physician, an educated Negro, and one who testified he had voted the Democratic ticket for many years. While the Negroes as a race, men and women, could not control a State election, there are counties where they could dominate if they voted on racial lines.

Though claims are made by some that the decision implies an alteration of that in the Newberry case, in which the Supreme Court ruled the federal government had no control over primaries, the contention seems very doubtful. Justice Holmes' opinion dealt only with the application of the fourteenth amendment, which denies to any State the right to enact legislation that would withhold equal protection of the laws from all citizens.

This restraint, which is characteristic of the Supreme Court, may lessen in

portance of the ruling ultimately, but it will, nevertheless, add to the difficulty of continuing racial discrimination. To that extent it marks an advance in the progress of the Negro to attainment of rights he is supposed to possess.

RICHMOND, VA.

MAR 8 1927

THE TEXAS CASE WILL NOT AFFECT THE NEGRO VOTE.

Except in a few localities, where the control of county or city offices may be involved in factional fighting, the decision of the supreme court that invalidates the Texas "white man's" primary will have little immediate effect on the South. In the present state of his political thinking, the Southern negro is as incurably a Republican as the white man is a Democrat, and he will not speedily abandon his party for the privilege of participating in the Democratic primary which, the court declares, cannot be closed to him by reason of his color. Even where politicians line up negroes for a local primary, their vote will rarely be sufficient to influence the general result, if for no other reason than that the laws which bar the negro from the general elections will disqualify him for the primaries. Only in rare instances will the prospect of voting in the primary induce the negro to pay his poll-tax in time. Ultimately there may be a realignment, especially if the white Republicans of the South hold to their "lily-white" policy, but the shift of the negroes to the Democratic party, if it ever comes, will be very slow.

Nor is the movement for liberalizing the ballot in the South apt to be affected one way or the other by this decision. Among liberals, the feeling is that the South is paying much too heavy a price for the exclusion of the negro from the franchise. In getting what traditionally is styled "white supremacy" the South has inflicted office-holders' supremacy upon itself. Along with the negroes, so many thousand white men have been disqualified that it is easy for office-holders, state or local, to control elections. It is better, in the judgment of many Southern people, to take the risks of a larger negro vote than to have the white vote progressively limited by the electoral laws and by the decline of interest where only one party exists. It was to this feeling that the PRENTIS commission reacted, though to a very limited extent, in proposing that the prepayment of the poll-tax, as a requirement for voting, be limited to two years, instead of three, as at present. Practically, the requirement might have been brought down to one year with equal ease, for investigation will show that it is usually the current year's poll-tax on which the disqualified voter is delinquent. By the end of 1926, for instance he will have paid the poll-tax for 1925, because it will have been included in his real estate or personalty assessment, or else will have been collected in order that he might procure a hunting or other license.

Some who admit that the South is paying too heavy a price for the elimination of the colored man from politics meet all proposals for a larger franchise with the question, "What about the local elections in the 'black belt'?" They will perhaps be disposed to sharpen this argument now by arguing that the negroes may enter the local primary and, in some instances, determine the result. From what has been said already, the improbability of this should be apparent. Even if it were otherwise, it is perfectly possible to have a very generous electoral franchise for state and federal contests and, at the same time, to set up restrictions on the local franchise as severe as may be desired. In other words, it is quite within the constitution to "throw down the bars" so as to reestablish an opposition party in any Southern states, but to maintain such stiff requirements for participation in local elections that only property-holders can qualify. With this recourse always available, there is no real ground for apprehension that the negroes will ever again control even the "black belt," whether they participate in the primary or not.

CHRONICLE

Marion - Ind

MAR 10 1927

AN IMPORTANT DECISION

(The New York Times)

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, holding the Texas primary law unconstitutional in so far as it deprives a Negro of his right to vote in a Democratic primary, provided he can meet the other qualifications, is doubly important. It decides not only the immediate issue, but indicates what the decision of the court must be in other trials involving discriminatory legislation against colored men are got squarely before it. This, we believe, is the first time that the Supreme Court has pronounced on the clear issue of the rights of black men, as compared with whites, under the Constitutional amendments adopted after the Civil War.

THE TEXAS CASE

The United States Supreme Court's assault upon the Texas law providing that negroes cannot vote in white primaries is a fitting rebuke to statesmen who foist ill-digested laws upon the public, but means little else. It does not strike at the heart of the disfranchisement system in the South. It merely strikes down a statute which even to laymen seemed in contravention of the Constitution. Not satisfied with other methods of limiting the franchise, the Legislature of Texas in 1923 committed the folly of saying that persons of color could not vote in Democratic primaries. This is further than other States have gone, and further than Texas had before gone, and further than was ever at any time necessary.

Advertiser

The only Texas newspaper editorials on the decision of the court which we have seen indicate that the more judicious leaders of Texas are gratified at the outcome of this unnecessary legislation. Thus the Houston Post-Dispatch disposes of the matter in an ironical paragraph:

3-11-27

> The Texas democrats must be sure to find a way to keep negroes out of our democratic primaries. Unless some strong method, consistent with the principles of free government, can be devised, there is grave danger that some day as many as seventeen negroes might attempt to enter our primaries and swamp our 1,000,000 or so patriots.

Montgomery

The Beaumont Journal, another representative Texas newspaper, eschewing irony, talks directly and in plain terms. The Journal declares that "the Supreme Court of the United States has seldom done a better day's work than it did on Monday last when it declared unconstitutional the Democratic primary election law of Texas enacted in 1923."

Ala.

Continuing, The Journal says:

> That law scored the high-water mark of legislative folly that attempts to cure all evils by statute.
>
> The unanimous decision of the court points out the folly in this particular case with merciless acuteness. The court's opinion, read by Associate Justice Holmes, is a masterpiece of lucid reasoning. If it doesn't shame all lawmakers obsessed with the passion for statutory cure-alls, they are clearly beyond the hope of correction.
>
> Texans are not going to tear passions into tatters over what the supreme court has done.
>
> Everyone knows that the negro vote in this state constitutes no real peril to the democratic party, whether the negro vote be cast as democratic or as republican.
>
> What a Beaumont lawyer characterizes as "mouthing demagogues," may, as he predicts, "rise to the bait" offered them by the supreme court's decision. But democrats of sense or substance are not going to be swept off their feet by what these "mouthing demagogues" may yawp about this decision.
>
> The statute of 1923 was unnecessary as well as unconstitutional.
>
> Nothing like it will again be attempted in Texas or in any other state.
>
> And there will be no difficulty in safeguarding the purity of democratic ballots.
>
> The democratic party isn't half so insane as some of its self-styled "leaders" may imagine it is.
>
> Now for the day's work and the day's knitting, too!

Elsewhere in this issue of The Advertiser we print a review of legal opinion as to the possible effect of the decision upon the popular ballot in Alabama. It appears from this review that our lawyers generally do not think that the decision will have any effect upon the Democratic primary in Alabama. The Executive Committee of the party, while recognized by law, is not a State agency. It is believed to be free to say who may or may not participate in a Democratic primary. The Democratic primary in Alabama is equivalent to election by virtue of the overwhelming strength of the Democratic party.

Many negroes are qualified voters in Alabama; many have always voted, and an increasing number, under ordinary conditions, will exercise the privilege of the ballot. The great mass of them, however are not qualified voters, and for much the same reason that thousands of white citizens are not qualified voters. The cumulative polltax provision of the Constitution of 1901 has operated to restrict the ballot in this State. The force of this provision is in the circumstance that it provides that all back polltaxes must be paid by voters who are subject to the tax; that is to say, if a man was 21 years old in 1901, he must have paid his polltax for each year since to be qualified to vote in any election. If he is delinquent for any one year after he becomes subject to the tax, he is disqualified. As a rule negroes will not pay the tax, and the longer they neglect to do so, the greater the ultimate cost to them.

The polltax provision alone, perhaps more than other clauses of the Constitution, has tended to get negroes out of the habit of voting, and we again observe the force of settled custom. The average negro has simply ceased to think in political terms in the South.

But, as we say, thousands of white Alabamians are disqualified by the same excellent rule. They will not pay their poll-tax, especially after it becomes delinquent for more than one year. It is a good law, and will not be changed. The ballot goes by privilege rather than right. The ballot is not among the so-called natural rights. In its very nature it is a privilege, and has always been subject to limitation under every government known to man. Why should one object to paying $1.50 a year for the privilege of participating in government?

Virginia.

Political - 1927

Suffrage

NEGROES TURN ELECTION IN ARLINGTON, VA.

CLARENDON Va., Nov. 10—Eight hundred Negro voters, the balance of power in Arlington County politics, swung Tuesday's election into the Democratic column.

The Negro voters under the leadership of Dr. S. G. Holmes, Thomas M. Watson, Joseph M. Wormley, Noble N. Thomas, Mrs. Mary Harris, William Parker, Daniel Ferguson, William Pollard, Benjamin Scott, Mrs. Margaret Morton and Moses Dade, supported the Democratic ticket.

The Republicans and independents bitterly opposed Commonwealth's Attorney William C. Gloth and Sheriff Howard B. Fields. The Negro voters supported them, and they were re-elected over their opponents.

State Senator Frank L. Ball, Democrat, supported by the Negro voters, defeated Melvin J. Ely by a vote of 4,865 to 4,016. Hugh Reid, Democrat, was elected to the house of delegates in a three-cornered race. County Commissioner of Revenue defeated his Republican opponent, C. Eugene Doyle, 4 to 1. E. Wade Ball, county treasurer, was returned to the office which he has held for the past 20 years.

The Negro voters resented the intermeddling in Arlington county politics by Crandall Mackey, Washington attorney, and his raising of the Ku Klux Klan issue as a bugaboo to scare Negroes into supporting his candidates. The Republicans ignored the Negroes in the selection of their party candidates, and the Negro voters ignored them at the polls.

Political—1927

Virginia.

Suffrage

SOUTHERNER DECRIES USE OF BALLOTS

Urges Economics, Not Race, as Issue

Charlottesville, Va.—"Popular government in the South has been destroyed and there has been substituted in its stead self-perpetuating political oligarchies, controlled by the officeholding groups in the several states who are obedient to party organizations and use the agencies of government and taxing powers to maintain and control of these organizations," using national election returns to support this and similar contentions, Henry W. Anderson, internationally known lawyer of Richmond, declared at the Institute of Public Affairs recently held here.

UNFAIR CONSTITUTIONS USED BY SOUTH

The southerner in outlining the policies of the political South stated that the "solid South" is the outstanding anomaly of American politics. The anomaly grew up when the South, confronted with the necessity for preserving Anglo-Saxon institutions after the Civil war, regardless of past political affiliations, united to recover control of their state and local governments, the speaker stated. It required two decades to accomplish the task. Out of this alliance grew the eleven southern states which make up the solid South. Between 1895 and 1910 eight of the eleven states adopted new constitutions putting into effect stringent and discriminatory election laws.

"These new constitutions were made for avowed purpose of eliminating the Negro vote without violating the letter of the 15th amendment to the federal Constitution," the lawyer stated. The result of these discriminatory measures, Mr. Anderson observed," has been the loss of political freedom in the South. Politically, he said, the free expression of the will of the people in the South no longer exists. This condition of political stagnation is an obvious menace to the progress and security of the entire Union, and if continued cannot fail at some time to lead to consequences which will be as much deplored by the thoughtful people of the South as by those of other sections," said the speaker.

"Lincoln said that this republic could not exist one-half slave and the other half free," the speaker commented. "It is equally certain that it cannot exist indefinitely with one-fourth of the body politic in a state of political paralysis."

To remedy the situation, Mr. Anderson urged three reforms: Disposal of the race question as a political factor; liberalization of the election laws; and a revival of interest in public affairs to develop two effective political parties in the southern states. In seeking the solution of the race problem, Mr. Anderson said, facts and conditions should be considered as they are, and not as they were a half century ago.

SOUTH MUST AWAKE TO MODERN CHANGES

Recognition should be obtained of the fundamental changes in economic conditions in the South, of population shifts in the nation as a whole and likewise, he continued, of the fact that the social, economic and intellectual status of the Race has been "immediately improved." The black man, he held, has come to realize that his future is not in politics, and that political agitation of the race question only reacts to his injury.

Solution of the race question is not to be found in laws or political agitation, Mr. Anderson insisted, but by the creation and gradual evolution of social, educational, economic and religious organizations, through which the natural ambitions and desires of each race may be expressed and the people of each race trained for the ever-expanding duties of American citizenship. This must be brought about, the speaker warned, because "we cannot educate the Negroes and then suppress their legitimate development."

This would not only be cruelly unjust, but it would be highly dangerous to social order, he pointed out for the "educated mind has an explosive and dynamic force which must be given an outlet."

"The chief causes which gave rise to the political solidarity of the South no longer exist," Mr. Anderson said in closing." The race question is no longer a political factor, he asserted, and the old divergence of economic interests between the North and South is past. The southern states are rapidly changing from agricultural to industrial communities. True Americanism is not sectionalism, it is not intolerance or oppression in any form, but freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom in social, political and religious life.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGROES

Says South Disfranchises Whites By Disfranchising Negroes

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 25 (ANP)—According to a report made by the Associated Press, Col. Henry W. Anderson, a Republican leader in Virginia, and one time candidate for governor, declared before the Institute of Public Affairs at the Universty of Virginia, while making an address on the "Solid South" that "there are no real or effective political parties in the south today."

"The dominant party," he explained, consists of office holders and oligarchies in the several states which dictate its policies and select its candidates, while the development of a minority party is prevented by repressive and discriminatory laws."

He discussed the disfranchisement of the Negro and said: "The process of disfranchisement did not stop there. The machinery of discrimination, devised primarily for this purpose, was employed by the dominant party organization to effect a disqualification of a large proportion of the white population opposed to that organization, while unchallenged control o fone political group permitted or encouraged political corruption. As a result of these measures, the vote qualified or cast in the southern states has been so reduced that it includes only a small minority of the population. So small is this vote that the state and local authorities constitute or easily control a majority. Governors and other state officers are sometimes elected by less than ten per cent of the population of voting age."

POLITICAL FREEDOM HELD LOST

The politically solid south is thus maintained, but at the price of political freedom, he declared; popular government has been destroyed and there have been substituted for self-perpetuating political oligarchies, controlled by the office-holding groups in the several states, who are obedient to the party organizations and use the agencies of government and the taxing power to maintain the control of those organizations.

In comparing the vote of the 11 States of the solid south with that of 11states of the north and west with substantially the population, Col. Anderson showed that 1920 census figures indicated a 10 per cent vote to population for the south against a 33 per cent vote to population in the northern states selected.

"A spirit of intolerance, which is only to manifest in all parts of the Union, is especially acute in the states of the south, where the principles of political and religious liberty were once most vigorously maintained."

TIMES
ROANOKE, VA.

SEP 17 1927

GIVING VOTERS FROM THE POLLS.

The tape that now litters the path to the ballot box is what is keeping many excellent Virginia people from voting, according to a number of Virginia newspapers. It is the only reason that has been advanced why North Carolina, with approximately the same population, and with the same negro problem, should vote in the average election more than twice as many ballots as Virginia does. The simple fact is that at present only a very small fraction of the eligibles—less than one in ten of the total population in Virginia—takes the trouble to vote.

-The Richmond Times-Dispatch cites the case of a highly intelligent and cultivated woman who went to the polls but failed to get her ballot into the box. The three-year poll tax prerequisite was directly responsible though her taxes had been duly paid. The Times-Dispatch investigated the facts and gives them as follows:

"A business woman had been a resident of Clay Ward in 1924 and 1925 and had paid her poll taxes, as the voters list for that ward showed. The next year she moved to Lee Ward, and paid her taxes from a residence in that ward. An examination of the voters list of Lee Ward showed that she was credited with having paid her poll tax for 1926 in that ward, but not for 1924 and 1925."

Perhaps if she had taken the proper steps to get certificates she might have been able to demonstrate to the judges of election in the new ward to which she moved a year before that her poll taxes were paid for two years in her old ward, and for one year in the new, making the necessary three-year pre-payment. However she failed to satisfy the officers, and after being shunted from one precinct to another was finally deprived of her vote.

Commenting on this experience, the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch says:

"There is no doubt in our mind that the red tape which litters the path to the ballot box deters many people from treading therein. Therefore we ask again 'Might not a happy result be brought about in the increase of those who go to the polls by amending the law so as to collect poll taxes just as other taxes, the period of their payment to have no bearing upon the citizens' right to vote.'"

While looking for a cure why not wipe out our whole complicated system of registration and poll tax requirements, which in its actual operations has disfranchised many more white people than it has negroes, and substitute in its stead a simple literacy test that would bar the ignorant and the unfit. After it has once been determined what classes should be kept from the polls, the road to the ballot box for those really entitled to vote should be made as simple and as unobstructed as possible. Our present constitution is deliberately designed to place as many hurdles in the path of the voter as possible. Thus voting, for those eligible, which should be a simple thing requiring but little time, is made a tedious and difficult thing, requiring much delay and embarrassment. Thousands of intelligent people who have tried to vote have been driven from the polls by the present red tape and obstruction, and many of them will never return.

Political—1927

Virginia.

Suffrage

SOUTHERNER DECRIES USE OF BALLOTS

Urges Economics, Not Race, as Issue

Charlottesville, Va.—"Popular government in the South has been destroyed and there has been substituted in its stead self-perpetuating political oligarchies, controlled by the officeholding groups in the several states who are obedient to party organizations and use the agencies of government and taxing powers to maintain and control of these organizations," using national election returns to support this and similar contentions, Henry W. Anderson, internationally known lawyer of Richmond, declared at the Institute of Public Affairs recently held here.

UNFAIR CONSTITUTIONS USED BY SOUTH

The southerner in outlining the policies of the political South stated that the "solid South" is the outstanding anomaly of American politics. The anomaly grew up when the South, confronted with the necessity for preserving Anglo-Saxon institutions after the Civil war, regardless of past political affiliations, united to recover control of their state and local governments, the speaker stated. It required two decades to accomplish the task. Out of this alliance grew the eleven southern states which make up the solid South. Between 1895 and 1910 eight of the eleven states adopted new constitutions putting into effect stringent and discriminatory election laws.

"These new constitutions were made for avowed purpose of eliminating the Negro vote without violating the letter of the 15th amendment to the federal Constitution," the lawyer stated. The result of these discriminatory measures, Mr. Anderson observed," has been the loss of political freedom in the South. Politically, he said, the free expression of the will of the people in the South no longer exists. This condition of political stagnation is an obvious menace to the progress and security of the entire Union, and if continued cannot fail at some time to lead to consequences which will be as much deplored by the thoughtful people of the South as by those of other sections," said the speaker.

"Lincoln said that this republic could not exist one-half slave and the other half free," the speaker commented. "It is equally certain that it cannot exist indefinitely with one-fourth of the body politic in a state of political paralysis."

To remedy the situation, Mr. Anderson urged three reforms: Disposal of the race question as a political factor; liberalization of the election laws; and a revival of interest in public affairs to develop two effective political parties in the southern states. In seeking the solution of the race problem, Mr. Anderson said, facts and conditions should be considered as they are, and not as they were a half century ago.

SOUTH MUST AWAKE TO MODERN CHANGES

Recognition should be obtained of the fundamental changes in economic conditions in the South, of population shifts in the nation as a whole and likewise, he continued, of the fact that the social, economic and intellectual status of the Race has been "immediately improved." The black man, he held, has come to realize that his future is not in politics, and that political agitation of the race question only reacts to his injury.

Solution of the race question is not to be found in laws or political agitation, Mr. Anderson insisted, but by the creation and gradual evolution of social, educational, economic and religious organizations, through which the natural ambitions and desires of each race may be expressed and the people of each race trained for the ever-expanding duties of American citizenship. This must be brought about, the speaker warned, because "we cannot educate the Negroes and then suppress their legitimate development."

This would not only be cruelly unjust, but it would be highly dangerous to social order, he pointed out for the "educated mind has an explosive and dynamic force which must be given an outlet."

"The chief causes which gave rise to the political solidarity of the South no longer exist," Mr. Anderson said in closing." The race question is no longer a political factor, he asserted, and the old divergence of economic interests between the North and South is past. The southern states are rapidly changing from agricultural to industrial communities. True Americanism is not sectionalism, it is not intolerance or oppression in any form, but freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom in social, political and religious life.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGROES

Says South Disfranchises Whites By Disfranchising Negroes

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 25 (ANP)—According to a report made by the Associated Press, Col. Henry W. Anderson, a Republican leader in Virginia, and one time candidate for governor, declared before the Institute of Public Affairs at the Universty of Virginia, while making an address on the "Solid South" that "there are no real or effective political parties in the south today."

"The dominant party," he explained, consists of office holders and oligarchies in the several states which dictate its policies and select its candidates, while the development of a minority party is prevented by repressive and discriminatory laws."

He discussed the disfranchisement of the Negro and said: "The process of disfranchisement did not stop there. The machinery of discrimination, devised primarily for this purpose, was employed by the dominant party organization to effect a disqualification of a large proportion of the white population opposed to that organization, while unchallenged control o fone political group permitted or encouraged political corruption. As a result of these measures, the vote qualified or cast in the southern states has been so reduced that it includes only a small minority of the population. So small is this vote that the state and local authorities constitute or easily control a majority. Governors and other state officers are sometimes elected by less than ten per cent of the population of voting age."

POLITICAL FREEDOM HELD LOST

The politically solid south is thus maintained, but at the price of political freedom, he declared; popular government has been destroyed and there have been substituted for self-perpetuating political oligarchies, controlled by the office-holding groups in the several states, who are obedient to the party organizations and use the agencies of government and the taxing power to maintain the control of those organizations.

In comparing the vote of the 11 States of the solid south with that of 11states of the north and west with substantially the population, Col. Anderson showed that 1920 census figures indicated a 10 per cent vote to population for the south against a 33 per cent vote to population in the northern states selected.

"A spirit of intolerance, which is only to manifest in all parts of the Union, is especially acute in the states of the south, where the principles of political and religious liberty were once most vigorously maintained."

TIMES
ROANOKE, VA.

SEP 17 1927

KEEPING VOTERS FROM THE POLLS.

The tape that now litters the path to the ballot box is what is keeping many excellent Virginia people from voting, according to a number of Virginia newspapers. It is the only reason that has been advanced why North Carolina, with approximately the same population, and with the same negro problem, should vote in the average election more than twice as many ballots as Virginia does. The simple fact is that at present only a very small fraction of the eligibles—less than one in ten of the total population in Virginia—takes the trouble to vote.

The Richmond Times-Dispatch cites the case of a highly intelligent and cultivated woman who went to the polls but failed to get her ballot into the box. The three-year poll tax prerequisite was directly responsible though her taxes had been duly paid. The Times-Dispatch investigated the facts and gives them as follows:

"A business woman had been a resident of Clay Ward in 1924 and 1925 and had paid her poll taxes, as the voters list for that ward showed. The next year she moved to Lee Ward, and paid her taxes from a residence in that ward. An examination of the voters list of Lee Ward showed that she was credited with having paid her poll tax for 1926 in that ward, but not for 1924 and 1925."

Perhaps if she had taken the proper steps to get certificates she might have been able to demonstrate to the judges of election in the new ward to which she moved a year before that her poll taxes were paid for two years in her old ward, and for one year in the new, making the necessary three-year pre-payment. However she failed to satisfy the officers, and after being shunted from one precinct to another was finally deprived of her vote.

Commenting on this experience, the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch says:

"There is no doubt in our mind that the red tape which litters the path to the ballot box deters many people from treading therein. Therefore we ask again 'Might not a happy result be brought about in the increase of those who go to the polls by amending the law so as to collect poll taxes just as other taxes, the period of their payment to have no bearing upon the citizens' right to vote.'"

While looking for a cure why not wipe out our whole complicated system of registration and poll tax requirements, which in its actual operations has disfranchised many more white people than it has negroes, and substitute in its stead a simple literacy test that would bar the ignorant and the unfit. After it has once been determined what classes should be kept from the polls, the road to the ballot box for those really entitled to vote should be made as simple and as unobstructed as possible. Our present constitution is deliberately designed to place as many hurdles in the path of the voter as possible. Thus voting, for those eligible, which should be a simple thing requiring but little time, is made a tedious and difficult thing, requiring much delay and embarrassment. Thousands of intelligent people who have tried to vote have been driven from the polls by the present red tape and obstruction, and many of them will never return.

News
Suffolk · Va.
SEP 19 1921

MAKE VOTING EASIER

"Red tape that now litters the path to the ballot box is what is keeping many excellent Virginia people from voting, according to a number of Virginia newspapers," says the Roanoke Times. "It is the only reason that has been advanced why North Carolina, with approximately the same population, and with the same negro problem, should vote in the average election more than twice as many ballots as Virginia does. The simple fact is that at present only a very small fraction of the eligibles—less than one in ten of the total population in Virginia—takes the trouble to vote."

The prime object of calling the last constitutional convention and the adoption of the section restricting suffrage was to assure continued white rule in the counties where there was a preponderant colored population. But like most laws of a restrictive nature, this one has proven a double-edged sword. It has eliminated the colored voter, but in doing so it has reduced the electorate among both white and colored. It must be admitted that even in the so-called "black belt" there is no longer a "Negro problem," because there is no political party that can longer herd them like sheep at the ballot box and induce them to vote for any party candidate. Public sentiment more than law has brought about a condition that removes the Negro as a political factor. So much for intelligence.

The privilege of the ballot is hedged about with so much red tape and form that people refuse to qualify themselves to vote or if they do, fail to comply with the law and are consequently disfranchised. The payment of poll tax as a prerequisite to vote should be abolished or at least provide for no longer period than sixty days prior to an election. But the policy savors of placing a price upon the privilege of the ballot which in some manner destroys the full meaning of what we refer to proudly as an "American sovereign." The Roanoke contemporary concludes its remarks as follows:

"When looking for a cure why not wipe out our whole complicated system of registration and poll tax requirements, which in its actual operations has disfranchised many more white people than it has negroes, and substitute in its stead a simple literacy test that would bar the ignorant and the unfit. After it has once been determined what classes classes should be kept from the polls, the road to the ballot box for those really entitled to vote should be made as simple and as unobstructed as possible. Our present constitution is deliberately designed to place as many hurdles in the path of the voter as possible. Thus voting, for those eligible, which should be a simple thing requiring but little time, is made a tedious and difficult thing, requiring much delay and embarrassment."

Suffrage And The Negro In The South

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

It is interesting to ask at times, if for nothing more than to stimulate the study of a very important political and social question, has the Negro in the South, because of the operation of laws and extra-legal subterfuges that deprive him of the suffrage, permanently shelved all political aspirations? Has he, in the face of the circumstances, abandoned hope of ever coming into that estate of citizenship in which the privilege inheres of participating in the affairs of the government under which one lives, and dedicated himself to the task of erecting an economic and social structure without the support of political vitality? Is it true, as some have intimated, that the Southern Negro, laboring under the psychological effect of proscription and denial, has capitulated to the line of reasoning reassuringly held before him by many of his professed friends during the immediacy of the birth of disfranchising legislation, that the use of the ballot on his part was not only unessential but actually detrimental to his economic and general progress?

The fact that the Negro in the South is inarticulate regarding his political status might lead some to give an off-hand affirmative answer to these questions, but it is quite certain that a competent and closer study of the situation would reveal to a surprising degree how wide and deep-seated is his hope and determination to be counted a factor in the political as well as the industrial and economic vitalization of the South. It is true that these aspirations are not daily flouted or agitated but they are none the less real.

And is his a forlorn hope? The answer to that question is held by the future which no human can unfold; yet the race can never retreat from the conviction that the right to vote and have that vote counted is essential to the maintenance of the property and other rights vouchsafed under the Constitution. But the intelligent Negro leadership of the present thoroughly understands that agitation solely on the grounds of Constitutional rights is inadequate to achieve the desired ends. Rights are to be fought for and defended whenever threatened, but the demand for the enjoyment of rights ought to be translated into zeal for the performance of duties which contribute to the upbuilding of society. We will advance our efforts to regain political freedom by voting at every opportunity afforded in an intelligent manner upon principles which, according to the individual conviction, will if effected, serve to advance society in general, far more than we can by merely shouting for "rights." Aside from the cold legalistic guarantees or interpretations, rights, to have vitality, must be sustained by a moral public sentiment. In this direction we must bend our greatest efforts, seeking to create a sentiment that will be able to view the participation of the Negro in political affairs not as preserving the rights of a group of citizens, but as really enhancing the respectability of government and promoting the general public good. With increased literacy among both races, we believe that is a growing possibility.